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Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly

Maria Mili



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MARIA MILI

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M.M.

Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	ix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xi
1. Three Questions for a Regional Study of Religion	1
1.1. Regional Studies of Religion: Questions, Structures, and Titles	1
1.2. Defining the Unit of Analysis: Polis Religion in <i>Ethne</i> ?	6
1.3. Describing Difference	12
1.4. Assessing the Evidence	16
1.4.1a. Inscribed Sculpted Dedications	17
1.4.1b. Other Dedications	30
1.4.2. Varieties of Religious Space	37
1.5. At the Limits of the Evidence: The Case of Hera	46
2. Oligarchic Constitution and Religion in the Thessalian Poleis	53
2.1. Religion, Oligarchic Citizenship and the <i>Ethnos</i>	53
2.2. The <i>Gene</i> and Phratries versus <i>Phylai</i> Controversy	60
2.3. Citizenship in Thessalian Poleis	69
2.3.1. Political Participation and Citizenship	69
2.3.2. <i>Politeia</i> , <i>Politeuma</i> , and <i>Astos</i> in Thessalian Inscriptions	71
2.4. The Second Sex: Women in Thessalian Society and World View	79
2.5. Models of Oligarchic Constitution and Religion in the Thessalian Poleis	85
3. Polis Cults	99
3.1. Questions and Definitions	99
3.2. Cults on the Acropolis	102
3.2.1. Guarding the City: the Cult of Athena Polias	104
3.2.2. Killing for the City? The Problem of Zeus Thaulios	111
3.2.3. Acropolis' Views of the Countryside: Dionysus, Demeter, and Heracles	114
3.3. Cults in the Agora	125
3.3.1. Cults in the Agora(s) of Atrax: Themis Agoraia, Athena Agoraia, and Others?	128
3.3.2. Hestia, Private Claims at the Common Hearth	131
3.3.3. Whose Profit? The Cult of Apollo Kerdoos	135
3.4. Around the Walls	140
3.4.1. The Cult of Asclepius	142
3.4.2. On the Road: the Cult of Ennodia	147
3.5. Conclusions: Polis Cults of the 'Thessalian Polis'	158

4. Thessaly through the Kaleidoscope	161
4.1. The Thessalian Space-time	161
4.2. Mythical Structures of Thessalian Geography	165
4.3. Historical Perspectives: New People, New Gods, New Cities	197
5. Panthessalianism and Religion	213
5.1. Thessalian Unity and ‘ <i>Ethnos</i> Religion’	213
5.2. Who Were the Thessalians?	220
5.3. The Cult of Athena Itonia and the Problem of Beginnings	225
5.4. The Cults of Poseidon Petraios and Zeus Pelor(i)os: Different Ways of Being Thessalian	234
5.5. Thessaly and Delphi	241
5.6. Cults of the Thessalians and Their <i>Syngeneis</i>	247
5.7. Panthessalianism and Religion: Understanding Variety	254
6. The Land Rich in Herbs	259
6.1. Welcome to Thessaly: Meadows, Horses, Parties, and Herbs!	259
6.2. Thessalian Visions of the Underworld	268
6.3. Priests, Charlatans and Charismatics	285
6.4. The Enchantment of Thessaly	295
Epilogue	301
<i>Appendices</i>	303
1. Thessalian Inscribed Dedications	303
2. Site-summaries of Excavated Thessalian Sanctuaries	325
3. Catalogue of Social/Religious Groups Attested in the Epigraphic Record	347
<i>Bibliography</i>	353
<i>Subject Index</i>	397
<i>Select Index of Sources</i>	419

List of Maps

Map 1. Distribution of inscribed dedications	20
Map 2. Distribution of located sanctuaries in Thessaly	41

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ' Αθηνών</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
AD	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
AE	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
AETHSE	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας</i>
AIIN	<i>Annali dell' Istituto Italiano di Numismatica</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
Anc. Soc.	<i>Ancient Society</i>
Anc. W.	<i>Ancient World</i>
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i>
Ant. Class.	<i>Antiquité Classique</i>
Ant. Kun.	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
Arch. Class.	<i>Archeologia Classica</i>
Arch. f. Rel.	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiori di Pisa, Cl. Di Lettere e Filosofia</i>
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique, in Revue des Études Grecques</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London</i>
CAJ	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
CEG	P. A. Hansen (1983–9), <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols. (Berlin).
CID	<i>Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
Cl. Ant.	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>

<i>CPhil.</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CSCA</i>	<i>University of California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>Dial. Hist. Anc.</i>	<i>Dialogues d' Histoire Ancienne</i>
<i>DNP</i>	H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> (Stuttgart 1996–2003).
<i>EA</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
<i>Ergo Ephorion</i>	<i>Το έργο των εφορειών αρχαιοτήτων και νεοτέρων μνημείων του ΥΠ.ΠΟ στη Θεσσαλία και στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της</i> (Volos 2000)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
<i>ID</i>	<i>Inscribed Dedication</i>
<i>IEphesos</i>	R. Meriç, R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, and S. Şahin (eds.), <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos I</i> (Bonn 1979–81)
<i>IErythrai</i>	H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach (eds.), <i>Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai</i> (Bonn 1972–3)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>Iasos</i>	W. Blümel, <i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> (Bonn 1985)
<i>IMagnesia</i>	O. Kern (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin 1900)
<i>JdAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JIAN</i>	<i>Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique</i>
<i>Journ. Sav.</i>	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
<i>JRGZM</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>Larisa Acts</i>	<i>Πρακτικά του πρώτου ιστορικού-αρχαιολογικού συμποσίου Λάρισα: παρελθόν και μέλλον</i> (Larisa 1985).
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zurich 1981–99)
<i>Liv. Ann.</i>	<i>Liverpool Annals</i>
<i>LSCG</i>	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris 1969)
<i>LSJ</i>	H. G. Liddel and R. Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> (1845, 9th edn., rev. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie, 1940, suppl. P. G. W. Glare, 1996)
<i>MdI</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>Mon. Ant.</i>	<i>Monumenti Antichi</i>

<i>Nomima</i>	H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé, <i>Nomima: recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grecque</i> (Rome 1994)
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronical</i>
<i>OCD</i>	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , 3rd edn. (Oxford 1996)
<i>ÖJh</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i>
<i>Op. Ath.</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>Op. Rom.</i>	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
<i>PAE</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>RE</i>	A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds.), <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1893–1978)
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RendPontAcc</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia: Rendiconti</i>
<i>Rev. Num.</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>Rev. Phil.</i>	<i>Revue Philologique</i>
<i>Rh. Mus.</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
<i>Riv. Fil.</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia et d'Istruzione Classica</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>Synedrio Theochari</i>	<i>Διεθνές συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Π. Θεοχάρη</i> (Athens 1992).
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , 6 vols. (Los Angeles 2004–6)
<i>Thessalia</i>	<i>Θεσσαλία. 15 χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας 1975–90. Αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές</i> (Athens 1994).
<i>World Arch.</i>	<i>World Archaeology</i>
<i>ZfN</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Numismatik</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Three Questions for a Regional Study of Religion

1.1. REGIONAL STUDIES OF RELIGION: QUESTIONS, STRUCTURES, AND TITLES

Thessalian religion can fascinate for multiple reasons. A long-running ancient tradition associates the area with magic and witchcraft. It both hosted strange gods, unfamiliar in the rest of the Greek world, and was the traditional homeland of some of the most prominent figures in Greek myth, including Achilles and Hellen, father of all the Greeks. Its landscape of flat plains and rolling hills distinguishes Thessaly from the more familiar Greek landscapes of sea and mountain known to visitors to southern Greece and the islands. This landscape bore fruit that made the area idiosyncratic to ancient observers and modern scholars alike: pastoral wealth, a famous cavalry, and distinctive social and political forms. This book is an attempt to explore the religion of this area, to investigate the region's peculiarities, and to assess more precisely the ways in which the religious life of Thessalians differed from or accorded with that found in other parts of the Greek world. It attempts to understand the differences and similarities by placing the region's religion in its contemporary social setting.

The borders of Thessaly are taken to be those defined in the ancient sources; a deceptively straightforward statement, since the area that constituted Thessaly changed through time. In the earliest literary source, the *Iliad*, Thessaly does not exist, in the sense that the broader area later identified as Thessaly did not have that name.¹ Many centuries later, in Strabo's writings, Thessaly extends from Mount Olympus in the north all the way to Thermopylai in the south. To the west it is bordered by the Pindus mountain range and to the east by the Aegean Sea.² Several fragmentary sources indicate, however, that during the Classical and Hellenistic periods that will be the focus of this book

¹ Hom. *Il.* 2.681–759.

² Strabo 9.5.1.

the area known as Thessaly was smaller.³ It covered two large plains divided by the low hills of Revenia and was circled by a series of mountains: Olympus to the north, Ossa and Pelion to the east, Othrys to the south, Agrapha and Pindus to the west. These mountainous regions around Thessaly had their own names: the area to the north separating Thessaly from Macedonia was called Perrhaibia; that to the east, overlooking the Aegean, Magnesia; the one to the south was Achaia Phthiotis; and even further south, in the valley of Spercheios, were Malis and the lands of the Oitaioi, the Paracheloitai, and the Ainians; while to the west were Dolopia and Athamania. The people living on the periphery of Thessaly, the Perrhaibians, Magnesians, and so on, were sometimes collectively called the *perioikoi* of Thessaly, a term that indicates, on the one hand, the existence of ties between these groups and Thessaly itself, and hints, on the other, at some form of control that Thessaly exercised over them, at least in some contexts. The precise borders between Thessaly and the perioikic areas are very fuzzy: throughout the history of Thessalian topographic studies one scholar's Thessalian settlement is another's perioikic community. Such problems of classification bring with them the issue of how we perceive these identities and the territorial borders that go with them: what difference did it make to live in a perioikic settlement rather than in a Thessalian one? Would the life of someone living in a perioikic community have been very different from that of someone living five kilometres away, or on the other side of the river, in a supposedly Thessalian settlement? We will often cross these murky borders into Perrhaibia, Magnesia, and Achaia Phthiotis, the closest of Thessaly's neighbours, to ask these questions. But we will not tread into Dolopia and Athamania, areas about which we know very little, nor will we venture to the settlements of the more distant Spercheios valley.

Regional studies of Greek religion have a history stretching back more than a century, and any scholar who embarks on such a project should not really feel in desperate need of justification.⁴ It has become a truism to say that Greek religion, in many of its aspects, should be seen as the aggregate of the religions of the various communities that made up the Greek world.⁵ But as a short and general statement this demands elaboration. Several questions immediately arise, starting with the question of how we define the region to be studied. Does it make a difference if it is a city, a village community, or a whole geographical region? And do political unification and a strong feeling of

³ See in general Decourt et al. (2004).

⁴ Amongst the earliest are: Immerwahr (1891); Wide (1893).

⁵ The theme of religious regionalism appears regularly in many recent works on Greek religion: see for instance Price (1999) p. ix, who argues that his title *Religions of the Ancient Greeks* is designed to suggest the variety of Greek religion in time and space; Ogden (2007), who includes in *A Companion to Greek Religion* a section on regional religious systems; R. Parker (2011a) 225–36.

common identity matter? While, generally speaking, any of the above groupings could be investigated, one must concede that in each case the questions to be asked should be different. While it might make sense to examine the religious aspects of the Peloponnesian league, one can hardly speak of a Peloponnesian religion in the same way as one can speak of an Athenian one.⁶ As well as charting difference and similarity in the evidence, fragmentary as it always is, we have to think more precisely about how we expect the religion of a chosen region to be similar or different from that of any other. As an extension of this we should ask ourselves whether we can progress beyond the details—all the gods, epithets, rituals—to compile the bits and pieces into a coherent picture. Finally, one has always to think about the kinds of evidence that are available and how they allow or restrict access to the topic. These three basic interrelated problems, which we could sum up as the problem of defining the unit of analysis, of describing difference, and of selecting and assessing the evidence, have always and will always face regional studies of Greek religion. Scholars have not always addressed these problems directly, but the ways in which they have responded to them have had a formative impact on their results.

The history of regional studies of Greek religion can, in fact, be seen as one of gradual development as scholars came to realize the importance of these core issues and tackle them directly. The earliest works, those by Wide on Lakonian cults and by Immerwahr on Arcadian myths and cults, were symptomatic in avoiding the term 'religion' altogether.⁷ For them, their primary subject was the gods, accessed primarily through written sources and organized hierarchically, starting with Zeus. This narrow subject matter and god-focused structure was fitted into the dominant model of the time. Individual gods were directly associated with ethnic groups. For Wide, Zeus was the god of the Dorian element of Sparta's population whereas Poseidon's cult was observed by the pre-Dorian tribes. Immerwahr went further, fragmenting the gods to find in elements of their cults the influence of the various tribes that were meant to have passed through Arcadia. The result was that the religion of a region barely existed as a unified phenomenon, being simply a disparate group of cults, a palimpsest of ethnic history. As everywhere in Western academia, the ethnic element of all this fell into disfavour, but the gods remained central as the structuring principle of regional studies of religion. The work of Fritz Graf on the cults of 'north-Ionia' is perhaps the best example of its time.⁸ He painstakingly collects the evidence for god after god, epithet after epithet, and follows the connections all across the Greek world.

⁶ Vlassopoulos (2008) offers a review of Peloponnesian identity and its varying importance at different levels of analysis. Mylonopoulos (2003) is one example of a study that does not justify convincingly why, and in what precise ways, his Peloponnesian focus is illuminative.

⁷ Immerwahr (1891); Wide (1893).

⁸ Graf (1985).

The result is hardly a regional study at all. The breaking of the ethnic element left a hole that is not filled. There is little impression of the region, indeed it is never really approached directly; instead the result is a web of individual cults and their Panhellenic connections.

A new wave of regional studies has made a genuine departure from the traditions of the discipline by having topography rather than divinity as their structuring principle. For these studies the subject matter is conceived of as 'cults and sanctuaries'. The works of scholars such as Jost on Arcadia or Sporn on Crete are topographically organized, arranged by city and sanctuary, which, wherever possible, are placed within their landscape.⁹ Particularly in Jost's work, the result can be markedly more successful than earlier studies in bringing life to the local topography and tying the evidence of cult to its setting.¹⁰ But the continued avoidance of the more general 'religion' as the focus of analysis for narrower foci—'cults' or 'sanctuaries' that are perceived of as more concrete—ultimately hamstring these works. For both Jost and Sporn the result is a highly selective use of the evidence, which Sporn does most to defend. In Sporn's work emphasis is placed on how trustworthy the evidence for cult is. A distinction between private and official cult is made and the former is sidelined—private dedications are only regarded as probable rather than certain evidence of a cult's existence. Portions of evidence are left aside, most notably those concerning household cult, burial, and the afterlife.¹¹

Ultimately, the core of their approach is a conception of what religion was like. Jost is highly suspicious of the term. She argues that the search for Arcadian religion might be misguided and that instead we should perhaps think of it as a bricolage of cults and gods, appearing, developing, some dying, some surviving, almost randomly one next to the other;¹² a conclusion that surprisingly resonates with that reached by nineteenth-century scholars. The result is somehow disappointing. There is no sense of religion as it was lived, no feeling of the worshippers and their relationship with their gods. The strong suspicion must be that the fragmented sense of the religion derives from the fragmented state of the evidence and scholars' caution about extending its interpretative potential; a caution that is most clearly manifested in the scholars' concern for a thorough collection and rigid classification of the evidence.¹³

⁹ Jost (1985); Sporn (2002). Earlier scholars had also structured the material in one or the other way: Immerwahr (1891) had included at the end of his study (pp. 267–75) a brief list of all the cults organized by city. Precedence, however, was given to the gods, while in the works of Jost and Sporn one has to wait until the second part of the book for a systematic treatment of them.

¹⁰ Sporn's topographical organization seems more mechanical. Polinskaya's (2006) urging, if with a different emphasis, to think of topography in more concrete terms, is in this respect welcome.

¹¹ Sporn (2002) 25–32.

¹² Jost (1985) 7.

¹³ Wide (1893) p. vii explicitly states as a main aim of his study the collection and cataloguing of all the available evidence, and this has remained a principal aim of most regional studies of

We have to come to the work of Parker on Athenian religion to find the individual worshipper, and not just sanctuaries, cults, and gods, having a privileged position, at the centre of his attention. How can we study the religion of an area, Parker wonders, if we do not look at the people who lived there?¹⁴ Leaving behind the cities and sanctuaries of Arcadia and Crete, appearing as deserted remains in empty landscapes, we reach in Athens a city teeming with worshippers. Through the two dense volumes, Parker takes us on a journey: from the acropolis and its joyful pompous celebrations of proud citizens, rich metics, well-dressed maidens, and perplexed gift-bearing islanders; down the slope to the theatre of Dionysus, amidst an audience seeking a glimpse of the divine plan, which could make Oedipus' fate more bearable; through the agora, with its deliberations of seers and politicians over which animal is the best-looking and how to use the goddess' money; out to the gates of the Kerameikos at the haunts of prostitutes conjuring the infernal powers to claim back lost love; or, in the graveyard, to read inscribed on stones the grief and timid hopes of those bereaved; yet further away, in the darkness of the Telesterion to sense the tantalizingly unspoken expectations of the Eleusinian initiates. Alas! One cannot even dream of recreating all these images through a bunch of fragmented inscriptions, enigmatic images on coins, and hastily excavated sanctuaries. But the mould has been set: we have to place the worshipper at the centre of our perspective. We have, even in regions like Thessaly where the evidence is not so well preserved, to press that evidence's interpretative potential.

As the title of the book shows, I define the topic not as cults and sanctuaries but as religion, in the broadest and most general sense. This, in turn, means that I draw from a wide array of evidence, which includes the most famous sanctuaries, where honours were announced, but also includes such diverse phenomena as clusters of figurines found in houses, private dedications, myths, funerary epigrams, reliefs, and rumours about Thessalian witches. The reader will not find here a complete catalogue of everything we know about religion in Thessaly, since the artificial structures that such cataloguing necessarily dictates ultimately hinder one from exploring any issue in depth.¹⁵ This book offers an attempt to overcome the fragmentary evidence that afflicts all regional studies of Greece outside Attica and to reconstruct the religious life of the area as a coherent, vital thing within a real and living society. Inevitably, given the state of the evidence, I will not always succeed, but I hope I will at

religion. Such cataloguing, as mentioned above, can be done in two ways, by organizing the material either by god or by city.

¹⁴ R. Parker (1996) 1–2, who also notes that 'this neglect is a product of certain long-established demarcations in the study of the subject'.

¹⁵ See n. 13.

least show how the lacunae in the evidence are the result of survival rather than the result of a religious and social system that was itself lacunose.

My aim is to study the relationship between religion and society, to see how the different conditions of living in Thessaly affected the religious experiences of its population. Thessaly makes an intriguing case-study for an exploration of the relationship between religion and society. In many ways it seems to emerge from the literature as a counterpoint to standard views of Classical Greek civilization. It was an *ethnos*, viewed by modern scholars as chaotic and feudal, home to competing clans and rustic townships. It was aristocratic, its wealth and sloth compared by contemporaries to that of Persia. It was magical, viewed by moderns and ancients alike as a land of witches, necromancers, and poisoners. All this goes against the vision of a rational and democratic polis that encapsulates Classical Greece in the popular mind's eye. But, at the same time, Thessaly was the well-spring of the lineages of the greatest Greek heroes; with one of its arms stretching to Olympus and the other reaching for Delphi: the fetters of Greek culture.

1.2. DEFINING THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS: POLIS RELIGION IN *ETHNE*?

The most inspiring theory that directly addresses the question of the relationship between religion and society in ancient Greece is the polis religion model, developed by Sourvinou-Inwood.¹⁶ The model has been feverishly discussed in recent years and it seems that every scholar has a slightly different understanding of it.¹⁷ The polis religion model starts from the fact that Greek religion lacked sacred texts and any kind of formalized separate religious authority, and poses the question of how, and at what level of social interaction, a perception of a commonly accepted religion was created. This happened, the model argues, first and foremost at the level of the polis, which was the main unit of social and political organization in ancient Greece.

The basic and most pertinent criticism of the polis religion model is that it can lead one to overstress the degree of polis control over the various parts of society, not allowing space for other points of view, and excluding from the

¹⁶ The model is directly discussed in Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a) and (2000b). It underlies, though, much of the rest of her work on Greek religion.

¹⁷ Woolf (1997); Bendlin (2000) for criticism concerning the application of the model in the study of Roman religion. Dignas (2002) for its application in Hellenistic Asia Minor. A conference in memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood held at Reading University in 2008 was dedicated to the topic of polis religion. Some of the papers presented there have now been published separately: Kindt (2009); Bremmer (2010); Eidinow (2011). See also Pakkanen (2011); R. Parker (2011a) 40–63, esp. 57–61; Versnel (2011) 88ff.

discussion whole segments of society that are either marginalized or, when discussed, only viewed from the polis perspective. In other words the model presupposes the existence of a coherent and all-encompassing religious system, whereas there might have been a lot of variety and inconsistency.¹⁸ This criticism, which may sound like a note of reservation when it applies to Athens, becomes more disconcerting when the discussion shifts to other parts of the Greek world, the so-called *ethne*, where the salience of the polis as a unit of social and political organization has been debated for a long time.

Before picking up the discussion of what an *ethnos* is and the theoretical problems that this creates for our understanding of the role of the polis, I need to say more about the polis religion model. I believe that, in spite of the criticisms, the model, as phrased by Sourvinou-Inwood, remains the most useful to the scholar who wants to study the relationship between religion and society. The certainty with which the conclusion has been phrased has diverted attention from the separate questions asked. A lot of emphasis has been put on the authoritative statement that 'the polis provided the fundamental framework within which Greek religion operated' and not on the methodology and the series of arguments that Sourvinou-Inwood employs to argue for it. Throughout her work she urges us to examine questions of religious authority, the administration of sanctuaries and religious participation, together with the complex interrelations between the various contexts of religious life, and how the interplay of all these factors might have influenced religious perceptions.

With the exception of Athens, these questions have not been systematically asked in any part of the Greek world. The polis religion model is often invoked but rarely engaged with.¹⁹ In the case of Thessaly, owing to the evidence available, not all these questions can be dealt with to the same degree. There is little we can say about the role of priests in Thessaly, about sacred property and the administration of sanctuaries, about the process of introducing new gods, or about the limits of piety. Questions of religious participation, however, can be explored in depth. This focus means that the subject matter is approached more from a perspective that keeps the individual worshipper in mind. This emphasis will offer a corrective to the tendency to approach the subject of the relationship between religion and society mostly in terms of authority and institutionalized control; elements of Sourvinou-Inwood's work that have been falsely privileged.

So what was the *ethnos*? One of the main meanings of the term *ethnos* in ancient sources seems to be that of a 'group' of beings, human or animal.

¹⁸ In this respect the criticism of the polis religion model should be seen as part of a wider debate concerning the role of the polis in general in ancient Greek historiography. The debate, largely inspired by Horden and Purcell (2000) esp. 89–122, has been the theme of a monograph by Vlassopoulos (2007).

¹⁹ See for instance Kindt (2009) 23 n. 64, who mainly cites as works based on the model only general introductory textbooks of Greek religion.

We hear for instance of the *ethnos* of the dead, of women, or of bees.²⁰ In addition, several sources give a political colouring to the term, though it seems to have a general meaning in these instances also, denoting all kinds of formations and unions that were larger than a polis.²¹ Morgan rightly stresses that ancient uses of the word are very broad in meaning and have not been systematically studied, and modern scholars have tended to use the word with a range of associations that cannot be justified.²² Anyone broadly familiar with some of the standard works on Greek state formation will be aware of the idea that the Greek world was divided into two different types of state, the *poleis* and *ethne*.²³ Both, the argument goes, grew out of a past of tribal migrations. The *ethnos* type of state, sometimes called a tribal state, was supposedly the more primitive and was to be found in areas where Mycenaean civilization had not penetrated. People lived in villages and homesteads and they preserved ways of life that city dwellers considered barbaric. Some scholars believe that the political element of the constitution of the migrating tribe degenerated over time, while others believe that it remained an element of life.²⁴ In either case scholars have agreed that a sense of unity remained alive through the common cult of the tribal god and through the waging of common wars. *Poleis* finally started developing in some *ethne*, which led to tensions between the unitary *ethnos* and the separatist *poleis*. In the course of time, starting in the fifth century and culminating in the Hellenistic period, many *ethne* managed to form closer unions, whose members were autonomous entities (*poleis* or small *ethne*), giving rise to a new type of state best described as federal.

Modern scholarship has become increasingly aware of the precarious nature of many of these presuppositions. Appeals to a tribal past or an age of migrations are now viewed with scepticism. The *polis* (progressive) versus *ethnos* (regressive) opposition collapses after a closer examination of the archaeological record and the ancient sources. It is clear that *poleis* could exist in *ethne* and they seem to have done so from very early times. The new consensus postulates that *poleis* and *ethne* were not opposing but alternative, or complementary, forms of organization.²⁵ This is an important development, which requires us to rethink not only what kind of societies early *ethne* were, but also how they changed through time, since the emphasis put on the

²⁰ Hom. *Od.* 10.526; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.252; Hom. *Il.* 2.87.

²¹ For discussion of the ancient Greek use of the term see Giovannini (1971) 14–16; Walbank (1985) 22–4; Beck (1997) 11–12; C. Morgan (2003) 7–10 and further in this section.

²² C. Morgan (2003) 9.

²³ For what follows see Ehrenberg (1960) 24–7, 121–31; Austin and Vidal-Naquet (1977) 78–81; Snodgrass (1980) 42–7.

²⁴ Snodgrass (1980) 42, though, speaks of political unity by means of some periodical assembly.

²⁵ So R. Osborne (1996) 286 in a handbook on early Greece.

supposed late development of poleis, as a catalyst for change within them, has to be removed. No clear answer has emerged to these questions and for the scholar whose faith in old models has been undermined the lack of a well-formulated alternative is debilitating. Morgan, in her important book on *ethne*, rightly challenges many of the old presuppositions (such as tribalism, lack of cities, and the interpretative force of a past of migrations) and puts others to the test (role of religion, war). Her focus on large settlements and criticisms of the unifying elements of the *ethnos* are extremely important, but the reader is left wondering what, if anything, the *ethnos* is.²⁶ At the other end of the timeframe there is a great deal of discussion about what a federal state actually is, one trend asking how it differs from a league and an alliance, the other asking how it relates to the early *ethne* that supposedly preceded it.²⁷ Overall these debates throw into question traditional categories for political entities and by extension the history of how they developed.

Inherent in most discussions about *ethne* is the presupposition that they were some form of state. Hence the attempt to understand them in terms of what makes up a state and to grasp how the centralization of power overcame the various centrifugal tendencies evident in the *ethnos*. Even discussions that go against this statist approach, notably Morgan's, end up being restricted by it. The emphasis of the debate is again on understanding the *ethnos* against the category of state. The parameters of the debate are still set by the statist approach. This leads to the emphasis in Morgan's study on the question of when *ethnos* identity acquired political salience.²⁸

Frequently in the ancient sources we find the opposition between polis and *ethnos*, sometimes triangulated with the private individual.²⁹ These passages have encouraged the idea that the *ethnos* is a state, like a polis, and it is because of this that scholars have attempted to understand *ethne* principally in terms of politics—through identifying and dissecting the state machinery. But the triangulation with the individual in the sources upsets this understanding. Instead, it suggests that what unifies the three entities for the ancient Greeks was simply and only the ability to act autonomously. There is no reason to believe that the Greeks saw the *ethnos* and the polis as the same class of thing in other ways, any more than they would see a person and a polis as the same class of thing.

Aristotle in his treatment of the Thessalian constitution seems to have described the constitution of an individual city in Thessaly. But in doing so

²⁶ C. Morgan (2003) 11 calls *ethne* 'the observable outcomes of such processes (i.e. of choice by which a tier of identity is constructed or prioritized for perceived group advantage) and thus entities rooted in place and time': a far from clear definition.

²⁷ Beck (1997); Corsten (1999) and the review by Beck (2001).

²⁸ C. Morgan (2003) 206.

²⁹ Polis and *ethnos*: Arist. *Pol.* 1261^a28; 1276^a29; 1284^a38; 1285^b30–3; 1310^b35; Isoc. 4.70; Xen. *An.* 3.1.2. Polis, *ethnos*, and individual: Aeschin. 3.110; Dem. 18.271.

he seems to imagine such a commonality between the Thessalian cities that it is appropriate to talk about a single Thessalian constitution.³⁰ Some could see this as evidence that Aristotle had an understanding of the Thessalian *ethnos* as a concrete political entity. But instead, it could be seen as showing that for him, as for Morgan, the polis was at the centre of the political stage even in an *ethnos*.³¹ There is, in Aristotle, a balance between a clear sense of the importance of the polis as the primary political unit and an equally clear sense of the unity of the Thessalian *ethnos*.

How can we bring all of this together? The outcome of a modern debate that assesses the *ethnos* against the category of 'state', but emphasizes, rightly, the importance of the poleis within it, is that the *ethnos* always runs the risk of being regarded as a failure. The *ethnos* is measured against the unified state that the categorization demands it to be and is inevitably found wanting. This, I would argue, is to misunderstand the Thessalian *ethnos* as it was to its inhabitants and contemporary observers.³² Modern understandings that attempt to integrate and balance the competing elements of the polis and *ethnos* into a single unified mechanism may be missing the point. For the ancient Greeks, polis and *ethnos* seem to be coexisting arenas capable of coordinating political action, but inherently different in their fundamental nature—just as polis and person were different. It is this essential difference that may be the key to understanding the continued coexistence of the forms. Even when there was conflict, the forms were not an existential threat to one another.

The clear result of all of this discussion is that the polis should be at the centre of our view when studying Thessaly. But, at the same time, Thessaly was clearly a unified entity to contemporaries. This means that we must be equally concerned with investigating what it was that unified the Thessalian *ethnos*, and how this sense of unity worked its way through the various levels of society.

Returning to the idea that one of the flaws of the polis religion model is that it cannot be applied in *ethne*, it should be clear that, given the centrality of poleis within some *ethne*, there is no reason to assume a priori that this is the case. Nevertheless, there are certainly questions that need to be addressed concerning the religion of the polis within an *ethnos*. The polis religion model in application should be seen primarily as a way of asking systematic questions about religion and society. There are three issues that the polis religion model brings into the centre of our focus when it comes to looking at religion in

³⁰ Arist. fr. 497, 498 (Rose). In the *Politics*, too, Aristotle refers to the constitutions of individual Thessalian cities (1306^a11; 1306^a27–31).

³¹ For Aristotle's discussion of *ethne* see Walbank (1985) 23–4; Beck (1997) 14–16; C. Morgan (2003) 8–9.

³² The theme of Thessaly as a failed state is discussed in section 5.1. In thinking about ancient *ethne*, I found that Yoffee's remarks about 'ideological confederations' had some resonance: Yoffee (2005) esp. 17–18, 44.

Thessaly: the impact of oligarchy on polis identity and religious participation; the impact of the fragility of the polis within an *ethnos* on religious life; and the interaction of *ethnos* identity with various local identities and religious systems.

First, there is the problem of oligarchy. The polis religion model has been developed mostly through the case study of Athens and this means that polis identity has been closely connected with the development of democracy. Religious participation is aligned with citizenship and political participation, to which all native Athenian men were entitled. Application of the polis religion model to an oligarchy, where political participation is restricted and where citizenship can have different connotations, obviously raises serious questions about the nature of religious participation and the differing religious lives of the various classes of society.

Secondly, there is the problem of the 'fragility of the polis'. Attention has been drawn in recent years to the fact that poleis have life cycles, they appear and disappear, they extend their territories or are subdued and incorporated by other poleis.³³ This phenomenon, which might not be salient from the standpoint of a stable city state such as Athens, becomes much more relevant in the context of an *ethnos*. In the case of Thessaly, for instance, the twenty-five poleis of the Copenhagen Polis Centre inventory hide an intricate reality of different settlements of varying size and means. The life cycles and inter-relationships of these communities produced a complex and changing web. We could broadly divide them between hegemonic and dependent cities. Cities such as Larisa, Pharsalos, and Pherai were, at least occasionally, dominant, exercising some form of control over their nearest and perhaps even over more distant neighbours. The processes by which they acquired and maintained power might have varied in each individual case. The dependent cities of Pharsalos are mentioned in sources as if they were taken for granted; Pherai's imperialistic policies towards its neighbours were particularly violent in the fifth century; texts and inscriptions talk about synoecisms and sympolities in west Thessaly; and the relationship between the great city of Larisa and its very near neighbours remains puzzling. A variety of answers can be given to the question of how these relationships impacted on religious life ranging between two extreme poles, with complete integration of a dependent polis into the religious life of its overlord, on the one hand, and the religious systems of the two poleis remaining completely undisturbed, on the other. Between these two extremes lie a variety of possibilities, which demand to us to rethink the balance of authority, participation, and identity that forms the backbone of the polis model.

³³ Horden and Purcell (2000) 94–5; Vlassopoulos (2007) 190–202.

There is, finally, the problem of how we should think about the interaction of the *ethnos* identity with various local identities and religious systems. An important question is how homogeneous religion was across Thessaly. Aristotle seems to have thought in terms of a single Thessalian constitution applicable to any of the Thessalian poleis. Should we expect to find many similarities between the various Thessalian poleis in the field of religion, too? Quite apart from the question of whether Aristotle knew what he was talking about in relation to politics, given what we know about ancient Greek polytheism we should not expect uniformity. Ancient Greek cults were closely tied to place. Myths served to ground cults in their localities. A look at the religious activities of the various Athenian demes shows that even within Attica there was considerable variety. This variety, however, did not prevent them from being part of a wider system. Local variation in cult and myth existed alongside homogeneous structures of religious life, common mythic patterns, and a distinctive overall religious emphasis, which served to produce a recognizably Athenian flavour.³⁴

1.3. DESCRIBING DIFFERENCE

What makes up Thessalian religion? A well-established approach has been to fit Thessaly into an evolutionary paradigm for the development of Greek religion as a whole. The paradigm, which was very popular in the beginning of the last century, argued that magic was the earliest stage of religion, when no gods were worshipped. Those gods who were first introduced were concerned with agriculture and death and could be easily aroused to anger. These gloomy chthonian deities were only later replaced by the mild and benign Olympian gods. Traces, however, of the earlier stages of religion survived, especially in some backward areas, and it was through mythology that one could gain insights into this older, primitive world. According to this approach, Thessalian religion as attested in the Classical and Hellenistic periods was largely made up of fossilized remnants from some more primitive era of Greek religion.

Kern, in his history of Greek religion, argued that Olympian religion was first created in Thessaly; hence the centrality of Mount Olympus in Greek mythology. For Kern, Thessalian religion was a strange amalgam of old magic practices and superstitions, evolved chthonian deities, and nascent, but not fully fledged, Olympians.³⁵ The fight between Olympian and chthonian

³⁴ For religion of the various Athenian demes: Mikalson (1977); R. Parker (1987a) and (2005) 62–78; and for an archaeological perspective Baumer (2004) 12–30, 70–5, 78–9.

³⁵ For what follows see Kern (1926) i. 185–213, 226–9; ii. 73–6.

religion in Thessaly is reflected, according to Kern, in myth, such as in the story of the Alloads, the two brothers who fought against the gods and put Mount Pelion on top of Ossa in order to reach Olympus, or in the better-known myth of the fight between Lapiths and Centaurs. The conflict between the two religious traditions also had a social dimension: Kern saw the aristocratic world of the gods focused on Olympus, with Zeus at its centre, as the creation of the Thessalian landlords, while the old chthonian cults and superstitious beliefs were the religion of the peasants. In Kern's view, then, Zeus Olympios was the Thessalian aristocratic god par excellence, while Poseidon was one of the popular old gods who was obliged in many cases to give up his place to Zeus or Apollo. The cults of other old chthonian gods, such as Demeter and Hecate/Ennodia, were also suppressed and restrained. Demeter's cult at old centres, such as Dotion, Antron, and Pyrasos, continued but was not allowed to develop freely. For instance, it never engaged with afterlife concerns, an important development in Demeter's cult elsewhere. Indicative of the suppression of the various 'earth deities' is also the fact that the Thessalian Olympian Zeus lacked a female consort. Neither Themis (or Themisto), an old local earth deity, nor Argive Hera, whose cult was later introduced in the area, managed to become Zeus' spouse in Thessaly. His closest divine relative was the old local warrior goddess, who became Athena. Another important Olympian god, Dionysus, whose ecstatic cult was believed to have come from Thrace, never became popular; nor did other mystic religions. The rich Thessalians, who had everything, worried little about death and did not care to give to the *penestai* any consolation. Instead, superstitious beliefs flourished, like the belief in magic, reflected in the cult of Hecate/Ennodia, who, popular though she was among the lower classes, was not favoured by the Thessalian landlords. Only with the old chthonian healing god from Trikke, Asclepius, did official religion finally come to terms with an ancient popular cult.

Kern, who knew Thessaly extremely well, devoted only a few pages to its religion. A few years later Philippson wrote a monograph on the topic, ignoring several of Kern's ideas and building on the theme of how from old chthonian gods, that is from an original mother goddess and her male consort, Olympian figures supposedly developed in Thessaly.³⁶ Kern's work is reminiscent of that of Wide and Immerwahr in its focus on associating religious phenomena with ethnic and social groups. By the time of Philippson the emphasis had shifted away from groups of people to a more abstract conception of the evolution of religion.

There have been few systematic treatments of Thessalian religion since the 1940s, but there have been small treatises on isolated subjects. I single out here

³⁶ Philippson (1944) *passim*.

the works of Papachatzis and Chrysostomou.³⁷ Neither of these very influential studies refers to Kern, but they are familiar with Philipsson's monograph. As a consequence perhaps, the division between an aristocratic and a peasant religion, which Kern had argued for, is put aside, and together with it the idea that there was, in Thessaly, a conflict between an Olympian and a chthonian religion which took on a social dimension.³⁸ The image of Thessalian religion that these works put forth is of a religion with strong chthonian elements common to all the population. The Thessalian gods are not any more divided into either Olympians (new/aristocratic) or chthonians (old/local/popular); instead almost all of them have strong chthonian aspects. Thessalian religion is also portrayed as obsessed with the dead and the underworld. For Kern the old chthonian gods of Thessaly had mostly to do with earthquakes, fertility, and magic. He thus concluded that the Thessalians showed no concern for the afterlife and their religion was mostly an earthy one, of the here and now. For Chrysostomou and Papachatzis the chthonian gods of Thessaly have rather a lot to do with the underworld and the dead, and the Thessalians are presented as having a strong predilection for eschatology.

This kind of evolutionary approach, whether it is that of Kern or the version of Papachatzis and Chrysostomou, has enormous pitfalls; not least because it starts from a preconception, based upon outdated theory, of how religion might have evolved, and forces the evidence to conform.³⁹ Moreover, the Olympian/chthonian division as a model to understand Greek religion, gods, and cults, has been seriously challenged today, and even scholars who maintain that the category might have some value in the study of ritual would not even think of using it in the way this has been done by these Thessalian scholars.⁴⁰ But we need to think why the model has such a lasting appeal. I think a large part of its success in the case of Thessaly is due to the fact that it neatly combines, even if superficially, cult, society, and ethos. It manages to tie together a lot of the evidence for cult with the image of a backward society, while giving it a place in wider Greek religion and conveying to the reader a feeling of how this religion might have felt: the gods of Thessaly can be described not only as names and epithets with strange stories and rituals, but as envious, fearsome creatures who can be appeased and propitiated. This

³⁷ Papachatzis (1984) and (1985); P. Chrysostomou (1998).

³⁸ Papachatzis (1976) 108 n. 3 mentions in passing that the worshippers of Ennodia belonged to the lower strata of society, but similar questions are not generally raised in these works.

³⁹ For a review of the myth and ritual school see Ackerman (1991). For a reassessment of the Thessalian evidence see section 6.2.

⁴⁰ This is a large debate we do not need to enter here. For a review of the different positions held see: Fairbanks (1900); J. Harrison (1903) 1–31; Rodhe (1925) 158ff; Guthrie (1950) 220–2; Rudhardt (1958) 251ff; Nock (1972) 578–81; Graf (1980); Henrichs (1983) 93–100; Schlesier (1991–2) 45; Scullion (1994); Ekroth (2002) 310–25; the various papers in Hägg and Alroth (2005); R. Parker (2011a) 80–4, 283–6. Also the relevant entries by R. Parker in *OCD* (1996) 329–30 and R. Schlesier in *DNP* 2 (1997) 1186–90.

combination of cult, society, and ethos should surely be an aim for any regional study of religion.⁴¹

One way to tackle the issue has been to choose a single god who supposedly stood for the area, and whose prominence captures something essential to the ethos of the society. Müller's study of the Dorians and Apollo is a celebrated example of associating one god with a people, but the same trend can be detected elsewhere.⁴² We immediately associate Spartan religion with Apollo and Artemis, Arcadian with Pan, Macedonian with Dionysus. But this move kills the variety of religious experience and reduces polytheism to monotheism in an anachronistic way. Like Kern it makes overly naive associations between the imagined ethos of essentialized ethnic groups and an unrealistically schematized religion.

Structuralism may offer the starting point of an approach which allows us to preserve the complexity of polytheism while relating it to the ethos of a real society. It revolutionized our understanding of gods by directing our attention to their functions and modes of action. While it has been criticized as timeless, ahistorical, and abstract, by focusing attention on the functions of deities for their worshippers, it orders the pantheon in a fundamentally social way.⁴³ But the gods are only a part of what makes up a religion. Religions are created in communication between groups of people and in characterizing one it should be as important to include the modes of communication as the things being communicated. In other words, we should include with the pantheon consideration of Thessalian rituals and forms of participation in cult. The question which emerges is whether we could boil down the web of gods, functions, rituals, personalities, and cults into some common thread, a unifying principle, to find, if such a thing existed, the Thessalian religious perspective. The category of 'chthonian gods' fulfilled more or less the role of the unifying principle. Similar in its function is the idea of 'order' and Spartan religion.

This kind of approach can be compared to the process of creating a stereotype. It is undoubtedly over-generalizing and misses the wealth and diversity of the evidence, which it must be our aim to explore. But even if the question of boiling down the pantheon to its essentials might seem inherently simplistic, we should not dismiss it completely; not only because it might indeed capture, as many stereotypes do, a reality that, even if partial and distorted, is worth noticing, but also because the ancients themselves seem to have thought along very similar lines, not only when discussing foreigners but also when it came to thinking about themselves and describing themselves

⁴¹ See also the comments of R. Parker (2011a) 226, and (1989) for a study of Spartan religion along these lines.

⁴² Müller (1824).

⁴³ For recent critical discussions referring back to the seminal studies of the French School see R. Parker (2005) 387ff. and (2011a) 64–102; Versnel (2011) 23ff. Sourvinou-Inwood (1978) is the paradigmatic study of the application of structuralism to local realities.

to others. From this perspective even the equation of a group with a particular god has some resonance with how the Greeks themselves thought: we need only think of the relief decrees of Samos and Athens with Hera and Athena shaking hands. We should thus try to investigate what the Thessalians thought about their relationships with the gods. We should ask which gods and cults, which stories, came to the fore, when they thought or spoke about themselves as a group. At the same time we should examine what other ancients thought about them and their religion, how this outsider's perception relates with the evidence, and how it might have influenced and interacted with Thessalians' own perception of themselves.

1.4. ASSESSING THE EVIDENCE

Not all questions can be answered. The nature of the evidence, very incomplete in the case of Thessaly, will inevitably have a formative impact on the work as a whole. This is not only true in terms of the raw material that survives but also in terms of our choices over how to order it and over how we weigh its value.⁴⁴ It is common practice to divide the evidence following the traditional academic divisions of the discipline of Classics: there is the evidence from literature, epigraphy, numismatics, and archaeology.⁴⁵ Scholars' assessment of the value of these kinds of evidence for the study of religion sounds at times like an assessment of the value of these disciplines and of the kind of knowledge they are supposed to offer. There is a problem with dividing our sources of evidence into disciplinary categories in such broad-brush terms. While the history of a particular subdiscipline of Classics is bound to affect our perception of the evidence, the parameters of the evidence, its complexities and limitations, will not necessarily coincide absolutely with the perspectives of the subdiscipline as they have developed thus far.

In the course of this work I shall be driven by the questions I ask, mobilizing a diverse array of evidence to approach issues drawn from wider discussions of Greek religion. That being said, some classes of evidence—votives, temple buildings/sanctuaries, theophoric names, and images on coins—have a prominent place in regional studies of religion generally.⁴⁶ Of these I single out the

⁴⁴ See also section 1.1.

⁴⁵ See for instance Sporn (2002) 25–31. But Sporn is representative of a well-established trend. The Swedish Institute collective volumes on archaeology and religion, or epigraphy and religion (Hägg 1994 and 1998) rely on the same premise. See also most recently Graf (2010) on inscriptions as a source of evidence for religion.

⁴⁶ All these kinds of evidence, and yet others, are going to be mobilized in this study too, but each to a different degree. I will only occasionally, for instance, mention the existence of a theophoric name. For Thessalian personal names see Decourt and Tziafalias (2007a); García

first two, because they are inherently 'religious'. Approaches to them can tend to have a particularly formative impact on our understanding of the religion of a region and need to be considered in some depth before our examination begins in earnest. For reasons that will become obvious I will first discuss separately the Thessalian inscribed sculpted dedications and then the rest of the votive record. We should think about the kinds of evidence they are: how were these bodies of evidence formed in Thessaly; how do they compare to the evidence from other regions; and, most importantly, what is the nature of the information they offer.

1.4.1a. Inscribed Sculpted Dedications

Inscribed dedications form the most abundant source of evidence for Thessalian religion. There are around 470 inscribed dedications known from Thessaly, the vast majority of which are already published. They are a mine of information for the study of religion in the area, attesting to the cult of all major Olympian divinities, a number of local divinities, and lesser and foreign deities, as well as the big Panhellenic heroes and a few heroes of only local importance.⁴⁷

In the vast majority of cases inscribed dedications were engraved on votive *stelai* (303). Then follow bases (53); and then altars (14). Thirty-six pieces are described as stone or plaques, thirteen as pillar/bases or *stelai*/bases,⁴⁸ eight as pillars, six as blocks, three as columns, one as a column capital, and one as an architrave, while nineteen pieces are not described; and there are also some

Ramón (2007); Decourt (2010); and especially Hunold (2009) 149–67. According to Hunold, theophoric names in Thessaly were much more rarely given to women and among the male ones very popular were those related to Zeus, Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Heracles, and Asclepius. The Thessalian evidence largely conforms to wider Greek patterns, as described by R. Parker (2000). A Thessalian peculiarity is the existence of herophoric names before the Hellenistic period: see also Decourt and Tziafalias (2007a). Noteworthy is also the dearth of Poseidon-, Ennodia-, and Artemis-related names, gods who are prominent in other types of material evidence, such as inscribed dedications (see later in this section).

⁴⁷ In Appendix 1 the reader can find a detailed list of the material organized by god and analysed along various parameters, such as information about the worshipper (whether male, female, priest, magistrate, or group), the date of the monument, its findspot, form, and dimensions. The appendix includes all material that mentions a specific god. Heinz (1998) gives a catalogue of all the then published evidence, including those dedicatory inscriptions that do not mention the recipient deity. Her catalogue, however, is organized according to type of monument and does not systematically break down the evidence in the parameters discussed here. I often follow her, however, as far as the chronology of these monuments is concerned, since she seems to have seen many of these inscriptions and to have studied the material in collaboration with the 'équipe of Lyon'.

⁴⁸ In a couple of examples from Phthiotic Thebes (AD 32 (1977) *Chron.* 128) and Pharsalos (AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 283 pl. 148) small round projections, interpreted as *popana* (cakes), are represented on the top of the stele/base. There is no reason to think that other kinds of *stelai*, which had a horizontal pediment, ever carried an offering.

isolated inscribed items, such as a marble dolphin from Prinos offered to Poseidon, a herm from Argissa dedicated to Apollo, a marble phallus from Atrax dedicated to Dionysus, a *thesauros* (money box) offered to Asclepius and another to Sarapis, Isis, and Anubis, a bronze *phiale* offered to Heracles from Latomeio, and a gold ring from Kierion offered to Aphrodite. Finally in a few examples the inscription was engraved on living rock. We are dealing then almost exclusively with items of sculpture, which would have been all but certainly in open view in the sanctuary, and not stored away in some of its buildings.

The *stelai* and bases show great variability in size and form, ranging from very small and simple undecorated *stelai* made of local stone to large monumental decorated marble *stelai* in the form of *naiskoi*, and from small bases to very large ones, which seem to have carried life-size statues or tripods.⁴⁹ Heinz has presented a detailed typology of the *stelai* monuments. She distinguishes two main types: 'Shaftstelen' which were tall and narrow and 'Bildstelen' which were shorter and wider.⁵⁰ Each main type can be further subdivided into two groups, according to the formation of their upper part: those with a horizontal and those with a pedimental top. In the case of horizontal *stelai* the finial could take the form of a simple raised band or of a crown moulding. Several examples of horizontal *stelai* had a recessed panel; the margins on the shaft could be simple raised bands or, less often, take the form of pilasters. In *stelai* with pedimental crowning the pediment can be free-standing or carved in relief on the shaft of the stele, which has a triangular, horizontal, or circular termination. The shape of the pediment varied from a simple triangular projection without a cornice and with rudimentary side *akroteria* to a fully developed pediment. The shaft of the pedimental *stelai* can also have a recessed panel to receive the decoration. Finally, more monumental examples are of the *naiskos* or pseudo-*naiskos* type.⁵¹ To be more precise about their size, close to the bottom of the scale, and a quite common size, was a height of approximately 30–50 cm, a width of 30–50 cm, and a depth of 5–10 cm. This was by no means the rule; there are several examples of larger *stelai*, some of which can reach a height of more than two metres.

The dedicatory inscription was usually engraved on the upper part of the stele, on the relief band in the case of the flat top *stelai*, or just below the pediment. Fewer examples have the inscription engraved on the base, or on the narrow side.⁵² On the *stelai* of the type 'à trou carré', which are the earliest of the series, the dedicatory inscription was engraved in the middle of the

⁴⁹ Most of these monuments, however, were made of marble; local stone was used only for a few of them.

⁵⁰ Heinz (1998) 99 n. 1091 argues that the word *κίον* was used in Thessaly to describe the 'Shaftstelen'. This is not clear to me. Helly (1973a) 172 seems to believe it is a Thessalian variation of the word 'stele'.

⁵¹ Heinz (1998) 97–125.

⁵² See e.g. ID nos. 9, 56, 314, 376.

shaft.⁵³ Finally, on a few *stelai*, usually those dedicated by groups, the inscription could occupy most of the front side of the stone. Only eighteen of these *stelai* had relief decoration,⁵⁴ but perhaps more would have been painted. There are remains of paint on just a few examples.⁵⁵ But von Graeve and Helly have argued against the suggestion that only *stelai* with a polished surface could have received painted decoration. They mention that recent research on painting techniques demonstrates that this was not necessary, and it is thus probable that the blank surface of the majority of these monuments once carried such painted decoration.⁵⁶ Still, there must have been some that never had any decoration at all and in these cases the dedicatory inscription would have been the most prominent feature on them, apart, of course, from their particular form. We should not, thus, rush to consider the dedicatory inscription as incidental, while taking the painted or sculpted decoration as the real ‘content’ of the stele.⁵⁷ The dedicatory inscriptions were part and parcel of these monuments.

The Thessalian inscribed dedications span a period from the Late Archaic to the second/third centuries AD, and their floruit was the third and second centuries BC (Table 1.1).

They have been found all over Thessaly and its perioikic areas, but there are significant variations in the number of dedications found in different settlements (Map 1; Table 1.2).⁵⁸

Table 1.1. Chronological distribution of inscribed dedications

6th/5th	5th	4th	4th/3rd	3rd	3rd/2nd	2nd	2nd/1st	1st	1st/2nd	Hel.	Rom.	Und.
4	26	41	18	124	31	107	20	27	16	16	8	34

⁵³ Helly (1979a) 167–72. The chronological developments that he postulates may need to be reconsidered since Hellenistic examples have been found, such as ID no. 372.

⁵⁴ ID nos. 24, 38, 55, 56, 96, 103, 216, 295, 322, 337, 342, 407, 422, 425, 435, 437, 445, 471. There are another fifty or so votive reliefs from Thessaly that, however, do not have a dedicatory inscription: Heinz (1998) 126ff.

⁵⁵ See e.g.: a stele from Atrax (AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 255 no. 27) preserving traces of a red seated figure to be identified perhaps with the god, Zeus Kataibates, to whom the stele was dedicated; two *stelai* from Mikro Kaserli (Franke (1956) 183 and (1958) 337 no. 2) dedicated to the hero Aineas and portraying the hero seated on a throne holding a sceptre and accompanied by a snake.

⁵⁶ von Graeve and Helly (1987) 24. Heinz (1998) 10 believes too that most would have been painted.

⁵⁷ For ‘aniconic’ monuments see Doepner (2002) 148–60; Gaifman (2012). Several examples have holes on the front and/or side parts of the stele. These, it has been suggested, were used to support a metal staff from which wreaths would be suspended: Tziafalias (1984b) no. 24.

⁵⁸ The problem of ascribing the evidence to specific cities has, though, to be acknowledged: not only were several of them found in secondary use, but also there is great uncertainty concerning the identification of Thessalian cities known from written sources with the



Map 1. Distribution of inscribed dedications

The dedicatory formulae were usually very simple, consisting of the name of the dedicator and that of the deity in the dative, although occasionally one of the two could be omitted.⁵⁹ Most of the gods and a few heroes figure at least once or twice in the material. Some gods, however, received more inscribed dedications than others (Table 1.3).⁶⁰

settlements revealed by archaeology, as well as concerning any calculation of the extent of their *chora* (see Ch. 4). These problems will be brought into the open and assessed when discussing particular cults, but they are not debilitating when broader patterns are being discussed, as is the case in this section.

⁵⁹ In the cases where the name of the dedicator was omitted the name of the deity could be in the genitive or dative and very rarely (I have found only three examples: ID nos. 15, 421, 445) in the nominative.

⁶⁰ These numbers might be slightly misleading. The big gap, for instance, between the dedications to Artemis and Apollo, Zeus and Poseidon could be balanced if we removed from Artemis the forty inscriptions that come from Gonnoi. These were recovered by Arvanitopoulos during excavations, while most of the offerings to Apollo, Zeus, and Poseidon are stray finds. Even so, Artemis would still appear to have been amongst the most popular gods likely to receive an inscribed dedication.

Table 1.2. Topographic distribution of inscribed dedications

Gonnoi	77
Larisa	68
Atrax	52
Pherai	32
Demetrias/Volos/Ligaroremma	30
Pythion	26
Mikro K eserli	19
Phthiotic Thebes	19
Pharsalos	15
Krannon	10
Azoros	9
Tyrnavos/Tatari	9
Mount Ossa	8
Mopsion	5
Polidendri/Skiatha	5
Tempe	5
Chorto	4
Halos	4
Melitaia	4
Metropolis	4
Pyrasos	4
Agia	3
Olosson	3
Soros	3
Damasi	2
Kastri Livadiou	2
Lechonia	2
Phauttos	2
Proerna	2
Scotoussa	2
Trikka	2
Apidia	1
Argissa	1
Dendra	1
Domeniko	1
Echinos	1
Eretria	1
Ermetsi	1
Evangelismos	1
Ftelia	1
Gardiki	1
Gomphoi	1
Goritsa	1
Ithome	1
Kaprena	1
Kedros	1
Kierion	1
Korope	1
Paliokastro (Olizon)	1
Petroporos	1
Prinos	1
Stomio	1
Vlachogianni	1
Vlochos	1
Xylades	1
Unknown	18

Table 1.3. The gods mentioned in inscribed dedications

Artemis	96	Mounogone	3
Apollo	62	Moirai	2
Zeus	48	Muses	2
Poseidon	38	Megaloi Theoi	2
Ennodia	24	Hygeia	2
Asclepius	22	Helios	2
Athena	19	Agathos Theos	2
Heracles	17	Dionysus-Demeter	2
Aphrodite	14	Isis-Sarapis-Anubis	2
Various heroes	11	Harpocrates	2
Nymphs	10	Ares	1
Dionysus	8	Demeter-Mounogone	1
Mother of Gods	6	Kore	1
Pasikrata	6	Demeter-Kore-Despotes	1
Demeter	5	Dionysus-Nymphs	1
Leukothea	5	Zeus-Ennodia	1
Hermes	5	Helios-Theoi	1
Themis	5	Sarapis-Isis-Anubis	1
Sarapis-Isis	5	Horus-Anubis	1
Dioskouroi	4	Kabiroi	1
Ge	4	Ino	1
Demeter-Kore	4	Praxidikai	1
Asclepius-Hygeia	4	Agathos Theos-Tyche	1
Theoi	4	Agathe Tyche	1
Charites	3	Zeus Meilichios-Agathe Tyche	1
Parthenos	3	Zeus-Hera	1

Table 1.4. The worshippers in inscribed dedications

Men	Women	Men-Women	Priests	Magistrates	Groups	unclear	not mentioned
128	138	9	37	8	41	35	75

As far as the worshippers are concerned, patterns can be observed in Table 1.4.

Only in a few cases is the reason for the dedication mentioned. Most commonly the reason is described only generally as ‘in fulfilment of a vow’, as is indicated by the formula ‘the so and so *εὐξάμενος/εὐξαμένην* (having vowed) to the so and so god’.⁶¹ A group of dedications, which seem to be more specific to Thessaly, describe the offering as *λύτρον* (ransom) or as *ἐλευθέρια* (freedom). Both terms might imply a closer connection to the

⁶¹ For dedications made to redeem a vow see van Straten (1981) 70–4.

divinity than the more usual *εὐξάμενος/εὐξαμένη* formula.⁶² Another group of dedications (twenty-nine) were made in favour of somebody else, usually the son and more rarely the daughter of the dedicant.⁶³ In a couple of other instances the dedication was made to beautify the sanctuary of the god, to honour somebody for his services (these dedications were made by groups), as a thanksgiving for childbirth, healing, wisdom, and in one case, a dedication to Ares, to commemorate military victory.⁶⁴ There are also a couple of inscriptions that specify that the dedication was made in accord with an oracle, after a dream, or on instruction.⁶⁵ Occasionally we can make reasonable guesses for the occasion that prompted the votive. In the case of priests' and magistrates' dedications one could assume that they were made to mark one's term in office, or the tenure of priesthood.⁶⁶ The epithet of the deity can also be informative.⁶⁷ Several of the epithets attached to Artemis, such as Eileithyia, Locheia, Eulocheia, and Geneteira, are clearly related to childbirth. Not all cases, however, are so transparent.

Looking at how the various patterns interrelate, there are significant correlations between groups of dedicants and particular deities. Almost all the dedications to Artemis were made by women,⁶⁸ while the vast majority of dedications to Poseidon and Zeus were made by men.⁶⁹ Zeus in particular tends to receive dedications either by several men together, or very often the name of the worshipper is not mentioned. Asclepius, in those cases where the name of the dedicant was mentioned, received dedications almost exclusively from men and male priests. Other gods, such as Apollo, Ennodia, Demeter, and Dionysus, received dedications by both sexes. Groups dedicated

⁶² *Λύτρον*: ID nos. 143, 169, 252, 382. For discussion about the term: Hatzopoulos (1994a) 38–9; Brulé (1997) 327–8; Graninger (2007) 159–62. *Eleutheria*: ID nos. 43, 45, 67. There are different suggestions about who might have offered the dedications described as *ἐλευθέρια*: Tziafalias (1984b) no. 94: slaves; Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1915) 171: women after childbirth; Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968) 625–8; Helly, *BE* (1988) no. 740: *hierodouloi* (sacred slaves).

⁶³ These dedications were made by both men and women and were offered to a variety of gods, such as Apollo (ID nos. 25, 34, 42, 65, 74), Artemis (ID nos. 138, 167, 173), Demeter (ID no. 227), Dioskouroi (ID nos. 253, 255), Ennodia (ID nos. 261, 263), Sarapis and Isis (ID no. 327), Nymphs (ID no. 356), Pasikrata (ID no. 369), Poseidon (ID nos. 381, 382, 383, 384, 391, 392, 393), and Zeus (ID no. 450). Note also ID no. 16 to Apollo by a man in redemption of a vow made by his mother and ID no. 379 to Poseidon by man after a vow of his father. ID nos. 143 and 170 were made to Artemis by men for their wives, while ID no. 437 was offered to Zeus by a man for his brother.

⁶⁴ ID nos. 24, 78, 109, 112, 171, 181, 351, 353, 362.

⁶⁵ ID nos. 327, 343, 348, 420.

⁶⁶ But see Wallensten (2003) 20, who notes that some magistrates' dedications might have been made by men claiming to have held office and who were no longer public servants. Also note that ID no. 109 associates the dedication with childbirth and ID no. 181 with healing.

⁶⁷ Especially the so-called functional epithets: R. Parker (2003).

⁶⁸ Of the few male dedications to Artemis three were offered in favour of women (ID nos. 138, 143, 170). Another six were offered to Artemis Stratia and Phosphoros.

⁶⁹ Of the women's dedications to Poseidon two were in favour of a man (ID nos. 382, 393), while one dedication by a woman to Zeus was offered to both him and Hera (ID no. 451).

Table 1.5. Interrelationships between gods and worshippers in inscribed dedications

God	M	F	MF	MP	FP	Mag	Group	Ms	Fs	unclear	Not mentioned
Artemis	7	64	1	1	4		5			9	5
Apollo	14	16	2	4			9	1		7	9
Zeus	12	2	1	1			6	6			21
Poseidon	21	3				1	1			5	6
Ennodia	6	12								2	4
Asclepius	8	1		8						1	4
Athena	1			1	1	3	6	2		3	2
Heracles	5			1		2	2	2		1	4
Aphrodite	4	5	2								3
Nymphs	3	2								5	
Dionysus	1	2		2	1		2				1
Mother	2	1			1					2	
Pasikrata		4	1		1						
Demeter	1	3			1						
Leukothea		5									
Themis		1				1					3

Note: M: male; F: female; MF: male and female; MP: male priest; FP: female priest; Mag: magistrate; Ms: several men together; Fs: several women together.

to a variety of gods, but some gods, such as Heracles and Athena, seem to have received mostly dedications from groups of worshippers, magistrates, and priests and fewer from individual, always male, worshippers (Table 1.5).

If we look at the chronological patterns of these monuments in combination with information about the sex of the dedicant, then it appears that female dedicants increase dramatically in number from the late fourth century onwards (Table 1.6).

Combining the chronological and topographic distribution of the evidence with the information about the gods is more problematic, not least because the patterns that emerge rely on very little evidence. In addition, there is also the question of whether it is meaningful, when tracing these chronological/topographical versus god variations, to treat each god as a unit, and not subdivide the deity into his/her particular epithets. Generally speaking most of the main gods (Aphrodite, Apollo, Athena, Ennodia, Heracles, Poseidon, and Zeus) received one or two dedications in the fifth century (see Table 1.6). Themis stands out in that the majority of dedications to her (three out of five) date to the Archaic and Classical periods. On the other hand, some gods first appear in the evidence only in the Hellenistic period. Such is the case with Isis and Sarapis, which is hardly surprising, since their cult was introduced in the area only then. But does the same hold true with the cult of the Mother of the Gods, Artemis, Asclepius, and Demeter who have similarly not furnished any dedications from before the late fourth century?

As mentioned, the distribution of the material is uneven, and this raises pressing questions about whether we can generalize and combine material and

Table 1.6. Fifth-century inscribed dedications

God	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication
Aphrodite	Apidia	M	6th/5th	B
Aphrodite	Pharsalos	M	450–430	stone
(Apollo) Aisonios	Agia (Kalamaki)	M	5th	B
(Apollo)	Atrax	<i>dauchnaphoroi</i>	end 5th	S
Apollo	Eretria	M	early 5th	B
Apollo Leschaios	Larisa(Ch)	<i>dauchnaphoroi</i>	1st ½ 5th	S
Apollo	Skiatha		5th (1st ½ 4th)	S
Apollo	Soros	F	Archaic	pillar
Apollo	Tempe		5th	
Apollo	Unknown	F	1st ½ 5th	S
Athena Agoraia	Atrax	<i>Archons</i>	5th	S
Athena	Skiatha		5th (1st ½ 4th)	S
Dionysus Karpios	Larisa		5th	S
Ennodia Astike	Larisa	F	450–425	S/B
Ennodia Strogike Patroa	Larisa	M	5th/4th	S
Harmonia	Larisa		end 5th	S
Heracles Kraterophroun	Scotoussa	M	6th/5th	B
(Hermes) Eriouneios	Pharsalos	F	mid 5th	S
Brychaleios				
Muses	Larisa	M	5th/4th	stone
Nymphs	Pharsalos	M	1st ½ 5th	on rock
Poseidon	Skiatha		5th (1st ½ 4th)	S
Poseidon	Ligaroremma		end 5th	S
Poseidon	Soros		early 5th	S
Poseidon	Vlochos	M	Archaic	B
Themis Agoraia	Atrax	<i>Tagoi</i>	5th	S
Themis Agoraia	Chorto (Magn.)		early 5th	stone
Themis	Tyrnavos	F	5th	stone
Zeus	Agia	M	(5 th –3rd)	S
Zeus Tritodios	Atrax		early 5th	B
Zeus Homoloios	Metropolis		1st ½ 5th	S

Note: M: male; F: female; B: base; S: stele.

information from one city with the other. There is evidence for local variation coexisting with overall similarities. If we look at the complete material from particular cities as a unit, then no two cities have furnished exactly similar material. If, however, we break down the evidence from each city into individual trends then parallel patterns are found in multiple cities (Table 1.7). Take, for instance, the case of Pherai.⁷⁰ Pherai has furnished a characteristic variety of votive *stelai*, which may have been undecorated and had a very simple triangular pediment.⁷¹ But several other types of votive *stelai* popular all over Thessaly are also found at Pherai. Moreover, many of the Pheraian dedications were made to Zeus, who was invoked with various unusual epithets such as

⁷⁰ Another case is that of Mikro Kaserli: Mili (2011).

⁷¹ Heinz (1998) 110.

Table 1.7. The gods in inscribed dedications from Pherai, Atrax, Gonnoi, and Larisa

God	Pherai	Atrax	Gonnoi	Larisa
Artemis	2	15	39	7
Apollo	1	4	12	8
Zeus	7	9	1	7
Poseidon	2	4	0	12
Ennodia	6	0	1	6
Asclepius	2	1	5	2
Athena	0	1	12	2
Heracles	2	2	1	1
Dioskouroi	3	0	0	1

Thaulios and Aphrios, as well as to Ennodia and the Dioskouroi (the goddess and the twin brothers, we know from literary sources and archaeological evidence, had famous sanctuaries in the city). No dedication to the Dioskouroi or to Ennodia has been found at Atrax, by contrast, the city that has otherwise furnished the most material. Ennodia's cult is, however, attested in several other Thessalian cities and a dedication to the Dioskouroi has been found at Larisa. The cult of Zeus Thaulios is also widely attested at Atrax and elsewhere in Thessaly and there is no reason to believe that his cult was more important at Pherai, even though he is more prominently represented in this class of evidence there. The picture becomes hazier if we compare Atrax, Gonnoi, and Larisa, the three cities with the largest corpora of inscribed dedications (Table 1.7). Similar types of votive *stelai* have been found in all three and there is a feeling of overall uniformity as far as the gods represented in the material are concerned. But there are some discrepancies in the numbers dedicated to each and, if one introduces into the analysis the epithets of the gods, then the picture becomes infinitely more complex.

With chronology and topography we have already moved from numbers and patterns to problems of interpretation and methodology. Why do inscribed dedications rise dramatically in number in the Hellenistic period, and why are they unevenly distributed across Thessaly? No single satisfactory answer can be given to these questions, because a number of complex factors may have been involved: a change in the levels of literacy;⁷² a change in the overall Thessalian epigraphic votive habit;⁷³ and/or a movement of craftsmen

⁷² So have argued Stoddart and Whitley (1988), who compared the epigraphic record of Etruria, Crete, and Athens. But note that in the case of Thessaly we are not dealing with graffiti on pots or sherds, but with monuments produced by specialized craftsmen, who, in all probability, should be held responsible for the engraving of the dedicatory formula. See also Day (2010) 26–84 for a discussion of the problem of whether dedicatory inscriptions were read.

⁷³ All kinds of inscriptions, not just dedicatory ones, became more popular in Thessaly. Note, however, that there are patterns concerning the distribution of different types of inscription: i.e. Gonnoi has furnished many more civic decrees than has Atrax.

from Athens to Thessaly. Issues of production could partly account for the distribution of these monuments. Proximity to marble quarries and location along a major river transport route can explain the broad pattern of distribution in the cities of north-east Thessaly and along the banks of the Peneus river.⁷⁴ Whatever one thinks of these explanations, none could account for the more intricate details of the pattern. Why has Pelinna, a city just a few kilometres distant from Atrax, and seemingly very similar to it,⁷⁵ furnished so few inscribed dedications? Why have Larisa, Gonnoi, and the small settlement at Mikro Kaserli furnished so many? Moreover, these types of explanation tell us little or nothing about the patterns concerning the dedicants or the gods. Clearly the various aspects of the phenomenon demand a closer exploration that takes into account the role and position of the various communities within the various networks of the region, as well as the particularities of Thessalian religion and society.

The details of the pattern then hint at the complex factors involved. When compared to other areas of the Greek world Thessaly appears unusually rich in the quantity of inscribed dedications found.⁷⁶ Crete, for instance, has furnished only around a hundred inscribed offerings and most of these are dated in the Late Hellenistic and Roman times and were inscribed on very different kinds of object, such as pots, tiles, and small bases for statuettes. Macedonia too, which was closely connected with Thessaly in the Hellenistic period, has furnished only a poor corpus.⁷⁷ This clear regional character of the phenomenon, as well as the complexity of its patterns, invites us to think about it in a more grounded and detailed way, and in the context of the particularities of Thessalian religion and society, rather than through appeal to generalizing narratives.

The lack of a grounded local perspective is what makes Heinz's description of the phenomenon ultimately unsatisfactory, although her discussion is phrased in social and religious terms.⁷⁸ She argues that, while in earlier periods large monuments of the *Schaftstele* type were dedicated mostly by the elite and officials to 'political' divinities, in Hellenistic times the habit of dedicating

⁷⁴ For marble quarries at Atrax, Chasambali, a locality some kilometres north-east of Larisa, and perhaps at other localities in north-east Thessaly, see Biesantz (1965) 47–51; Melfos et al. (2010). Note also that many of the *stelai* found in south Thessaly were made of local stone.

⁷⁵ 'seemingly very similar to it': both cities flourished after the Macedonian occupation of Thessaly and had, according to Tziafalias, who surveyed both, a similar layout: Tziafalias (1992a) and (1995).

⁷⁶ In quantity the Thessalian material closely rivals that found in Athens, the best-documented city of the ancient Greek world. If, however, the items classified as honorary statues and choregic monuments are included, the Athenian evidence becomes even more numerous. Keesling (2003) offers a useful review of the evidence, with a focus though on the material from the acropolis.

⁷⁷ A perusal of the material through the main epigraphic corpora, as well as that collected by Sporn (2002) in the case of Crete, gives a number of around 100 to 150 inscribed dedications from these areas, the majority of which date to the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

⁷⁸ Heinz (1998) 112–23, 156–7.

votive *stelai* seems to have opened up. Following Heinz, the *Schaftstelen* gave way to the smaller *Bildstelen*, which were mostly dedicated by women and the lower classes to deities concerned with private matters, while officials and public bodies mostly dedicated large statues set up on bases. Heinz's suggestions accord well with traditional descriptions of Hellenistic society and religion, which emphasize the more individualistic character of the society and the rise in popularity of various assisting, more easy-to-approach, 'personal' deities. There is, however, a disjunction between the Thessalian evidence of inscribed dedications and the model of change being proposed. The evidence for the rise in female dedications from the fourth century onwards is clear, but we should not be too hasty to equate the female, the private, and the non-elite. The other changes that Heinz suggests are not so clearly detectable. There is evidence for official dedications inscribed on *stelai*; many of the Hellenistic dedications were made to gods such as Poseidon and Zeus, who one would not class as private 'assisting deities', and Asclepius, the classic example of such an 'assisting deity', in fact receives mostly dedications from priests and men in what may well be an official context. If the model is to be followed, the dearth of any women's dedications to the god is puzzling.

While women dedicating to Artemis on the occasion of childbirth might appear 'normal' and in accord with 'private religion', in Crete and Macedonia inscribed dedications made by women, even to Artemis, can be counted by the handful. In Athens, too, which compares better with Thessaly in the number of inscribed dedications found, those made by women, although more plentiful, still form only a minority of the evidence.⁷⁹ Keesling has noted the dearth of female inscribed dedications from the Athenian Acropolis. But at Brauron, too, the gift par excellence to Artemis was not an inscribed sculpted monument but a garment. While women's inscribed dedications are conspicuously lacking from the acropoleis of Thessalian cities, it is noteworthy, and distinctive from Athenian votive practice, that the monuments they set up in Artemis' sanctuaries are on a par with those dedicated by men to Athena Polias.⁸⁰ These women's dedications then should perhaps be further discussed in the context of the status of Thessalian women and the importance that childbirth and marriage had in this specific society. Similarly, the male and priests' dedications to Asclepius, or male and group dedications to Athena Polias, should be discussed and explored within the broader context of these cults and the role of these groups in Thessalian society.

⁷⁹ In Athens from the fourth century onwards, when inscribed dedications outside the acropolis become more common, the number of those offered by women increases; but they are still underrepresented. See R. Parker (2011a) 241, and further bibliography in n. 46, for the opinion that women in Greece in general made fewer dedications than men, 'at least at the expensive inscribed level'.

⁸⁰ Compare for instance Helly (1973b) nos. 151 pl. xxiii and 153 pl. xxiv with nos. 162 pl. xxv and 164 pl. xxv.

To sum up, and to put the inscribed sculpted dedications in the broader context of Thessalian votives, the quantity of the evidence, in combination with the variegated quality, and presumably cost, of the monuments make it, in theory at least, possible for us to think of the 'offering of an inscribed dedication' as a popular form of religious practice, potentially shared by various elements of the Thessalian population.⁸¹ It would be wrong, however, to see the inscribed sculpted dedications just as one possible votive among many, easily replaceable by anything else. One of their distinctive qualities is that these were publicly viewed monuments and so the commemorative aspect of the dedication, the need to perpetuate the act of the dedication, is particularly stressed.⁸² Moreover, the inscribed formula, which is invariably found on these monuments, with its twin emphasis on the name of the dedicant and on that of the god (who is often specified by an epithet), express the wish to individuate both the worshipper and the deity.⁸³ By doing so, the inscription further enhances the two important and interrelated aspects of every dedication, which is to send a message to the human community and another one to the gods.⁸⁴ From this perspective these offerings advertise and commemorate the special relationship between particular individuals and the gods.

The details of the pattern indicate that there must have been customs that made it clear to the worshipper on what occasion and in what cults the setting up of an inscribed stele would be a suitable offering.⁸⁵ Rather than accepting these occasions as what might appear to us as merely 'normal' we should try to make sense of them in their particular Thessalian socio-religious domain. As must have become clear from the foregoing discussion, the Thessalian inscribed sculpted offerings cannot be used as a straightforward indicator to measure the 'popularity' of gods for different kinds of worshippers, not only because this approach privileges one source of evidence that happens to survive against others, but also because it fails to grasp the importance of the evidence itself. The offering of an inscribed gift was

⁸¹ On the basis of some of the suggestions made concerning the value of similar kinds of monument in Athens, the price range for the Thessalian inscribed monuments would be from just a few drachmae to 300 or more. The suggested prices range from 30 drachmae for a simple grave stele with a standard relief (G. J. Oliver (2000) 61, 76), or 10 drachmae for a votive relief (van Straten (1974) 184–7), to 400 drachmae for a stele of the type of Hegeso (Schmaltz (1983) 143–5). See also Comella (2002) 179ff.

⁸² For this use of dedicatory inscriptions see e.g. Day (1994) 40.

⁸³ Wallensten (2003) 17–19, 134.

⁸⁴ Note also how in some texts the act of inscribing the gift is mentioned side by side with the act of setting it up, the act of dedicating par excellence: Lazzarini (1976) no. 815; Pind. *Ol.* 3.30 and discussion by Steiner (1994) 76.

⁸⁵ Note also that the right to inscribe one's name on a votive might have been regulated by law in some cases, such as when the inscription was engraved on grand-scale architectural offerings or on offerings relating to victory in war: Aeschin. 3.183–5; [Arist.] *Oec.* 1346^b7–13; 1349^a9–13; Plut. *Per.* 14.2; Strabo 14.1.22 and the discussion by Umholtz (2002). In the case of the Thessalian evidence I am thinking more vaguely about votive habits/customs.

only one aspect of the broader practice of gift-giving to the gods, which in turn was only one of the several possible ways through which worshippers could attempt to come into contact with them. As we have seen, a non-problematized, straightforward reading of them cannot account for cases such as that of Asclepius, and will underestimate the possible significance of the seemingly normal dedications to Artemis. Their testimony has to be explored in the context of what else we know about the cult, the rest of the votive record, and the particular worshippers, as well as in the context of the practice itself.

1.4.1b. Other Dedications

From the subcategory of inscribed dedications we move to a discussion of the broader subject of Thessalian dedicatory practices. There are around forty-five sanctuaries in Thessaly and its perioikic areas that have yielded a variety of objects that could be considered as dedications.⁸⁶ The material is very unevenly distributed, a phenomenon that could be explained by appeal either to the nature of the archaeological exploration of the area, or to the phenomenon of the votive habit itself. The issue is further complicated by the fact that only a fraction of the material has been published. The votive finds of several sanctuaries are known only through summary reports and photographs. There is often no information about their date or quantity. Moreover, in the vast majority of cases, the inscribed sculpted votives discussed in the previous section, together with the known uninscribed votive reliefs, were not discovered during organized excavations, but were stray finds.

Given the state of the evidence, I present here only a brief summary of it. The earliest finds from Thessaly date to the Geometric period and come from two sanctuaries, those of Athena Itonia at Philia and of Ennodia at Pherai. Most of the finds from both sanctuaries have been published. The vast majority of them date to between the eighth and sixth century BC and consist of small bronze objects. Fibulae were the predominant kind of offering at both sanctuaries, numbered in the hundreds and thousands. There were also numerous rings, pendants of various shapes, and bronze beads, a few bronze animal figurines, and a handful of human male ones. Philia has also furnished several weapons and a few tripods, while no tripods and a smaller number of weapons have been found at Pherai. A few of the finds, fibulae and rings, reported from Neochoraki in Achaia Phthiotis are also of Geometric or Early Archaic date.

⁸⁶ More detailed discussions of some sanctuaries are found in various parts of the book and there is a detailed catalogue in Appendix 2.

During the sixth century there is votive evidence from many other Thessalian sanctuaries: from those of Athena Polias on the acropoleis of Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes, from the sanctuary of Apollo at Soros, from a sanctuary of Heracles at Latomeio, from a Mycenaean tholos tomb at Georgiko close to Metropolis in western Thessaly, and from a recently excavated sanctuary at Anavra in western Thessaly. According to reports and photographs, the finds from Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes included fibulae, rings, pendants, miniature weapons, and bronze vases and figurines, as well as a few terracotta figurines. Similar finds of Archaic date have also been reported from the sanctuary of Apollo at Soros. The finds from Georgiko were different, consisting of terracotta figurines of riders together with knives or daggers. Iron and bronze weapons and tools, bronze *phialai* and figurines, have been reported from Latomeio. A few metal objects, including jewellery items, and terracotta figurines, are reported from Anavra, but they are given a date from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. A series of sanctuaries found in various locations in the area of Pharsalos (acropolis, Ambelia, and cave on Mount Karaplas) and western Thessaly (Proerna, Karpochori) had mostly terracotta finds, the vast majority of which have been dated to the late sixth or early fifth centuries. Popular types are female protoms and standing and seated female figurines in various poses (including hydriaphoroi and kourotrophic figurines), while reclining females are rarer. The figurines of standing, seated, or reclining men are very rare, but those of male riders are more common. There are also numerous animal figurines, such as horses, pigs, and birds.

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the number of fibulae and other small bronze objects drops significantly, at least at Pherai and Philia where we have detailed reports. In these and several of the other sanctuaries mentioned already, such as those of Athena at Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes, the sanctuary at Soros, and the one at Proerna, there is the occasional dedication of items of sculpture. Further votive evidence comes from several sanctuaries revealed in the newly founded cities of Demetrias, Halos, and Phthiotic Thebes, as well as from older communities: Melitaia, Pherai, Gonnoi, Hagioi Theodoroi, and Kedros in western Thessaly. Information for all of them is very sparse. Terracottas have been found in most of them, as well as a few items of sculpture, and occasional pieces of jewellery. Some sanctuaries, usually identified as sanctuaries of Asclepius, have yielded almost exclusively items of sculpture.⁸⁷ Finally, the vast majority of votive reliefs, inscribed *stelai*, and bases date from the fourth century onward. These were mostly stray finds and attest to a great variety of cults.

Beyond the problems created by the state of the Thessalian evidence, there is the more general problem of the lack of any systematic study of Greek

⁸⁷ See Appendix 2 for the sanctuaries at Gonnoi, Phthiotic Thebes, and perhaps Hagioi Theodoroi.

dedicatory practice.⁸⁸ The topic is one that has to be approached mainly through archaeology. References to the ritual of dedication in literary sources are rare. The vast majority of the evidence consists of the gifts themselves, revealed in their thousands during excavations. Unfortunately archaeologists have not traditionally studied religion. The traditional orientation of Classical archaeology towards art history has meant that discussions of most objects focus on stylistic analysis and chronology. There are several publications of the finds of particular sanctuaries, but these are usually limited to a presentation of the various categories of evidence.⁸⁹ Remarks about possible connections between the various kinds of votives and the identity of the worshipper, the god, the cult, and the occasion of their dedication are usually circumstantial, and tend to be repeated almost mechanically: objects are divided between male and female, prestigious and 'of the common man', and are assigned set functions such as assistance in marriage, childbirth, housekeeping, warfare, and fertility.⁹⁰ There is not a single study that takes an object and traces its 'history' through references to it in the literary sources and its uses as revealed through the archaeological record.⁹¹ And there is unfortunately very little work done on the votive habit of particular regions that attempts to put it in the context of broader religious life.

Some of the most interesting work on votives develops Snodgrass' ideas on the Geometric and Archaic material.⁹² Snodgrass tried to situate the evidence of votives within the broader archaeological record of the time, exploring the possible connections between various phenomena, such as the sudden increase in the number of dedications in some sanctuaries from the late eighth century onwards, the relationship of these sanctuaries to the settlement pattern of the area, and the parallel patterns of wealth deposition in graves. He suggested that these various phenomena were somehow related to the complex socio-political changes taking place at the time, which could be summed up as 'the emergence of the polis'. The deposition of wealth in the communal sanctuary and its removal from the private grave could be seen as a way to reframe individualizing competition, as it placed the interests of various private groups at the centre of the community. In another work Snodgrass compared the Geometric and Archaic evidence with that of later periods and argued that a

⁸⁸ Rouse (1902) remains the only work that claims to be a comprehensive treatment of the topic. There is, though, a renewed interest in the topic: see Patera (2012).

⁸⁹ Compare e.g. Felsch's (2007) publication of the finds from Kalapodi, with Kilian-Dirlmeier's (2002) work on the finds from Philia. The latter is exceptional in its discussion of various issues concerning dedication.

⁹⁰ To give just some examples: for offerings of the common man see Kyrieleis (1988); for objects and set functions see Baumbach (2004); for women's offerings see further in this chapter.

⁹¹ Papalexandrou's (2005) work on tripods is a welcome move in that direction.

⁹² Snodgrass (1980) 52–4. C. Morgan (1990), (1994), and (2001); Morris (1986) and de Polignac (1996) build on and challenge some of Snodgrass' ideas.

major change took place: the development of the 'converted offering'. Converted offerings are offerings that were ready made for dedication, in opposition to the 'raw offerings' of earlier times, which were objects that were personal possessions. If the rise in the dedication of raw offerings during the Late Geometric period could be connected with the emergence of the polis, then, following Snodgrass, the change into converted offerings could be connected with the supposed demise of the polis and the rise of individualism. Buying a converted offering is economically more demanding than the giving of one's surplus possessions, and thus the development in votive habit could be seen as a sign of increased competition slowly eating through the egalitarian ideology of the polis.⁹³

The attempt to study the evidence of votives within the broader context of the archaeological record, and to explore the role of dedication in structuring human relationships, is a very positive step. Famous anthropological works have demonstrated the importance of gift-giving for the constitution of social ties and community.⁹⁴ Giving to the gods should be seen within the larger framework of the circulation of goods and symbolic objects that helped structure human relationships and define the position of the individual in the cosmos. On the negative side is the fact that any connections between objects and worshippers are again circumstantial; that the individual gods with their specific cults do not always come into the mix;⁹⁵ that theories are built by bringing together dispersed evidence from all over the Greek world and trying to fit it with an imaginary ideal Greek polis. The regional focus is necessary to understand a phenomenon which intersects with many other aspects of a society, even if this brings with it the trouble of defining the region.⁹⁶

The Thessalian evidence, one could argue, seems to conform to wider Panhellenic trends as described by Snodgrass. There is a burst of votive activity in the Late Geometric and Archaic period, dominated by small bronze objects, followed by a sharp decline in their dedication and their replacement by terracottas and items of sculpture. On the one hand there are objects that one might have acquired through a gift exchange network (tripods, clothing), through war and competition (tripods, weapons), or made oneself (clothing); on the other hand there are objects that one could buy. Phrased like this the change from 'raw' to 'converted' offerings does not seem to go hand in hand with the supposed demise of the egalitarian ethos of the Greek polis, but with the spread of the use of money and the development of a market economy. Market transactions, which became more widespread from the Archaic period

⁹³ Snodgrass (1989–90).

⁹⁴ See e.g. Mauss (1925); Godelier (1996).

⁹⁵ See e.g. C. Morgan (1994), who, in an attempt, perhaps, to filter out later evidence for the cult and the god, discusses sanctuaries only as arenas for human interaction. But C. Morgan (2003) 138–40 allows more scope for the personality of the god in her interpretation of the evidence, as does de Polignac (1996).

⁹⁶ C. Morgan's work (see n. 95) is in this respect salutary.

onwards, would have replaced to a large degree gift exchange and might thus have created the need for objects that, although bought with money, were reserved for the gods.⁹⁷

But how exactly do we understand the replacement of a bronze fibula by a marble stele? For many scholars the offering of fibulae to one of the female deities and that of a marble stele to Artemis stood for the same thing: the offering of a garment by a woman on an important occasion of her life such as marriage or childbirth. The dedication of items of clothing was indeed a common offering by women in connection with childbirth; fibulae as dress fasteners have connections with clothing; where there is available evidence it shows that they were often dedicated by women;⁹⁸ and a marble stele could commemorate, through its depiction, as in the famous relief from Echinus for instance, the offering of clothing.⁹⁹ But instead of conflating different classes of material under broad functional headings, I believe it is much more profitable to consider the differences between them. Clothing, for example, could be dedicated on a great variety of occasions.¹⁰⁰ Not everything connected with clothing carries the same associations with it: spindles and loom-weights, for instance, allude to the production; cloth dedicated on its own, without any dress fasteners, might emphasize the shedding of the clothes—the item of clothing’s characteristic ability to transform and change its bearer;¹⁰¹ as for dress fasteners, one could point out that these are the items made by men, and in several literary sources they seem to have carried ‘male associations’ and be connected with violence—a theme that came to the fore in some cults where dress fasteners were dedicated on their own.¹⁰² Marble *stelai*, finally, even if dedicated with an item of clothing, cannot be reduced to the same thing as a dress. They carry their own significance and associations that can be understood only when the broader patterns of their dedication are examined.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Seaford (2004) 66–7 also tries to trace links between votive behaviour and the invention of coinage, but in another direction. In some cases, the emphasis on the material value of these objects as the main difference between them is clearly misleading. Notice that the value of an inscribed stele was not that high (see n. 81), while Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 219 suggests that a large plate fibula with incised decoration must have cost around 150–600 drachmae. The garments that may have accompanied them might have been precious offerings, too.

⁹⁸ See discussions in Jacobsthal (1956) 96–105; Kilian-Dirlmeier (1978) 219, (2002) 219–23; C. Morgan (1990) 34; Kron (1996) 159; Philipp (1981) 19–20; Ridgway (1987) 403; C. G. Simon (1987) 198–205, 253–9, 417.

⁹⁹ Dakoronia and Gounaropoulou (1992); Morizot (2004).

¹⁰⁰ Mansfield (1985) 442ff.; Neils (2009).

¹⁰¹ For clothing dedications during life stages see Foxhall and Stears (2000).

¹⁰² The classic passage is Hdt. 5.87–8. Jacobsthal (1956) 93 collects a number of other passages where pins are used to injure and harm. See also Nilsson (1906) 416 for the pins in the sanctuary of Damia and Auxesia in Aegina as weapons in a ritual battle.

¹⁰³ See section 1.4.1a.

To reduce both fibulae and *stelai* to female offerings made on occasion of marriage and childbirth is to ignore the wider context of the cult. The fibulae at Philia were found in an ash layer together with the rest of the votives, which included numerous bronze pendants, rings, and a substantial number of weapons.¹⁰⁴ This silent parade of dresses fastened in bronze in the company of spears and shields leaves a different impression from the image of clothing neatly placed in a box or loosely hanging in front of a temple, or of a sanctuary dotted with a monotonous jumble of small votive *stelai*. One, we may argue, juxtaposes femininity with masculinity and plays with the relationship between the two, the other is a more solitary commemoration of women seen in their relationship with the goddess of childbirth. After all, we are dealing in one instance with finds from the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, the federal sanctuary of the Thessalians, and in the other with those from a provincial sanctuary of Artemis.

If one looks closely at the Thessalian evidence, then, the change 'from small metal offerings to items of sculpture' appears to be complex. In order to observe this shift in votive practice we have to combine evidence from different sanctuaries. The change becomes obvious only if we compare the evidence from Philia and Pherai with the numerous *stelai* without context addressed to a variety of gods, or, if we want to limit ourselves to finds from particular sanctuaries, with the large number of *stelai* found at the sanctuary of Artemis at Gonnoi. While the number of fibulae significantly drops both at Philia and Pherai, there are only a few items of sculpture that can be associated with the two sanctuaries. Conversely, we can only wonder whether the numerous *stelai* from the sanctuary of Artemis at Gonnoi replaced unreported fibulae and jewellery items.¹⁰⁵ If we take the evidence as it stands,¹⁰⁶ then we have to think not only in terms of a change from small metal objects to sculpture, but also in terms of differences in the cultic context of the new type of votives.

¹⁰⁴ See n. 106.

¹⁰⁵ Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 29 report as finds from the 1915 and 1916 excavations around 300 *stelai* and tens of marble statuettes and clay figurines.

¹⁰⁶ We can put forward convincing arguments that the number of late metal finds might be seriously misleading, but not so much for the number of votive *stelai* found. The early finds from Pherai seem to have been discovered in votive deposits buried during the fifth century, while later finds seem to have been stray (*PAE* (1924) 107–8; *PAE* (1926) 115; Béquignon (1937) 57, 65). The possibility that in later times metal offerings were not buried but were melted down has thus to be taken seriously. Note also a fragmentary second-century inscription, which is an inventory of bronze *phialai* offered by the priestesses of the goddess and perhaps by other officials, and which may have come from the sanctuary at Pherai (P. Chrysostomou (1998) 28 no. 2). At Philia the situation is more complex, since early and later finds came from an ash layer interpreted by some as the debris of the altar: Theocharis in *AD* 20 (1965) *Chron.* 312 associated this layer only with the Geometric and Archaic finds, but Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 230 n. 915 mentions that later finds were also uncovered there. But here too much more bronze than found was dedicated: see e.g. the shields dedicated by Pyrrhos (Paus. 1. 13. 2).

So much talk about women from the beginning might come to many as a surprise. Following a traditional classification of votive objects into male/female, men appear to be underrepresented in the evidence. We could associate with them the weapons and the few tripods and spits found at Philia, the daggers and knives found at Philia, Pherai, and Georgiko, and perhaps some of the rings and clay riders. The Thessalian peculiarity becomes clearer when the evidence is compared with that from other areas: take Corinth, for instance, where the evidence from Isthmia complements that of Perachora, or Crete where Prent argued that the 'identity' most clearly discerned in the votive record is that of the young male aristocrat.¹⁰⁷ Given what we said about the need to place the evidence for votives in the context of the relationships within a society, an explanation could be sought in social differences between these areas.

Morgan concluded that the scarcity of male dedications, and in particular of prestige male offerings, such as tripods and spits, might indicate that competitive relations among petty chiefs were not a characteristic of Thessalian society.¹⁰⁸ In later times, however, competition does seem to have been a characteristic of Thessalian society and, according to Xenophon, *megaloprepeia* was a great virtue. It is, of course, possible that some change had occurred between the Archaic period and Xenophon's time. But the dedications of the Classical and Hellenistic times, the numerous inscribed *stelai*, are not really prestige offerings either. This raises the question of whether we can follow Morgan in making general social conclusions from what amounts to only one aspect of people's involvement in cult. We could assume that the Thessalians were graced with competitive petty chiefs, just like those elsewhere, but that these chiefs preferred other forms of giving to the gods, such as by funding sacrifices, choral performances, or building temples.

There is some sparse evidence for private individuals contributing to construction works.¹⁰⁹ Some of the best poets of the time came to perform in Thessaly, often in private settings, but there might be evidence that indicates a more public celebration of private achievement.¹¹⁰ Thessalian feasts were proverbial. The sources speak both of the private parties of Thessalian aristocrats and more generally of the *hecatombs* of the Thessalians.¹¹¹ The meagre evidence we have indicates a complex relationship between public sacrifices and private generosity. It was because of his *megaloprepeia* that Polydamas, according to Xenophon, was put in charge of the public money to fund

¹⁰⁷ Isthmia and Perachora: R. Osborne (1996) 95. Crete: Prent (2005) 421.

¹⁰⁸ C. Morgan (1990) 142.

¹⁰⁹ See section 1.4.2.

¹¹⁰ Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides composed odes for Thessalians, of which three survive: Pind. *Pyth.* 10th; Bacchyl. *Od.* 14; 14b. See in general Molyneux (1992) 117–45.

¹¹¹ For private parties, see section 6.1. *Hecatombs* of the Thessalians: Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.29; Porph. *Abst.* 2.15.

sacrifices and to subsidize the public purse if need arose.¹¹² Last but not least we have to think of the numerous civic decrees, whose formulaic phrasing reveals to us not only the decision taken, but just as importantly the names of those in charge; the men who held power in Thessalian cities. Although, if we follow modern classifications, these documents fall within the secular, ancient categories might have been more blurred. The decrees of Thessalian cities were inscribed on *stelai* very similar to those used for dedication, and just like them they were set up in sanctuaries, often by their side. The mixture of commemorative, honorary, and divine elements, even if in different proportions, is still there.¹¹³

The central point that this discussion demonstrates for current purposes is that archaeologically visible dedication was only one of a much wider set of interlinked practices, some of which might even fall outside what we consider the strictly religious. Its particular manifestation was conditioned by social responses to the other methods by which the divine could be approached; viewing it in isolation from these other practices because it falls neatly within archaeology, whereas the others can only be detected through a more messy combination of disciplines, will be misleading.

1.4.2. Varieties of Religious Space

Tourists who really like Sounion had better avoid Thessaly. They would look in vain for romantically decayed temples commanding the Thessalian plains. There are a number of temple buildings, but only a few of them, including the temple of Ennodia at Pherai, of Apollo at Metropolis in west Thessaly, and of Artemis Iolkia at Demetrias, would have looked, once upon a time, like the familiar oblong peripteral structures that immediately come to mind when one thinks of Greek temples. In most other Thessalian sanctuaries a variety of buildings have been found, such as simple oval-shaped structures, rectangular buildings of different sizes which were sometimes divided into multiple rooms or which were once part of larger complexes, stoa-like buildings, and even round ones: it is not at all clear whether the word ‘temple’, in its usual sense of ‘sacred building used to house the cult statue’, should be used for all of them.¹¹⁴ All now lie in ruins, built as they were from a combination of mud brick, clay, and wood with only limited use of local stone and marble.

¹¹² Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2.

¹¹³ Relevant are R. Osborne’s (1999) remarks on the phrasing of Athenian honorary decrees and their placement in religious spaces. Crete provides another point of comparison: Chaniotis (2004) 87 notes the absence from Cretan decrees of the proposers’ names, as well as the relative scarcity of inscribed dedications.

¹¹⁴ Appendix 2 provides a list of excavated Thessalian sanctuaries. This list does not in any way exhaust the evidence. Going through the works of Stählin (1924), who wrote a most useful

But why does it matter whether a temple is peripteral or not? The peripteral Greek temple has a dominant position in modern perceptions of ancient Greece. It represents the achievement of the Greeks in the field of architecture, going hand in hand with their achievements in so many other areas. Its absence or dearth in a region can thus come to be seen as a sign of general backwardness, not only in architecture and other forms of arts, but also more generally, in fields such as politics.¹¹⁵ To be fair, such an opposition between peripteral temples and other types of temple is rarely made explicit in most scholarly works.¹¹⁶ When scholars explore the relationship between polis formation and the emergence of sanctuaries they talk in general about temples.¹¹⁷ But just as there is a widespread incipient tendency to understand the polis as a fundamentally democratic institution, reaching its culmination in fifth-century Athens, so there is an incipient tendency to treat the peripteral temple as the culmination of the Greek temple form. Thessalian cities, we read in the work of a prominent Greek historian, became true cities only from the fourth century onwards, when they finally achieved political forms approximating to democracies; and the new ideas about politics left their mark on stone, in the numerous drums and triglyphs, reminiscent of the typical Greek peripteral temples, that now decorated Thessalian cities.¹¹⁸

This is a bundle of interesting and inspiring ideas, which attempts to trace the relationship between temple-building, the crystallization of temple forms, monumentality (and aesthetics), public religion, politics, and economics. But too much has been tied in a knot and we have lost sight of where the threads begin and how they intersect.¹¹⁹ Most of the scholarship on temples focuses on questions of production (who commissioned a temple and why this particular temple) with the answers being that temples were commissioned by public

history of the topography of Thessaly, or the reports of Arvanitopoulos in the *Praktika*, one constantly stumbles upon brief notices of ancient-looking remains, foundations, and reused architectural members of triglyphs and doric columns that might have belonged to temples. And as excavations continue, the list of isolated column drums and pieces of entablature grows longer and longer. Did they come from temples, or from some other type of building?

¹¹⁵ I am referring to the popular idea first expressed by Snodgrass (1980) 33, 58–62, and developed by Mazarakis-Ainian (1997), that the formation of the polis could be described as the passage from rulers' dwellings to temples, as well as that from the grave to the sanctuary.

¹¹⁶ One exception is Spawforth (2006).

¹¹⁷ But see Snodgrass (1980) 61–2, who writes 'what finally and irrevocably set off the temple from its domestic antecedents, according to this view, was the addition of an external colonnade, and the introduction of a cult image of the deity to replace the central hearth; this final step would presumably coincide with the state's assumption of responsibility for the cult.'

¹¹⁸ Hornblower (2002) 96–8 tries to link the establishment of tyranny at Pherai during the late fifth century, the supposed spread of democratic ideas at various Thessalian cities during the late fifth century, and evidence for urbanization and modernization of Thessalian cities.

¹¹⁹ C. Morgan is currently revisiting many of these issues in relation to the Geometric and Archaic evidence: I am grateful to her for allowing me to read some of her unpublished work, presented at various venues under the title 'Why did the ancient Greeks build temples?'

bodies, that their construction signified that a particular cult was public or very popular, and that this kind of investment usually took place in sanctuaries situated in problematic areas such as borders, or in cults that dealt with problematic issues for a community.¹²⁰ These kinds of explanation might be true in some cases but not in all, and they tend to ignore the variety of different buildings usually classed as temples, as well as that the commission of a temple is usually only one stage in a building's life cycle.

The temple of Apollo recently discovered at Metropolis (Lianokokkala) in western Thessaly is a case in point.¹²¹ Dated to the sixth century and in the form of a peripteral Doric temple, this seems to be one of the earliest cult buildings in Thessaly. It has been a sensational discovery, since it serves, or so some scholars think, as a telling illustration of the fact that western Thessaly was not, after all, a backwater. But should its discovery lead us to challenge the idea that western Thessaly was backwards, rather than to challenge the principle itself, that peripteral temples and progression *tout court* are somehow related? The architecture of the temple at Lianokokkala, with influences from various parts of the Greek world, shows that this area of Thessaly was not culturally isolated, but it hardly follows from this that the area had much the same social structures as all other places where similar peripteral structures have been found. For all we know Metropolis, the city that is closer to the temple, may have been created by a synoecism of various small communities in the late fifth/early fourth century, which, if true, means that the question about who built and used this temple back in the sixth century remains open.

The 'life' of a temple can be perceived as consisting of various stages in which different people are potentially involved: those who decide that they want one, those who commission it and give permission for its construction, those who build it, those who pay for it, those who use it, those who, although they may not use it, think of it as somehow theirs, and those whose involvement in the process of making the temple is commemorated. Most discussions of ancient temples focus exclusively on the second stage, on the question of who gave permission for and commissioned the building. About this stage, in the case of Thessaly, we can say very little. Our material is more informative about the other stages, and they should not be overlooked. Moreover, recent studies have shed new light on a number of other issues concerning religious space, such as the relationship between sanctuaries and the physical and built landscape,¹²² or the relationship between particular types of building and

¹²⁰ R. Osborne (1996) 102, e.g., argues that 'the building of a temple should perhaps be considered unlikely to occur without appropriation [of a sanctuary by a community]'; de Polignac (1984); C. Morgan (2003) 155–62 for temples and problematic areas of the community, or cults that dealt with potential areas of conflict.

¹²¹ See Appendix 2.

¹²² For various approaches: de Polignac (1984); the essays in Alcock and Osborne (1994); Malkin (1996); Jameson (2004); Polinskaya (2006).

particular gods and rituals,¹²³ while other studies demonstrate the need to build more realistic and detailed pictures of how sanctuaries might have actually looked, and the effect they had on the worshipper, by paying attention not only to temples but to other sacred spots, buildings, and monuments that existed in a sanctuary.¹²⁴

All in all, these studies manage to deconstruct the idealized image of the Greek sanctuary with its peripteral temple, altar, and cult statue, which went hand in hand with an idealized image of society, and make us aware of a more complex and interesting reality. As with the other types of evidence I have discussed here, there needs to be a greater concentration on the specifics and on the detail arising from a variety of sources of information when it comes to our understanding of religious space, and individual cases will be discussed in more depth at various points in the book. In what follows I will outline some general patterns, starting with the chronological and topographical distribution of the evidence for architectural activity in sanctuaries.

The situation is confusing when it comes to chronology. Most buildings are ascribed a date to the Archaic/Early Classical period or to the late fourth century/Hellenistic period, leaving a gap in the fifth and early fourth centuries. Does this reflect an actual lull of building activity during the Classical period, or is there some problem with the current dating of archaeological remains in Thessaly?¹²⁵ No striking topographical patterns seem to come out in a close analysis of the evidence. Religious structures are found all over the area, with no significant concentration in some part of it, if we divide the area into eastern and western, or northern and southern.¹²⁶ The general topographic and chronological patterns do not change, if we include all the randomly discovered architectural members for which a date has been suggested, and which might have come from sanctuaries. Nevertheless, if we look at particular settlements, more complex patterns of architectural investment through time can be observed (Map 2).¹²⁷

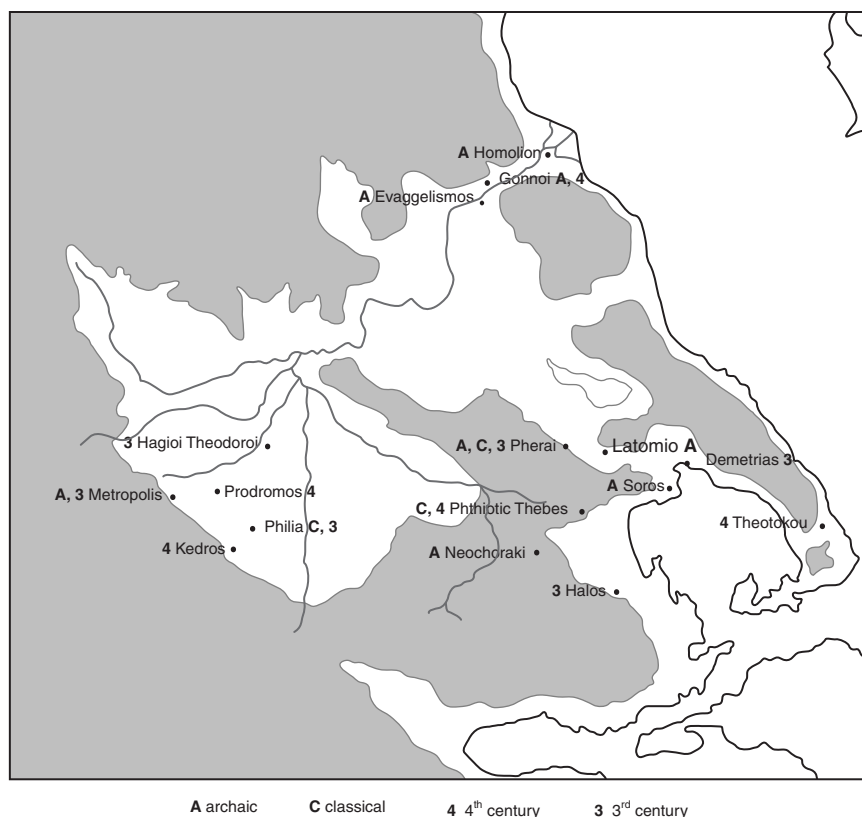
¹²³ Types of building and gods: some cases are obvious even if not systematically discussed, such as the rarity of temples for Zeus, the association of Hestia with the *prytaneion* or of Apollo with temple-building in myths (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 247 and the various myths of the early temples at Delphi, which are discussed by Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) and Detienne (1998) 31ff). Occasional references to the phenomenon of the relationship between gods and particular types of building are found in Burkert (1985) 88; Price (1999) 58; Gaifman (2012) 134, 209–10. There is also evidence for regional variation in the association between particular gods and types of building: e.g. the case of Pan, who was worshipped in temples in Arcadia but in caves elsewhere in the Greek world: Borgeaud (1979) 80; R. Parker (1996) 165. For sacred building and particular rituals see the forthcoming work of C. Morgan mentioned in n. 119.

¹²⁴ See e.g. Scott (2010); Gaifman (2012) 131–241.

¹²⁵ Note that new excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Polias at Phthiotic Thebes recognized a fifth-century phase that was missed by Arvanitopoulos: Appendix 2.

¹²⁶ C. Morgan (2003) 142 cautiously suggests that there might be a concentration of Archaic temple buildings in the eastern part of Thessaly.

¹²⁷ Some of these are discussed in Ch. 4.



Map 2. Distribution of located sanctuaries in Thessaly

Looking at the location of the various sanctuaries in the natural environment, no striking pattern emerges concerning their association with particular features of the landscape. We know of a couple of cave sanctuaries, sacred to the Nymphs and Zeus Meilichios(?), and of a couple of cults of Zeus on mountain tops, in the perioikic mountainous area of Magnesia and Achaia Phthiotis.¹²⁸ The Tempe pass at the border between Thessaly and Perrhaibia

¹²⁸ These include the cave of Nymphs on Mount Ossa, that of Zeus Meilichios at Goritsa, and the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios on Mount Pelion: see Appendix 2. A recently published second-century inscription from Hagios Georgios south of Melitaia refers to a sanctuary and chora of Zeus Othryios: Staurogiannis (2010) 590–2. Note also that according to Hes. *Theog.* 633 the stronghold of the Titans was the mountain of Othrys in the south of Thessaly. A cult of Zeus and Pan on Mount Homole is mentioned by Σ Theoc. 7.103; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀμόλη; Paus. 9.8.5–7. The cave at Achilleio also had, according to the excavator, a cult use: AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 345–7. But the finds, which include pottery, bones, tools, loomweights, lamps, a large number of tiles, and hundreds of architectural members, a strange set, do not necessarily indicate a cult use. Or at least we should perhaps assume that other kinds of human activity also took place here. Note that

was also an important landmark and home to a famous, if perhaps very simple-looking, sanctuary of Apollo.¹²⁹ With the exception of the cave sanctuary of the Nymphs on Mount Karaplas near Pharsalos, no other sanctuary in Thessaly proper stands out in the location it was set. Thessaly, after all, was a flat land with few spectacular spots, or at least few spectacular spots that would still stand out today. Nevertheless, the existence of cults for figures such as Thetis, Leukothea, Zeus Olympios, Homoloios, and Chiron, who had strong maritime and mountainous connections, shows that the world of sea and mountain was somehow evoked even in the flatness of the Thessalian plains. After all, it was believed that Thessaly was once a sea, before the Tempe pass was created.¹³⁰ Some other particular features of the landscape, such as the Dotian plain, the lake Boibe, and the rivers Peneus, Enipeus, and Titaresios, were also of some renown.¹³¹ Whatever symbolic importance these features might have had, though,¹³² we find little trace of it in the material evidence.¹³³ If something stands out of the evidence as more characteristically ‘Thessalian’ it is the prominence of springs and roads. One of the most characteristic deities of Thessaly is Ennodia, ‘the one on the road’, and

the excavators highlight as a parallel the cave of the nymphs and school of Aristotle at Mieza in Macedonia. The situation hardly compares with the prominent cultic use of caves and mountain tops in areas such as Crete or Athens, but it has to be remembered that Thessaly and its perioikic areas have been much less explored.

¹²⁹ See Appendix 2.

¹³⁰ The tradition is first attested in Hdt. 7.129. Note also the dolphins dedicated to Poseidon at Prinos in western Thessaly: *AD* 40 (1985) *Chron.* 206. Note also that Plut. *Mor.* 730d attributes to the race of Hellen (the Thessalians?) the cult of Poseidon Patrigenes (for which see section 2.5) as well as the belief that humankind originated from the element of water and that is why they revered the fish.

¹³¹ According to Hdt. 7.129 the most notable rivers of Thessaly are Peneus, Apidanos, Onochonos, Enipeus, and Pamisos.

¹³² The creation of the Thessalian rivers was in myths closely linked with the creation of the Thessalian plains, when the Tempe pass was opened and the waters that had flooded the area found exit to the sea. Moreover, in myths the rivers Peneus and Titaresios are especially connected with the Lapiths (see section 4.2). According to Hom. *Il.* 2.750–5 Titaresios was a branch of the Styx. See also Luc. 6.365ff. for the special characteristics of various Thessalian rivers, e.g. the sluggishness of Enipeus.

¹³³ Larson (2001) 211 comments on the absence of depictions of river gods on Thessalian coins in comparison with Sicily, whose coins had many similarities with, and had influenced, Thessalian ones. Only Metropolis seems to have depicted a river god on its coins: Moustaka (1983) 53, 127 no. 138. A cult of Poseidon Kouerios is attested at Kierion (*IG* IX 2 265) and the famous relief-stele from Phthiotic Thebes (*IG* IX 2 146) dedicated to Poseidon by two brothers which shows two locks of hair may also allude to Poseidon as a kouroutrophic river god (for hair-offerings see Rouse (1902) 240–5; Leitao (2003) 112–18). Note also the personal names *Ἐνίπια(ς)* and *Πενειόδουπος* attested once at Atrax (Decourt and Tziafalias (2007a) 15). Some sanctuaries such as those of Ennodia at Pherai (Alepotrypes and Makalorema) or of Athena Itonia were located close to a river, while a sanctuary of Plouto and Persephone might have existed close to the river Titaresios in northern Thessaly: Helly (2010b) 98 n. 20. Ael. *VH* 3.1 mentions regular offerings at the banks of the Peneus, but the reference might be to the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at Tempe. An Apollo Panlimnios (of all (the) lake(s)) is also attested at Gonnoi: *AD* 29 (1974) *Chron.* 571.

city-nymphs, who were often associated with springs and fountains, were a popular motif of Thessalian coins.¹³⁴ Both roads and fountains have strong connections with acts of foundation, with the first transformation of an uninhabited landscape into one of human habitation and culture.¹³⁵ We know of three Ennodia sanctuaries in Thessaly and they generally conform to general patterns of the typical Greek sanctuary with a built temple (in one case even a peripteral temple) and an altar.¹³⁶ But the nymphs, as elsewhere in the Greek world, were worshipped in more natural settings that had attracted some form of active human engagement: an inscription at the cave on Mount Karaplas, near Pharsalos, for example, records the works done by Pantalkes, while at Atrax a private individual took care of their cult, his embellishments to their sanctuary being recorded on blocks close to the river Peneus.¹³⁷ A third example may take the form of a strange monument, a poros slab bearing three heads, found in the area of Krannon, which has similarities with monuments of the nymphs in Magna Graecia.¹³⁸ Perhaps we should not just see it as simply a dedication but as a sacred monument marking a sanctuary of these goddesses.

There are other instances of sanctuaries that may or may not divert from the monumental Classical ideal but that do make use of the landscape around them. On the hill of Hagia Paraskevi at the west edge of the city of Pharsalos the rock has been worked to create small projections that might have served to support offerings.¹³⁹ An inscription on the rock at the north-east part of the hill recorded a dedication to Zeus Thaulios by a kinship group, while at the west part of the site there was an uninscribed stele of around 1 metre high, which has been interpreted as an *horos*. These finds might have appeared

¹³⁴ The cult of Zeus Tritodios attested at Atrax might also have to do with roads. For the epithet see Dubois (1987). For the Thessalian city-nymphs see Imhoof-Blumer (1908); Moustaka (1983) 47–52; Larson (2001) 163–8.

¹³⁵ For this role of fountain- and city-nymphs see Malkin (2001); Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 112–16, 265–6. For roads: Zografou (2010) 124–32, with the emphasis though on the *agya*.

¹³⁶ There are two at Pherai and one at Melitaia: see Appendix 2.

¹³⁷ Peek (1974b); AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 238 no. 11. For the location of this sanctuary see Tziafalias (1995) 73; AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 238 n. 20, who also mentions the presence of Doric columns and assumes the existence of a sumptuous sanctuary. If these architectural remains came from a temple of the nymphs, which is not necessary, this would be unique. Still, the Thessalians might have ‘invested’ more on the cults of local nymphs than other Greeks: according to Plin. *HN* 34. 68 the statue of the nymph Larisa was made by the famous sculptor Telephanes.

¹³⁸ AD 16 (1960) *Chron.* 183–4. For parallels from Magna Graecia see Larson (2001) 253–5. P. Chrysostomou (1998) 172 n. 612 argues that the monument should possibly be associated with the Charites and mentions three unpublished dedicatory *stelai* to the Charites from Krannon on which three female heads are depicted in a row. For the Charites as goddesses who also mediate between nature and culture: Pirenne-Delforge (1996).

¹³⁹ Appendix 2. But for the possibility that they were similar to the round projections interpreted as *omphaloi/popana* found at Eretria and elsewhere, see later in this section: Haagsma et al. (2011) 202.

unimportant had not Gaifman in a recent monograph drawn attention to a particular type of sanctuary, with similar forms, attested elsewhere in the Greek world, and which was usually associated with Zeus, worshipped by families and kinship groups.¹⁴⁰ The natural rock was also worked at a sanctuary at Eretria in southern Thessaly.¹⁴¹ Located close to a spring, the living rock was shaped to form small round projections, while two votive *naiskoi* were also carved into it. It is noteworthy that small altars with similar protrusions have been found in domestic contexts.¹⁴² If in these two cases carving helped to shape the natural rock and inscriptions gave it identity, at the sanctuary of Athena Polias, on the acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes, it is the fortification wall that is so treated. Inscriptions on the wall-blocks refer to gods Nike, in the nominative, or Themis, in the dative; another records a dedication to Eirene by a group of guards, while yet another, which reads *ΙΑΛΙΑΣ*, is enigmatic. The architectural formation of the hero-sanctuary at Georgiko close to Metropolis is also worth mentioning, since it seems to lack any clear parallel. The cult area was close to the dromos of a Mycenaean tholos tomb.¹⁴³ The excavator reports that the various votive finds were on top of a layer of stones, mostly river stones, which he thinks had been carried there from somewhere else. Several tiles are also reported, although it is not clear how they were used in this seemingly open-air site. Finally, a Hellenistic inscription from Larisa gives a description of an area outside the city walls close to the road that led to Krannon. A couple of sanctuaries are mentioned as landmarks but much of the document is concerned with an enumeration of *stelai* of various gods.¹⁴⁴ These could be interpreted as *horoi* of sacred properties, as dedications, or perhaps we could picture a sacred area formed by standing *stelai*, of a type that is best known from southern Italy.¹⁴⁵

I move now to the built spaces in sanctuaries. Very often we know very little about the form and cult use of the various buildings that have been excavated. In several instances the excavator notes that the building found was separated into various rooms, or several relatively small buildings were found in a sanctuary. This layout raises some questions about the nature of participation in cult: whether, for instance, worshippers were at some stage of the cult divided into smaller groups. A little more is known about the sanctuary of Apollo at Soros, which consisted of various spaces built at different stages around a main rectangular room. The main room had a centrally placed *eschara* and a wide bench running around its walls, on top of which bones

¹⁴⁰ Gaifman (2012) 131ff.

¹⁴¹ Appendix 2.

¹⁴² From houses at Pharsalos come the following: AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 271–4; AD 49 (1994) *Chron.* 335; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 376–7; AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 283 (= Decourt (1995) no. 134). For further examples from other cities see section 2.5. Another example of *naiskos* carved on rock is known from Ellinokastro in western Thessaly: AD 56–9 (2001–4) *Chron.* 581.

¹⁴³ Appendix 2.

¹⁴⁴ Helly (1970b); Salviat and Vatin (1971).

¹⁴⁵ For the *campi di stele* in southern Italy see Gaifman (2012) 185ff.

were found, indicating that feasting took place in the room. Mazarakis notes similarities with the temple of Apollo at Metropolis, which although it had the more classical form of a free-standing peripteral temple and housed a cult statue, was also furnished with a bench. Both buildings had some peculiar constructions: at Soros a groove ran under the floor of the cella to the anteroom, while at Metropolis a vessel set into the floor was found in the rear room. Both might be connected with ritual activities taking place in the temple, perhaps with a limited audience.

We should also think about the aesthetic impact that these various buildings might have had on contemporary viewers. Buildings such as the oval-shaped temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis at Gonnoi, or the rectangular temple on the acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes might have looked humble, or more accurately old-fashioned, to an Athenian visitor in the fifth or fourth century. Indeed, in both cases, when the Archaic temples were repaired in the fourth century no change was made to their original plan and a combination of local stone, mud brick, wood, and clay was still used for their construction. There is no reason to think that this was simply because of an unwillingness to invest money in communal projects. And the idea that these buildings, which today lie in ruins, might once, when all their clay and wooden pieces were in place, have looked aesthetically pleasing or religiously appropriate should not be dismissed.¹⁴⁶ It is perhaps in this respect, in opposition to the traditional, that more southern-looking buildings such as the temple of Ennodia or that of Artemis Iolkia should be viewed. The whole mix of associations and contrasts with what was deemed appropriate elsewhere might lead us to very different conclusions than that they were simply more advanced.

I come, finally, to the question of who paid for all this, or to be more precise whose role in the process was commemorated.¹⁴⁷ The evidence attests to a variety of donors. An Archaic inscription from Nevestiki in Magnesia records that the roof of a building was completed while a certain individual called Qolouros served as a judge.¹⁴⁸ The inscription was found on a hill where the acropolis of the ancient city was presumably located, and it is thus tempting to associate the works with a temple. The works on the roof are associated with

¹⁴⁶ Note that in myths Thessaly had a tradition of architects working with 'old-fashioned' materials. The first temple of Apollo at Delphi was built by the architect Pagasos, who although a Hyperborean, has a Thessalian-sounding name, and the laurel used supposedly came from Tempe (Paus. 10.5.7–13).

¹⁴⁷ Inscriptions on tiles could also be relevant: Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1910) 256, mentions tiles from Gonnoi with personal names of workshop-owners or dedicants. The material has not been published and it is not clear whether the inscription also included a dedicatory formula. Only names in the genitive are mentioned on the tiles from Pherai: see Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1998), who suggests that they are the names of workshop-owners or of magistrates.

¹⁴⁸ Arvanitopoulos (1929b) 216–20; Jeffery (1990) 97, 99; Guarducci (1967) 358; Masson (1965) 227–34, and (1968) 98–9; Morpurgo-Davies (1968) 91 n. 4; Gallavotti (1975–6) and (1979) 50; Masson (1980); *SEG* (1979) no. 548 [Pleket].

his term in office, linking, therefore, private donation with public service. Later epigraphic evidence, which commemorates private contribution to building works, does not make a connection between office-holding and dedication. Makon the son of Omphalion, who recorded his dedication to Zeus and Ennodia on a second-century architrave, was, of course, a prominent citizen of the time but the connection is not made explicit.¹⁴⁹ Two third-century dedications from Atrax record works done in the sanctuary of the Nymphs by Arneklos and Astioun and in this case private reasons, recovery from illness, are spelled out;¹⁵⁰ while two women from Triikka commemorated their dedication to Artemis on a Doric capital.¹⁵¹ Finally, a couple of inscriptions from cities in the area of Achaia Phthiotis refer to temples being built by the demos. We know that one of these was found in the countryside, which could be taken to indicate that the reason that the involvement of the demos in the process is commemorated is precisely because this was a contested area.¹⁵²

To sum up, the evidence shows that there was a great variety of sanctuaries in Thessaly, of which the peripteral temple was always only one possibility. This should not be seen as a unique Thessalian peculiarity: we have found parallels for all the types of sanctuary in other parts of the Greek world. Neither should it be seen as a direct sign of its backwardness, or its oligarchic political forms. Although cultural contacts and capital investment are related to temple-building, at the heart of the matter are also issues of how tradition and innovation and the relationship between nature and culture, or that between the land and the people, were viewed in this particular culture. And, of course, all these were dependent on perceptions of the appropriate relationship with specific gods.

1.5. AT THE LIMITS OF THE EVIDENCE: THE CASE OF HERA

Hera provides a case study that allows us to explore several of the themes that have come up in the preceding sections with a little more precision: the

¹⁴⁹ IG IX 2 578; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 55–6. A fourth-century cornice from Atrax which has the inscription]νέθεκεν on it, unfortunately, reveals little about the identity of the dedicant: AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 255.

¹⁵⁰ Peek (1974b); AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 238 no. 11. For the location and possible appearance of this sanctuary see also n. 138.

¹⁵¹ IG IX 2 303.

¹⁵² Fourth-century inscription from the area of Melitaia: 'Ανείου ἱεροῦντος ἡ πόλις τὸν σακὸν τᾶι θεῶι, for which see Woodward (1910) 159 no. 14; Peek (1973) 69. Second-century inscription from Achinos: Ἐχινάων ἡ πόλις τὸν νόον Ἀθάναι Ἰλιάδι ταμειούντος Λαγέτα τοῦ Λύσωνος, for which see AD 16 (1960) *Chron.* 163. A fifth-century inscription, which refers to the building of the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes, has unfortunately not been published yet.

significance of highly variable representation in different classes of evidence; the problem of accessing divine personalities in a regional pantheon; and the necessity of situating all this within a particular social setting.¹⁵³

The evidence concerning Hera's status in Thessaly is ambiguous, and has given rise to diametrically different interpretations: for some Hera's cult was introduced to Thessaly only at a late date and was of little, if any, importance,¹⁵⁴ while for others she was one of the oldest and most important divinities of the area.¹⁵⁵ The kinds of evidence that form the main source material for Thessalian religion, that is coins, inscribed dedications, and archaeological remains, are mostly late in date and give us very little and uncertain information about her cult in Thessaly and in the various perioikic areas.¹⁵⁶

It is hardly worrying that Hera may not have been depicted on Thessalian coins.¹⁵⁷ As one moves to examine the evidence of inscribed dedications the absence of any offerings to Hera from almost all Thessalian cities, and indeed from the rich corpora of Atrax and Gonnoi, becomes more alarming. Atrax, Gonnoi, and yet other Thessalian cities have furnished a wealth of dedications made by women on different important occasions of their lives, sometimes no doubt in connection with marriage, as is probably the case with some dedicatory inscriptions to Artemis and Demeter. One might have expected Hera to be markedly present in the evidence. Nevertheless, inscribed dedications, it was argued above, do not provide a straightforward index of the popularity of various gods in Thessaly. The offerings to Artemis and Demeter seem to have been one-time offerings, made to mark the preparations and passage to marriage.¹⁵⁸ Hera, it could be argued, stood more for the wedded life in perpetuity, not for a particular moment in it, and thus other kinds of offerings, rather than the setting up of a dedication, might have been more appropriate for her.¹⁵⁹

To be fair, she is not totally absent. There are a couple of Hellenistic inscribed dedications to her from Larisa and Demetrias.¹⁶⁰ The idea that the

¹⁵³ R. Parker (2005) 441: on Hera being in general a telling illustration of the elasticity of polytheism.

¹⁵⁴ Farnell (1896–1909) i. 179; Kern (1926) i. 195; Nilsson (1967) 427; Miller (1974) 252–5; Moustaka (1983) 41–2; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 50–1.

¹⁵⁵ E. Simon (1997).

¹⁵⁶ To these we should also add the evidence for a few theophoric names, such as Herodotos. For the possibility that there was a month called *Ἡραίων* in the late Hellenistic Magnesians calendar see Trümper (1997) 266.

¹⁵⁷ Hera has been tentatively identified with the female head decorating second-century BC issues of the Perrhaebian *koinon* and of the Thessalian city of Gomphoi, on the grounds that the portrait of the goddess would be a matching depiction to that of her husband, who was portrayed as a bearded male figure on the reverse: see Moustaka (1983) 41, 100 no. 17, pl. 8, who, however, seems sceptical of the identification in the case of Gomphoi.

¹⁵⁸ For these dedications see section 4.3.

¹⁵⁹ R. Parker (2005) 441 about Hera embodying the institution of marriage.

¹⁶⁰ *AE* (1931) 177 no. 13 (Giannopoulos): a second-century BC stela found at Larisa and made by a woman jointly to Zeus and Hera, the divine couple par excellence, may well have been made

two dedications from Larisa and Demetrias should not be dismissed as simply late and circumstantial evidence gains support from the fact that in both places there is further epigraphic evidence for Hera's cult. An inscription that is contemporary with the dedication from Larisa refers to various sanctuaries and sacred property somewhere on the outskirts of the city, and lists amongst them a sanctuary of Zeus and Hera.¹⁶¹ Intzesiloglou mentioned as a findspot for the Demetrias altar the broader area of the theatre of the city, which is approximately 400 metres south of the locality Bourboulithra, where Arvanitopoulos, excavating almost a century earlier, had noticed the existence of a peribolos wall, and had discerned on one of its blocks traces of an inscription that he restored as *Ἡρας δαμόσιος*.¹⁶² Arvanitopoulos' reading has been doubted,¹⁶³ but the new discovery from the wider area invites us to reconsider his suggestion. Furthermore, if his dating of the wall (perhaps because of its polygonal masonry), and presumably of the inscription, to the Archaic period carries any weight, then evidence for Hera's cult in Thessaly would be pushed back by four centuries.

Be that as it may, in one context Hera's absence is definite and demands further explanation. A fourth-century monument found at Pherai, persuasively reconstructed as an altar, has inscribed on one of its long sides the names of six goddesses.¹⁶⁴ It seems to have been only one-half of a larger monument consisting of two separate altars dedicated to the twelve gods (the second altar would have borne the inscribed names of six male gods). Several of the well-known Olympians are included among the six goddesses: Athena, Demeter, Aphrodite, and Hestia. Hera and Artemis, however, are omitted and in their place we find the lesser divinity Themis and the local Thessalian deity Ennodia. The monument has been regarded as emblematic of the phenomenon of local pantheons: some Panhellenic gods rise to great prominence, others are neglected, their powers often being relegated to lesser deities and local figures. According to scholarly consensus, the cult of Themis, who was one of the earlier wives of Zeus in mythology, was very important and had deep roots in Thessaly.¹⁶⁵ Themis, however, cannot have replaced Hera in Thessaly, at least not so straightforwardly and simply as a scholar such as Miller seems to

in relation to marriage. See also *IG IX 333* a first-century AD inscription found at Damasi but which is an honorary inscription from Larisa for the priestess of Hera Sebaste. Intzesiloglou (2006a) 70 n. 7 refers to an unpublished small altar found at Demetrias dedicated to the goddess.

¹⁶¹ Helly (1970b) 293; Salviat and Vatin (1971) 28.

¹⁶² Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1915) 159–60, who reports to have also found parts of *stelai*, possibly dedicatory ones. *IG IX 2 359a*, an inscription mentioning Heracles, was also found at Bourboulithra.

¹⁶³ Stählin, Meyer, and Heidner (1934) 123, 164, who also mention that the inscription is lost.

¹⁶⁴ Miller (1974).

¹⁶⁵ This scholarly consensus relies partly on the Thessalian evidence, but partly also on the preconception that Themis is a very old deity: see discussion about her cult in section 3.3.1.

imagine. Thessalian Themis does not seem to have been involved in marriage, Hera's traditional domain. Her role was mostly political.¹⁶⁶ And it seems that it was precisely thanks to her important political role that she was included among the twelve gods on the Pheraia monument.¹⁶⁷

The evidence of myths adds further depth to our analysis of the status and role of Thessalian Hera. Hera looms large in the story of Pelias, the mythical king of Iolkos. Pelias, the story went, was very disrespectful of the goddess, while he honoured mostly Poseidon, who was his father.¹⁶⁸ As is usual with similar stories, divine punishment ensued. Hera's wrath fell upon Pelias, and it was with her help that Jason won the golden fleece and returned with Medea to Iolkos, who caused the death of Pelias.¹⁶⁹ The story, it could be argued, concerns the division of *timai* between the two powerful deities, as the growing powers of one encroached on those of the other.¹⁷⁰ It is in this context of division of *timai* between Hera and Poseidon that we should place a group of inscriptions found in the wider area of Larisa and which give Poseidon two cultic epithets, Impsios and Zeuksanthios, which resonate closely with epithets attributed to Hera in her stronghold, the Argolid.¹⁷¹ Impsios is the Thessalian equivalent of Zygius (the one who yokes), and Zygia was a well-known epithet of Hera; while Zeuksanthios seems to be a combination of Antheia, another well-attested epithet of Hera, and Zeuksidia, a variation of the epithet Zygia.¹⁷²

Miller thought that the myth just puts into words the palpable reality disclosed by archaeology, inscribed dedications, and numismatics: that Hera's cult was neglected in Thessaly. But similar stories elsewhere work quite differently. They serve as aetiologies, explaining how the power of the neglected god was manifested and acknowledged, and how the god finally retrieved some of his honours. A closer reading of the fragmentary second-century inscription

¹⁶⁶ Miller (1974) 252 writes, 'Hera was unpopular in Thessaly and Themis was her local equivalent.' That the functions of the two goddesses did not overlap does not mean, however, that their relationship was uncomplicated. There is a question of whether the popularity of stories concerning Themis' amorous relationship with Zeus in Thessaly would have compromised perceptions of Hera and Zeus as the marital couple par excellence, which in turn could have impacted on the cultic role of Hera. Moreover, one should not forget that Hera was in several places an important poliadic deity. Would Themis have been free to develop as such an important political deity in Thessaly, had Hera not been shorn of this part of her powers?

¹⁶⁷ Shapiro (1989) 133–41 for variation of who could be included among the twelve gods. Long (1987) *passim* for the cult of the twelve gods and 205–6 for speculation concerning the turbulent political circumstances surrounding the setting up of the Pheraia monument; Georgoudi (1998b) for the twelve gods as an undifferentiating group symbolizing *homonoia* (concord). See also most recently Versnel (2011) 507–15.

¹⁶⁸ According to one tradition he had killed his stepmother Sidero at Hera's altar, while another tradition told how Pelias shamelessly neglected the goddess and never sacrificed to her.

¹⁶⁹ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.8; 1.9.16; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.13–14; 3.66–75; 4.241–3.

¹⁷⁰ For such stories, many of which involve Hera and Poseidon (with Poseidon, however, as a loser) see R. Parker (1987b) 198ff.; Detienne and Sissa (2000) 208–10.

¹⁷¹ Kontogiannis (1992).

¹⁷² Hesych. *ι* 645–6; *Etym. Magn.* 108.47; 409.28.

from Larisa, referred to already, reveals a landscape saturated with Hera's myths. Amongst the various sanctuaries and sacred properties listed, which include a sanctuary of Zeus and Hera, there is also a reference to the little-known hero Epaphos.¹⁷³ Epaphos was, according to mythology, the son of Io, the tortured priestess of Hera at Argos, who crossed the world haunted by the gadfly that Hera had sent to punish her, in search of a place to rest and give birth to her son. That this Argive set of myths is found here, transplanted to the northern plains in the shadows of Mount Olympus, is not surprising: after all this was once Pelasgian Argos.¹⁷⁴

We have come full circle, from Hera's exclusion from the twelve of Pherai, and her faded trace in the material evidence, to her unmistakable stamp on the mythical landscape of Thessaly. Some focus on the first to underline her supposed absence; others on the last: Hera is there, as powerful as ever, it is the evidence that falls short! But in truth, each of the different kinds of evidence allows us only a partial and distorted view of the role of the goddess in the area. Only by piecing it all together can we trace the contours of Hera's place within her Thessalian family. Thus we can explore, to a certain degree, Hera's mythic and cultic interactions with other gods: with the various divinities with whom she might have shared powers in the field of marriage, or with such figures as Themis and Poseidon.

In order to address Hera's status or, indeed, any other issue, we must approach the evidence from Thessaly, grounded in a knowledge of the wider Greek phenomena relating to the subject. It is only through comparison with other parts of the Greek world and by relating patterns in a specific region to those found elsewhere that we can make sense of the evidence from Thessaly. But from this broad view our attention must focus in on the details of the situation in Thessaly. A question such as that of Hera's role is only likely to be answered with some understanding of the *nomos* of the Thessalians, the Thessalian way of ordering the world. In understanding Hera's relationship with other marriage deities, for example, one must surely consider marriage practices, household relationships, and the status of Thessalian women. At a finer level still, a sceptic might ask whether we are entitled to speak of a 'Thessalian Hera', or of a common 'Thessalian *nomos*': it is noticeable that both myth and actual cult focus on the east of Thessaly, and most precisely at Larisa and Demetrias. What shall we make of this apparent regionalism? These questions take us from myths, cults, gods, and sanctuaries to the Thessalians, the worshippers, whose centrality I have been attempting to emphasize throughout this chapter. One has ultimately to look at them to understand where, when, and why they might have preferred to Hera's yoke those of Themis and Poseidon.

¹⁷³ Helly (1970b) 251.26, 272, 294–5; Salviat and Vatin (1971) 31–3.

¹⁷⁴ More on the cult of Epaphos and on Pelasgian Argos in section 4.2.

The next chapter puts the worshippers at centre stage. Its aim is to convey to the reader an image of Thessalian society, by asking such questions as how many rich people were there, how many poor? How much did it matter if you were a cavalry-man or a woman? What did it mean to belong to a tribe, or to be a citizen? The chapter takes a bottom-up approach by looking at the importance of various small groups and identities, their relationship to the polis, and their religious significance. In Chapter 3 the emphasis is reversed: I discuss the various 'polis cults' and their importance for different groups of worshippers. Both Chapters 2 and 3 bring together evidence from different places and create, thus, more a model of the structures of religious life in Thessaly than a 'realistic' image of any individual place at a particular time. As with every model, its interpretative potential will vary as we move through time and space, and in order to gain a more complete and satisfying picture of religion we will have to move beyond it. The aim of Chapter 4 is precisely to deconstruct this ideal image. It takes the reader on a journey through space and time. It takes a closer look at various Thessalian communities and how their religion interacted with various historical and mythical events and with the position of these communities within a particular landscape and within a network of relationships. While a distinctive 'Thessalian flavour' recognizable through largely common religious structures and religious emphases, as well as interacting histories, permeates Chapters 2 to 4, it will be in the final two chapters that the question of 'Thessalianness' and of the problem of describing difference will be directly addressed. Chapter 5 looks at how the Thessalians themselves thought about their common religion by focusing on those cults or gods that the Thessalians seem to have perceived as pan-Thessalian. It also explores how this self-perceived religion related to Thessalians' perceptions of the kind of unity Thessaly had and what its role was in the wider Greek world. Chapter 6 asks these same questions from the perspective of outsiders to Thessaly, both ancient and modern. It reviews the evidence for the stereotypes 'the Thessalians had a predilection for eschatology' and 'Thessaly was a land of magic', before posing the problem of whether a new stereotype for Thessaly and its religion can and should be constructed.

Oligarchic Constitution and Religion in the Thessalian Poleis

2.1. RELIGION, OLIGARCHIC CITIZENSHIP, AND THE *ETHNOS*

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that in order to form a picture of religious life in Thessaly one has to go beyond the evidence for cult itself. This chapter will examine the social structures of Thessaly and assess their possible impact on the religious life of the population. Any individual could belong to a variety of groups according to his or her age, sex, place of residence, wealth, profession, military role, social standing, or membership of a political community. In Athens, the best-documented city of the ancient Greek world, citizenship was the prime vehicle of religious just as of social life. It was in the context of the polis that the fabric connecting the population was woven and hierarchies were formed.¹

The primacy accorded to citizenship becomes problematic, at least theoretically, once one endeavours to study the religion of oligarchic states. In a democratic state such as Athens the ideal of citizens' political equality glossed over the differences in wealth and status that divided the Athenian population.² In the fifth century all adult male Athenians were citizens and were able to participate in both the political and religious life of the city. Oligarchic constitutions by contrast relied on and reinforced those divisions of wealth and status.³ Only part of the population, and sometimes a very small part, was entitled to full participation in political life, while a substantial part of the

¹ Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a) and (2000b); R. Parker (1996) and (2005) 9–45.

² For the ideology of Athenian citizenship and how it might have worked see e.g. Ober (1989). Note, however, that the importance and pervasiveness of the civic ideal has come under doubt even in the case of Athens: for instance Connor (1994); Christ (2006).

³ Oligarchy itself, as a form of constitution, has been little studied: the phenomenon is noted and discussed in Brock and Hodkinson (2000). Whibley (1896), and most recently Ostwald (2000), are the only comprehensive discussions of oligarchy, but both focus exclusively on literary sources, mostly Aristotle.

population might have had a very limited involvement in the affairs of the city. What does this mean for religious participation and identity? Perhaps it could lead one to assume that citizenship, membership of the polis community, would have been for many a rather unimportant notion, one identity among several. This issue is exacerbated in an oligarchic *ethnos* where one could imagine that interrelations within status groups could easily break the boundaries between poleis and become more significant than local identities. Indeed, this is pretty much how Thessaly has sometimes been imagined.

Thessalian society is not well understood. The most prominent Thessalian scholars, such as Larsen, Sordi, and Helly, have each given a very different picture of it.⁴ In general the tendency in scholarship has been to exorcize what once seemed distinctive and unique. Feudal descriptions of a backward-looking Thessaly with a small elite of very wealthy landowners living in baronial castles and often fighting with one another, no middle class, and no city life,⁵ have now been replaced by descriptions of Thessaly that stress its city-based organization, and present it as a multilayered society, with a wide distribution of wealth, stable, unified, and up-to-date, with developments taking place further south.⁶ Much of this change is warranted: the notion of 'backwardness' has to give way to more sophisticated descriptions of Thessaly's relationship to, and role in, the Greek world. The idea of a chaotic, failed state in constant stasis is also in need of re-evaluation. But simply replacing 'backward' with 'in contact with' or 'chaotic' with 'stable' does equal injustice to the evidence, and ultimately tells us little about the complexity of Thessalian society.

Cities have rightly gained a firmer footing in descriptions of early Thessalian history. The finds of archaeology oblige us to accept that large settlements have to be part of our picture of early Thessaly, while according to the Copenhagen Polis Centre at least twenty-six Thessalian settlements could be classed as poleis in the Archaic and Classical period.⁷ Epigraphic evidence that has come to light in relatively recent years indicates that in Hellenistic times at least, but significantly perhaps also back into the Classical period, there was a free peasantry of varying means and wealth, which means that the image of

⁴ Larsen (1960) and (1968) 12–26; Sordi (1958a); Helly (1995). I engage with these three scholars, because they gave comprehensive pictures of Thessalian society and the majority of today's historians who touch on Thessalian matters draw from one or the other of these works. The important contributions of earlier scholars, such as Von Gaertringen (1890); Meyer (1909); Busolt (1920) 358–61, 1478–1501; Axenidis (1947a) and (1949), will be acknowledged at individual points. Westlake (1935) is mostly concerned with military history.

⁵ Larsen (1960) and (1968).

⁶ Helly (1995). Sordi (1958a) also acknowledges the existence of cities from early on, and of broader non-aristocratic classes, the so-called cavalry class and the hoplites, but sees the latter as the main protagonists of Thessalian history.

⁷ Decourt et al. (2004). For big sites in Thessaly already in the Iron Age period see the discussion in C. Morgan (2003) 85–102.

Thessaly where all land was in the hands of a few landowners needs to be modified.⁸ A group of Hellenistic inscriptions from Larisa, for instance, seem to belong to an inventory of the landed property owned by various individuals and groups in one part of the city.⁹ The picture we get is of a landscape fragmented into properties of various sizes: some are only 2 or 3 *plethra*, while the largest reach up to 300 *plethra*.¹⁰ While we cannot be sure that the people mentioned did not own more property in other parts of the city, the small fragmented lots certainly do not fit the image of a Thessaly divided almost exclusively into large estates. While land distribution might have become more extensive in Hellenistic times, Salviat and Vatin, after an analysis of the various property sizes, have suggested that the existing situation was the outcome of long-term fragmentation, through inheritance for instance, of an initial division of land into lots of 50 and/or 100 *plethra*. This initial division, they further suggested, might date back to the fifth century or even earlier and

⁸ This had been suggested by Meyer (1909) 225–7 and taken up, with some adjustment, by Larsen (1960) 237–8. Most discussions about the problem of land distribution in Thessaly had focused on a single fragment from Aristotle's lost constitution of Thessalians, which tells us that 'after dividing the "polis" Aleuas ordained that each *kleros* should furnish 40 *hippeis* and 80 *hoplites*' (fr. 498 Rose: διελών δὲ τὴν πόλιν Ἀλόας ἔταξε κατὰ τὸν κλῆρον παρέχειν ἑκάστους ἱππέας μὲν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπλίτας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα). There are, to start with, problems with the phrasing of the fragment itself, such as the mention of Aloas, which Rose changed into Aleuas, the change of subject from *κλῆρος* to *ἑκάστους*, for which see the good discussion by Link (1991); there is also a debate about whether 'hoplites' should be changed into 'peltasts' since the fragment is mentioned in the scholia to Euripides' *Rhesus* after an entry on the *πέλτη* (see discussion in Meyer (1909) 222; Busolt (1920) 359; Axenidis (1947a) 66), and there is disagreement about whether the word 'polis' refers to Thessaly en masse or should be taken literally, as argued by Helly (1995) 163. Most importantly, there are problems concerning the historicity of the tradition concerning Aleuas' reforms. There is no doubt that by the time of Aristotle Aleuas the Red, if he was ever a historical person, had come to be considered as a founding hero, and it is very likely that the origins of a variety of disparate institutions were attributed to him. Von Gaertringen (1890) 13–16 sees the 'Aleuas reforms' as a product of Larisean fourth-century propaganda. There was certainly an interest in the figure of Aleuas at that time, as indicated by his depiction on fourth-century Larisean coins (von Gaertringen (1890) 15–16; Head (1911) 299; Wade-Gery (1924) 63–4; Herrmann (1925) 63–6; Sordi (1956); T. Martin (1983) 19; Moustaka (1983) 58–60). Aleuas as a hero: Plut. *Mor.* 492a–b (Aleuas' selection as a king by the Delphic lot oracle); Ael. *NA.* 8.11 (Aleuas is compared with Anchises). See most recently C. Morgan (2001) 30–1. Helly (1995) 118–20 seeks to escape the problem by distinguishing two Aleuases: Aleuas the hero and Aleuas the Red. Disparate institutions: Charax *FGrH* 103 F 6 refers to other traditions concerning the creation of the tetrads. Note also Link (1991) 155, who argues that, according to Aristotle's fragment (497 Rose), the tetrads were created at the time of Aleuas, not necessarily by him.

⁹ Axenidis (1950) 74–7; J. and L. Robert, *BE* 64 (1951) 167 no. 125; Salviat and Vatin (1974); Habicht (1976a); Salviat and Vatin (1983); Helly (1995) 295–6. The purpose of the documents is unclear. Scholarship is divided between those who see it as part of an inventory of all civic land (Salviat and Vatin), and those who see it as an inventory of property donated to, or expropriated by, the state for religious or other purposes (Axenidis, J. and L. Robert, Habicht). The second seems to me more likely (see Habicht's convincing arguments).

¹⁰ A medium sized plot, enough to support a hoplite and his family, is usually calculated at around 50 *plethra*: Burford Cooper (1977–8) 169. Van Wees (2007) 276 for a different calculation of the productive capacity of a plot of land of that size.

was perhaps associated with a (re)distribution of landed property. This is an intriguing suggestion allowing us to push back to the Classical period the existence of at least some medium-sized landholders, but the precise details of this event and the extent of the redistribution elude us.¹¹ In addition, archaeological evidence, the numerous inscribed and sculpted stone monuments, the vast majority of which dates to the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, as well as intensified architectural activity, betray the existence of a thriving craft population, which seems to have comprised both foreigners and local Thessalians.¹² The mid-fourth century may appear as a watershed. But, as we noted in the previous chapter, the increase in the production of stone monuments came hand in hand with a decrease in the number of other kinds of items. The numerous Geometric and Archaic bronze objects found during excavations at the sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at west Thessaly and of Ennodia at Pherai are signs of a prosperous bronze-working industry, while the preponderance of pins and fibulae among them may allude to a more specialized cloth production.¹³

Be that as it may, rich landowners certainly existed; individuals such as Antiochos, Scopas, or Menon owned vast estates of land and countless serfs, and, although firmly rooted in cities, were still able at times to act on their own with no apparent constraints either from the city or the *ethnos*.¹⁴ There is also evidence that illustrious families were linked by intermarriages and *xenia* relationships that cross-cut the bounds of individual cities,¹⁵ although there

¹¹ Salviat's and Vatin's suggestion that the redistribution took place at the end of the fifth century and was connected with the extension of citizenship attested at that time is plausible if unproved. I cannot, however, agree with Helly's suggestion that all civic land, and not just the area inventoried, was divided at the time of Aleuas into lots of 50 and 100 *plethra* and was distributed to the hoplites and *hippeis* respectively.

¹² Biesantz (1965) 160–6.

¹³ We ignore, however, the details about the production and circulation of these objects. Evidence for an Archaic bronzesmith's workshop has been found at Pherai: Dougeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) 78. Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 207–11 discusses the evidence for workshops in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia. Recent excavations at the village of Orphana in southwest Thessaly, which was perhaps a rural ancient settlement (sixth to fourth century), have revealed some circular structures and other finds, which seem to indicate some kind of production: AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 245–8; AD 49 (1994) *Chron.* 334; Rontiri (1999). Note also that according to Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6. 1. 4–5, the fortune of Jason's mother came from cloth-making.

¹⁴ Dem. 13. 23 and 23. 199 refer to Menon coming with his own 200 (or 300) *penestai* to assist the Athenians. These passages are of pivotal importance for the existence of the so-called 'private armies' and their relation to the state. Helly (1995) 186 tries, unconvincingly, I think, to explain them away. He also denies (p. 315ff.) the existence of large aristocratic landed property altogether. Somewhat confusingly, however, he maintains that there was an elite of wealth, but he insists that its wealth was not based on land ownership. But see Ducat's (1997) 184–7 criticisms. See also Gabrielsen (2007) for some thoughts on types of state that are capable of accommodating the 'private *opérateur*'.

¹⁵ See the various reconstructions of the stemmata of some of the best-known Thessalian families: Buttmann (1829); von Gaertringen (1890) 3–6; Morrison (1942) 59–61; Sordi (1958a) 61–84; Molyneux (1992) 118–29; Helly (1995) 101–24.

is no hard evidence for a formal hereditary pan-Thessalian nobility that restricted the right to rule at the level of the *ethnos* to only a few families.¹⁶ A fourth-century document, which records the bestowal of *proxenia* on the Chalkidean Euergetes during the period of office as *prostatai* of the groups Sorsikidai and Kotilidai, is important in that it shows gentilician groups having political functions at the level of the *ethnos*.¹⁷ But this is in many respects a unique document and one can doubt that it is an actual federal decree. It is the only evidence we have showing gentilician groups active on a federal level. Moreover, this is the only piece of evidence prior to the second-century reorganization of the *koinon* which shows the *koinon* acting in matters other than war; and the office of *prostates* at a federal level is also attested for the first time in Thessaly in this document.¹⁸ With so many 'firsts', but also with many uncertainties concerning its exact date and findspot, it is hardly possible to place the document within a meaningful context.¹⁹ The decree is generally dated to the fourth century, but one would wish for much more precision. The Thessalian *ethnos* during the fourth century underwent many changes of fate: from the strife between the Aleuads and Lykophron, to the ascendancy of Jason to the federal *tagia*, his sudden death and the violent rule of his descendants that split Thessaly into different camps, leading to Pelopidas' intervention and his, many believe, reorganization of the *koinon* and finally to the takeover by Philip, who also brought changes to the federal structure. Who of all these are the Thessalians who voted the decree? Its place of origin is equally elusive. If the inscription was indeed found at the temple of Ennodia at Pherai, as has been suggested,²⁰ then we are left to wonder: are the Sorsikidai and Kotilidai representatives of the Thessalian *ethnos* at large, or merely the representatives of the Pheraean state and its tyrants, only claiming

¹⁶ Arnheim (1977) 58 argues that the position of the federal *tagia* (and perhaps other offices) was held only by members of the Aleuads, Scopads, and Echekratids. A perusal through the various lists of supposed *tagoi* concocted by various scholars shows how flimsy our evidence is: Meyer (1909) 249; Axenidis (1947a) 90; Robertson (1976) 105–8; Carlier (1984) 412–17; Helly (1995) 39–68. Sordi (1958a) 320–3 and 333 has ingeniously suggested, but hardly proved, that the twenty-nine names listed in a fourth- or third-century Larisean inscription (*IG IX 2 524*) headed by the two letters *IIE* was a list of those *gene* who could participate in the federal 'council', and who were accordingly called 'Thessalians'—the letters *IIE* standing for Petthaloi.

¹⁷ First published by Peek (1934) 57. For the full text see appendix 3.

¹⁸ In Hellenistic civic decrees the *tagoi* who presided over the assembly are sometimes called *prostataeutes*: Axenidis (1949) 106; Helly (1973a) 139.

¹⁹ Peek (1934) 57 called the groups *patrai*, a term that has not been attested so far in Thessaly, and compared their role to that of the prytanizing tribes of the Athenian *boule*. Sordi (1958a) 333–4 called them *patrai* or phratries, and argued that they were aristocratic groups and that those who hold the *prostasia* formed a council that acted as a *probouleutic* body and was composed by 'the eldest' of the Thessalians, mentioned in Plut. *Pel.* 33.4. She was followed by Hatzopoulos (1996) 324.

²⁰ Graninger (2009) 122–4.

to be acting in the name of all Thessalians? In the latter case the various peculiar features of the document would make better sense.

One potential status group, cross-cutting the various cities, that we do find mentioned at an *ethnos* level are those termed *hippeis* and *hippotai*. A fourth-century inscription mentions the group of the *hippeis* as partakers of the oath in a treaty signed between Athens and Thessaly.²¹ Another group called *hippotai* from various Thessalian cities is known from an unpublished inscription from Scotoussa, while in a third-century, again unpublished, inscription the word *hippotia* is used to describe plots of land—presumably plots large enough to provide for the breeding of horses—put on sale by the city of Larisa.²² These terms indicate the existence of pan-Thessalian but at the same time city-based groups, who had a common economic base and an important military role. We cannot simply see this group as everyone who fought on a horse.²³ It must indicate some more restricted elite identity, even though one restricted to those fighting on horseback.²⁴ But how significant was this group and what was its role? Without wanting to diminish the importance of the mention of *hippeis* in the treaty with Athens,²⁵ there is no hard evidence showing the *hippeis* and *hippotai* acting in any context other than a military one. The only possible exception is a fourth-century dedicatory inscription from Atrax which bears on the upper part the fragmented inscription οἱ Ἱπποτά[...]. It is not clear, however, whether we should restore the word as *hippotai*, or as Hippotadai, making them some kind of local kinship group.²⁶

We lack hard evidence showing kinship or other economic/military groups having a pronounced existence in the epigraphic record at a level above that of the polis. Some would, nevertheless, argue that status groups shared a common culture and therefore had common aims and political aspirations.²⁷

²¹ IG II² 116, 175.

²² Both are unpublished and mentioned in Tziafalias (2000a) 87 no. 5, who argues that the *hippotai* were breeders of horses, giving to the word solely an agricultural meaning. But why breeders of horses are listed by the city in this inscription is hard to gauge. We could at least entertain the possibility that the *hippotai* also had a military role. Could we see the inscription as a casualty list? Until its publication we can only speculate.

²³ Dem. 13. 23 and Dem. 23. 199 are important in showing that even *penestai* could ride to war.

²⁴ Larsen (1968) 24; Hornblower (2002) 97; Rhodes and Osborne (2003) 223.

²⁵ Note that the inclusion of the Athenian *hippeis* is exceptional and perhaps significant; they are included only in two other Athenian treaties, with Akarnania and Eretria, and it has been suggested that this might be related to the importance of the group in the country of the partner: Lonis (1980) 278 n. 125; Knoepfler (1985) 252–9.

²⁶ Tziafalias (1984b) 200 no. 37 identifies them as a phratry/family and suggests that it was a dedication to Poseidon.

²⁷ This vision of Thessalian society has been propagated mostly by Sordi (1958a). In general, while there was in ancient Greece, broadly speaking at least, a correlation between economic, military, and political organization (Detienne (1968) 134–42; Cartledge (2001)), this does not

Sources often speak about the extravagant lifestyle of Thessalian noblemen, characterized by extremely heavy drinking and eating, a passion for horses, and all other kinds of indulgence. But this lifestyle is described to us as the general Thessalian ideal of how one should spend one's life; an ideal shared even by the lowest of the low.²⁸ Any attempt to turn the history of Classical Thessaly into a coherent narrative structured by the opposition between a politically empowered narrow elite and the supposedly politically disengaged groups of the cavalry, hoplites, and *penestai* has to invoke much more than the sources actually reveal to us.²⁹

The search for regional groups cutting across the polis is related to the tendency to take a top-down approach to Thessalian history, taking the *ethnos* as a prime political unit, imagined either as the old tribal state and/or as the single-handed creation of an ingenious statesman.³⁰ Most scholars who have reconstructed Thessalian society have started from the idea that there must have been an initial order. This has been imagined differently starting either from the *ethnos* or from the polis. Things that do not fit this order are often either explained as arising from gradual entropy or just denied.³¹ But a whole multitude of phenomena can be shown to have existed in Thessaly: poleis that were vital arenas of social interaction, aristocratic families forging links across polis boundaries, powerful independent individuals who were unconstrained by polis or *ethnos*, militaristic groups with a unified identity at the *ethnos* level, small powerful *gene* operating within poleis, and perhaps a multitude of others such as whole communities of serfs. No model of Thessaly that currently exists accounts for all these phenomena without resorting to the trope of stasis, of the 'failed state'. A bottom-up approach, which allows the various attested phenomena equal weight in the analysis, might be a better way to understand Thessalian society.

mean that the various military groups were cohesive, homogenous social groups: van Wees (2002) and (2007).

²⁸ See section 5.4 for a discussion about whether particular groups were connected with particular cults, and section 6.1 for the stereotype of the Thessalian nobleman.

²⁹ Larsen (1960) 240–2; Gehrke (1985) 186–94; Rechenauer (1993).

³⁰ The twofold idea that the first and most important event of early Thessalian history was the 'invasion of the Thessalians', imagined as a coherent group with its own institutions, followed by a reorganization of the *ethnos* by Aleuas the Red, is basically accepted by Larsen, Sordi, and Helly, even if they disagree on several details.

³¹ A characteristic example of this tendency is the role of the cities, which were viewed for a long time either as foreign bodies acting against the unity of the *ethnos*: Larsen (1960) esp. 240ff.; Larsen (1968) 20–6; or as nodes in a network of forces that worked beyond them: Sordi (1958a) and (1992). Another example concerns the periods of *atagia*, which have been interpreted as the outcome of the development of cities: Larsen (1968) 14, 26. See also T. Martin (1985) 79–80 and Hatzopoulos (1994b) 251–2, who argue that Thessaly was a monarchically organized state that failed to attain its 'ideal'. Helly (1995) takes a bottom-up approach, making the city and the *kleros* the basic social units of Thessaly, but also postulates that there was an initial pan-Thessalian 'order' put in place by Aleuas the Red.

The very uneven nature of the evidence means that there are some issues relating to Thessalian society that we can explore in more depth than others. But each of these narrower case studies opens important windows onto the broader picture. One that is of particular importance to the question of religious participation is the nature of the smallest potential worshipping groups above the *oikos*, the *gene*, phratries, and *phylai*. Each of these played an important role in the articulation of religious life in Athens, but how were they made up, and how did they interrelate in the oligarchic Thessaly? Just as important is the question of the nature of citizenship in Thessalian cities. Who was considered a citizen and why? And what about women? The ways in which the roles that half the population played differed from and intersected with the other half are vital to our understanding of the whole. The answers to these questions serve as the foundation for the study of how religion functioned in an oligarchy. Finally, by studying the articulation of cult through kinship groups we can access some of the complexities of religious participation in Thessaly.

2.2. THE *GENE* AND PHRATRIES VERSUS *PHYLAI* CONTROVERSY

Several inscriptions dating from the fourth century onwards mention groups called phratries, *gene*, *syngeneiai*, and *phylai*.³² About phratries, other than asserting their existence, we can say nothing with certainty.³³ *Phylai* are known to us mostly through honorary decrees, the earliest of which dates to the late fourth century. They have been attested in ten cities: Argissa, Atrax, Krannon, Larisa, Mopsion, Pelinna, Pharsalos, Phauttos, Scotoussa, and perhaps at Metropolis.³⁴ These decrees prescribe that the honoured individual, who is

³² A few more inscriptions, some of them dating back to the Classical or even the Archaic period, refer to various groups but we can hardly tell what kind of group they were: see Appendix 3.

³³ A Hellenistic inventory of landed properties from Larisa lists among other types of property *φρατρικὰ πέλεθρα* (Habicht (1976a) 161 l.3). An inscription of unknown exact provenance, which is an inventory of lands bought by the city, also includes the property of a phratry: Arvanitopoulos (1911) 132–9 no. 36 attributed it to Homolion, but in *AE* (1913) 27 said it came from Gonnoi; Helly (1995) 319–20 associated it with the Macedonian city Herakleion. But phratries are up to now, at least to my knowledge, unattested in Macedonia—the existence of *patrai* at Thasos might have been connected to the fact that it was a Parian colony: see in general N. Jones (1987) 265–70. Habicht (2010) brings onomastic evidence to support its association with Thessaly.

³⁴ Argissa: Helly (1979b) 246–8 (first half of the second century). Atrax: Helly (1983a) 157–61 publishes three decrees of the third and second centuries. Krannon: *IG IX 2* 458, 459 (third century). Larisa: *IG IX 2* 513 (third century); *IG IX 2* 517 (third century); Gallis (1977) 33–42 (third century); Metropolis: Habicht (1970) 139–47 (200 bc). But for the problem of *phylai* at Metropolis see the discussion later in the chapter. Mopsion: García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias

awarded in all but one case with citizenship,³⁵ should enrol in a *phyle* of his choice (selection by lottery is mentioned once in a decree from Mopsion) and very often mention the name of the *phyle* chosen.³⁶ The association of awarded citizenship with *phyle* membership makes clear that these were citizen groups, but it should be noted that not all citizenship awards include the provision about enrolment in a *phyle*. This would indicate that, contrary to what was the case in Athens, not all citizens of a Thessalian polis were necessarily members of a *phyle*. Were those enrolled in *phylai* full citizens, while those who were not were excluded from office? The evidence of a unique inscription from Krannon which bestows on a woman from the area of Aitolia not only *politeia*, which would be rather exceptional on its own, but also the right to enrol in a *phyle* of the city, runs against any such idea.³⁷ This should indicate that *phyle* membership was not coterminous with full political rights. Indeed two inscriptions from Mopsion mention that the new member should persuade the *phyle* to give the right of *isotimia* (for which see next section), which seems to indicate that not all members of the *phyle* were in all respects equal.³⁸ Nevertheless, even if *phyle* membership was not coterminous with full political rights, it might have been a necessary precondition for them.

An important yet unpublished Late Hellenistic inscription from Atrax gives us further significant information about *phylai* and their relationship to groups called *gene*. Our knowledge of this unique document relies on its brief presentation (no text is provided) by Darmezín in a recently published volume

(2007) 67 no. 4, 68 nos. 5 and 6, 69 no. 7, and 70 no. 8 (end of third to mid-second century). Pelinna: Tziafalias (1992) 116–7. Pharsalos: Missailidou-Despotidou (1980) 226–7 = Decourt (1995) no. 53 (first half of the third century). Phauntos: *IG IX 2 489* (third century). Scotoussa: *AD 43* (1988) *Chron.* 282 (end of fourth to beginning of third century). Darmezín and Tziafalias (2007) 28 mention *phylai* at Demetrias, but I have never seen this referred to anywhere else. See also Tziafalias and Lucas (2012) 487 l. 7 who restore the word *phyle* in a fragmentary inscription from Perrhaibian Doliche.

³⁵ ‘but one case’: García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 70 no. 8. I am considering here those examples where the first lines of the decree are not missing.

³⁶ The following names are attested: Atrax: Hageimoundai, Athanaidai, Aurogioundai, Bouleparidai, Damoundai, Eumenidai, Konthidai, Hodaïdai, Orovidai, Phyl(i)oundai, Rinyoundai and Thameioi. Krannon: Agelaoi. Larisa: Boates and Thameioi. Metropolis and/or Krannon: Onthyreis. Mopsion: Lykidai and Chou[...]. Scotoussa: Oilykidai.

³⁷ *IG IX 2 458*. Marek (1984) 295 believes she was a travelling artist, as the Aristodama from Smyrna who received *proxenia* at Lamia (*IG IX 2 62*); for whom see also Rutherford (2009a). Citizenship awards to women are also known from Epirus (see Davies (2000) 246 D1–2, 256 with previous bibliography) and from Aitolia (*IG IX 1² 1:9*, a decree of the Aitolian *koinon* bestowing citizenship on a woman from Arcadia). Davies (2000) (see also Vatin (1984) 65) connects the citizenship awards to women with the requirement for bilateral citizen descent. Be that as it may, is it a coincidence that all known relevant decrees come from north-western Greece, where the status of women seems to have been different than elsewhere in the Greek world? In general see Cabanes (1976) 407–13.

³⁸ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 69 no. 7, 70 no. 8, 88–9. For a parallel from Thasos (the new citizens are invited to enrol in the *patre* they will persuade) see Pouilloux (1954) 396, with discussion about whether ‘persuasion’ in this case meant payment.

on Greek onomastics.³⁹ We learn from her that the decree records the decision of a panel of judges, seven in number (but the top of the inscription is missing), to expel the *genos* of Kelendai from the community. The reasons for these sanctions, she further informs us, was the behaviour of one of the *genos*-members, Promatheus, who is also in the future to be excluded from the cults common to the Kelendai and the *phyle* of Bouleparidai. The decision is taken in front of twelve witnesses (*xenodokoi*), each one coming from a different *phyle*: presumably we have here representatives of all the *phylai* of Atrax.⁴⁰ Until the inscription is published, little can be said with certainty, but we cannot avoid venturing some thoughts on it.

In her brief summary of the content of the inscription Darmezine does not mention whether there is any information about the kind of community that Promatheus and his *genos* were expelled from. In the oral presentation of the paper, however, she had mentioned that the *genos* was expelled from the college of judges. If that were true then, given the possibility that the office of judge was one that was most likely to be restricted to a limited group of people in an oligarchy, it would be more likely than not that *gene*, or some *gene* at least, were exclusive groups with important political privileges and not simply administrative units to which all the citizen population belonged. The other sanction concerned only Promatheus: he was excluded from the common cults of the *genos* and the *phyle*, which could be taken to amount to Promatheus' being excluded from the *phyle*. The sanctions are not said to come from the city but from the college of judges. It seems plausible that the judges who took the decision came from different *gene*, in which case we could say that the decision, even if taken on the level of *gene*, was representing the city, but this is not clearly stated. That the decision, however, concerned the city is reinforced by the fact that the twelve guarantors of the decision represented all the *phylai* of the city. We should also note that while Promatheus was excluded from the cults of the *phyle*, the *genos* as a whole was not excluded from them. Furthermore, nothing is said about Promatheus being excluded from his *genos*. This seems to have been a decision for the *genos* itself. Most importantly while Promatheus is excluded from 'the common cults of the *genos* and the *phyle*', nothing is said about him being excluded from the other cults or affairs of the city. The impression we get is that Promatheus could well have continued to be a member of his *genos* and to live in the city.

It seems then that the *gene* were subgroups of the *phylai* and that they, or some of them at least, were vested with important privileges, such as access to the office of judge.⁴¹ *Gene*, *phylai*, and polis seem to have been interrelated

³⁹ Darmezine and Tziafalias (2007).

⁴⁰ Helly (1995) 173 n. 23 believes that this number was canonical for all Thessalian cities.

⁴¹ We do not know whether the officials of the *phylai* were appointed by the *genos*, or the *gene*, or the *phyle*. We do not know how they were called and we can also only speculate about

groups, but each seems to have its own separate existence. The polis could regulate the *gene*, but only partly. It had a say in the affairs of the *phyle*—the latter are clearly not under the complete control of the *gene* to which they are related—but the *phyle* is not simply a miniature city. It seems that it could have been considered in some respects as a separate entity with its own members and its own problems, a conclusion that fits with the evidence we saw earlier about the *phylai* being unequal groups to which not everybody belonged, and those who did belong in them were not all equal.

Could one be a member of a *phyle*, or a *genos*, but not a *polites*? Clearly when it comes to *phylai* the answer to this question must be ‘no’, as shown by the numerous decrees that link citizenship and *phyle* membership. But I have phrased the question in this extreme form in order to highlight the need to explore and understand further the independent character of the *phylai* (and of *gene*). Relevant is the question of the nature of these groups: if we were to see the *phylai* as artificial creations, similar to those created by Kleisthenes in Athens, which brought together and mixed members of other pre-existing groups, then we should hesitate to imagine them as independent hubs of activity. But if the *phylai* were, as some believe, administrative units that facilitated the incorporation of various villages in the city, more or less like demes, then the question of the degree to which they could lead an independent life and preserve their own traditions becomes more pressing.⁴² Our strongest positive evidence for communities being integrated into the polis as *phylai* might be that of the *polichne* of Onthyrion, which some believe became a *phyle* of the city of Metropolis.⁴³ Another case to consider is that of the tribe of Thamieioi, known both at Atrax and Larisa, whose name connects it with the city called Thamiia in west Thessaly. What were the links between the members of the tribes of Thamieioi at Atrax and Larisa and the city in the west? Should we think of them in terms of some vague mythological connections, or should we see the Thamieioi as refugees settled in their own

their duties. Our interpretation of the ‘Basaidai document’ is crucial for these issues. See also the *konthinarchontes* mentioned in a third-century dedication from Atrax, who might have been officials of the tribe Konthidai: *AE* (1932) 17 no. 1; but Blümel (1982) 158 and Helly (1995) 264 n. 149 suggest that the *konthinarchontes* were in charge of some kind of military group, since *konthos* means ‘lance’.

⁴² Demes in Thessaly are attested only for Demetrias, but even that is disputed: see section 4.3. Demarchs are mentioned in an unpublished inscription mentioned by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 28–32, which, although commonly attributed to Pherai, is of unknown exact provenance. The Demarchos mentioned in Tziafalias (1995) 77 might be a personal name. *Komai* are epigraphically attested at Larisa and Atrax (Kontogiannis (1992) 385 no. 3; Tziafalias (1984a) 178 no. 1). Arist. *Poet.* 1448^a35–7 mentions that in the Peloponnese the word *kome* is used instead of *demos*. See Charneux (1984) and Hatzopoulos (1993) for the use of the word *kome* in a technical sense at Argos and Macedonia respectively. But there is no evidence that the word was used like that in Thessaly. Perhaps the Thessalian *komai* were more like the Athenian ones: Lauter (1993) 136–7; R. Parker (1996) 328ff. In general see also Hansen (1995).

⁴³ See later in this section.

communities,⁴⁴ who had been incorporated, or perhaps only partly incorporated, in the new city?

Another very important inscription which has been at the heart of the debate concerning the relationship of kinship groups to the polis comes from western Thessaly. The document, which dates to the second half of the third century and was found on the slopes of a low hill at the village Paliokastro, 1 kilometre north of the city of Metropolis, reveals to us the existence of groups called *syngeneiai*. Up until recently it was argued that the document recorded the decision of a group, either the Basaidai, or a subgroup of the Basaidai, not to allow anybody who does not belong to the four *gene*, to share the *isotimia* and the office of the *taga*. According to a recent reading of the inscription, which convincingly solves the various problems in syntax left open by previous readings, the document records the agreement of two groups (the Basaidai and the four *gene*) to share from now on the *taga* 'too'; it further stipulates that only those who belong to the *syngeneia* should share the *isotimia* and the office of *taga*.⁴⁵ The names of fifteen *syngeneis* are then mentioned, and the two priests of Apollo (?) Hekatombios, one possibly at Metropolis and the other at Ttylichnai, are designated as guarantors of the decision. The text runs as follows:

Θιὸς. Τύχαν Ἀγαθάν
 Συνθείκα Βασαίδουν τείς εἴντεσσι τοῦν πε-
 τταροῦν γενίουν καὶ τᾶς ταγᾶς κοινανείν-
 ουν τὲν πάντα χρόνεν καὶ αὐτεῖς καὶ τᾷ γε-
 νιᾷ τᾷ ἐς τύτουν γινυμέναι. μὰ μὰ ἔστου πο-
 δέξαστα πὸτ τὰν ἰσοτιμίαν μαδέμνα μα-
 δὲ ταγὰν δοῖν ἔξου τᾶς συγγενείας. αἱ μὰ
 κά τις ἐν τύτεις μὰ ἐμ[μ]έναι, ἀπόλαος ἔστου
 [ἀ]τ τᾶς συγγενείας καὶ τάλαντεν ἀργύρ-
 [ρου] ὀφλέτου [τ]εῖς συγγενέσι. ὀνύματα τοῦν
 [συγγ]ενίουν : Κλίανδρες Επικρατίδαις : Επι-
 [κρατί]δας Κλιάνδρου : Ψίλαθ[χος ἀρχου]
 ἀρχος Ψιλαύχου : Θειρόμ[αχος-ca.8—]
 -ca. 5- υσαννίας Μένουνες : Μέ[νονν-υσαν]-
 [νίαις : Π]υρρίδας Πεσσιαίου : Ἀντίλ[οχος-ca.4]
 [ca.5- : Π]ε[δ]δίδαις Περράνδρου : Σπο[ύραγος Ἀσ]-

⁴⁴ For the history of the area, which was greatly affected by the wars between Aitolians, Athamanians, Macedonians, and Romans in the late third/early second century see Helly (1991b) and (2009).

⁴⁵ The problem with the first lines of the inscription laid on how one understood the word *κοινανείντων*, which most scholars took to be a genitive plural participle: Bresson and Debord (1985) 200; Gschnitzer (1981) 66–7; Helly (1970a) 175; Moretti (1976) 65–9; Pleket, *SEG* 36 (1986) no. 548 commenting on Bresson and Debord; Davies (1996) 648. R. Parker (2010) revives and reinforces an old suggestion by Morpurgo Davies, and argues that it should be read as third person imperative.

[τολάου : Ἀ]στόλαος Σπουράγον : Κρε[ικोट-ca.3-]
 [Παρμονί]δαις : Παρμονίδας Κρεικोट-ca.8—
 [ca.5- Ἀς]τοκράτειες : ξενδόκοι τύτο[υν παρ τέν]
 [Ἀπλουνα] Ἑκατόμβιεν : ὁ λείτορας ὁ ἐν [Ματρο]-
 [πόλει : ὁ λείτ]ορας ὁ ἐπὶ Ττυλίχνας.

God; Good Fortune.

Agreement of the Basaidai with the members of the four families. Let them share in the *taga* too, for ever with them, both with them themselves and with their offspring. But that it is not possible to them to accept anybody in the equality of rights and that they do not give the *taga* outside the *syngeneia*.⁴⁶ If somebody does not abide by these prescriptions that he is banned from the *syngeneia* and that he pays a talent of silver to the *syngeneis*. Names of the *syngeneis*: Kleandros son of Epikratidas, Epikratidas son of Kleandros, Psilauchos son of . . . archos, . . . archos son of Psilauchos; Theiromachos son of . . . , . . . usanias son of Menon, Menon son of . . . usanias, Pyrrhidas son of Peddiaios, Antilochos son of . . . , Peddiaios son of Perrandros, Spouragos son of Aristolaos, Aristolaos son of Spouragos, Kreikot . . . son of Parmonidas, Parmonidas son of Kreikot . . . , . . . son of Aristokrates. Guarantors of the prescriptions in front of Apollo Hekatombios: the priest of Apollo at Metropolis; the priest of Apollo for Ttylichnai.

Even in this new reading certain things remain uncertain. There is an agreement between the Basaidai and the 'four families'. But who is allowing whom to share the *taga*? Are the Basaidai extending the right of *taga* to the four families, or vice versa? The much debated question of whether the office of the *taga* is the one of the city of Metropolis or only one of a smaller group remains open.⁴⁷ Nevertheless we now have a number of inscriptions from Thessaly showing that the word *tagos* could be used as a general term to designate anybody holding an office and indeed the official of any group.⁴⁸ From the stipulation 'let them share the *taga* too' it would seem that the

⁴⁶ According to old readings, the translation of the first line would be as follows: convention for those of Basaidai who belong to the four families (or convention of the Basaidai who belong to the four families) who also share the *taga*, for all time, for them and for their descendants. That it is not possible to them to accept anybody in the equality of rights and that they do not give the *taga* outside the *syngeneia*.

⁴⁷ Moretti (1976) 67 (followed by Pleket, *SEG* 36 (1986) no. 548): civic office. Helly (1970a) 185; Bresson and Debord (1985) 112: officer of the group.

⁴⁸ Note the formula 'ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἢ ταγός[ς ἢ] ἰδιώτης' in a second-century inscription from Petroporos: Tziafalias (1992a) 116–17 l.10. For another attestation of the *tagoi* being most likely the official of the group see the dedication by the Simmidai from Atrax: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918; Tziafalias (2000a) 86 no. 1; Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147 and discussion later in this section. *AD* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 285 no. 6; *SEG* 42 (1992) no. 492 also mentions a *tagos* in connection with a *genea*, but the document is very fragmentary to allow us to say more. The female form *tageusasa* is attested in two dedicatory inscriptions from Atrax: Tziafalias (1984a) 196 no. 59; *AD* 46 (1991) *Chron.* 224. Outside Thessaly *tagoi* as officials of a group are attested in the Labyadai document from Delphi: Rougemont (1977) 44.

Basaidai and the four families were already members of some common society, and had hitherto shared other things, but not the *taga*.⁴⁹ In the next line it is said that the *taga* should not be given outside the *syngeneia*. Is the term *syngeneia* the technical name of the society that the Basaidai and the four families had already been unequal members of, or is it only the name of the exclusive group which shares the *taga*?

The Basaidai document has been at the heart of a debate concerning the relationship between kinship groups and the polis. In spite of their differences over how they translate the first lines, or over the nature of the office of the *tagos*, most scholars agree that the inscription testifies to the important and powerful role of such kinship groups vis-à-vis the polis.⁵⁰ This conclusion needs to be significantly moderated, in view of the new reading of the inscription, but also of the great uncertainty concerning the nature of the group involved and the historical context of the decision.

More precisely, scholars have been alarmed by the absence of any explicit mention to the city of Metropolis. The city, however, it is believed, looms large behind the decision of the group, and it is precisely the fact that the group can act independently in matters that concern the city which is disturbing. Those who think that the main purpose of the document is to regulate access to the civic office of the *taga*, the fact that the decree looks very unlike any usual civic decrees, and that the group seems to be able to regulate about the matter without any reference to civic institutions, would be indicative of how little developed Metropolis was as a city in terms of institutions. The city would seem to have been little more than the fief of powerful semi-independent groups.⁵¹ But the same conclusion, it has been argued, would hold true even in the case where the *taga* was simply an office of the group. In this case we are dealing with a community which struggles to preserve its traditional power structures at the face of intervention by the city.⁵² Both these scenarios take much for granted: either that the office is that of the city, which, we have seen, is uncertain; or that the document is a reaction to encroachment by the city.

These kinds of interpretations have been encouraged by the fact that Metropolis was a city which was created late in comparison to other Thessalian cities (the *terminus ante quem* is the early fourth century) and continued to absorb other communities in the course of the Hellenistic period.⁵³ Be that as

⁴⁹ R. Parker (2010) 88.

⁵⁰ It is in this sense that Davies (1996) 648 could write ‘il problema se la tagia fosse “pubblica” o “privata” era un falso dilemma. Non esisteva κοινόν cittadino come tale: I Basaidai erano lo “stato” e i membri della συγγένεια i suoi “cittadini”’.

⁵¹ Moretti (1976) no. 97, pp. 67–8; followed by Davies (1996) 648–9.

⁵² Bresson and Debord (1985) 201, 203.

⁵³ *Terminus ante quem*: Gardner (1883) 36; Head (1911) 302 for the first coins issued by Metropolis; CID II, 5 II. 32–3 for Metropolis contributing 120 drachmae for the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Excavations have revealed numerous Hellenistic remains but nothing

it may, there is no reason to think that this is the background of the Basaidai document. Helly, the first publisher of the inscription in the 70s, had carefully noted that the document does not really reveal much about what Metropolis' role in the matter was.⁵⁴ And while a scenario of 'resistance towards an encroaching city' may have made some sense when the whole content of the document was seen to have been to close the door to any outsiders, this interpretation becomes weaker in view of the new reading. Moreover, the stipulation that the trespasser will be thrown out of the *syngeneia*, suggests that the danger is imagined to come from within.

Since the term *syngeneia* is only attested in this document in Thessaly,⁵⁵ we can say very little about the nature of the group, whether it was a particularity of the area of Metropolis, and what its relationship may have been to the other groups we have seen being attested widely all over Thessaly at that time, namely the *phylai* and the *gene*. Some suggest that the *syngeneiai* were phratry-like groups, imagined as groups of followers centred around powerful individuals or families. This kind of organization, it is believed, was prominent in areas where civic structures were either absent or underdeveloped, and lost its power (or its power was severely limited) after the introduction of the *phylai*.⁵⁶ There is no supporting evidence for this reconstruction, which relies basically on a broader understanding of the Basaidai document.⁵⁷ In fact it is

that would date to the sixth or fifth century (see also section 4.2). Continuous expansion in later periods: Strabo 9.5.17; AD 36 (1981) *Chron.* 254.

⁵⁴ Helly (1970a) 189: 'nous ignorons quels étaient les rapports des *συγγενείς* avec la cité'. Moggi (1976) 347–8 brings this statement to its extreme, and argues that it is the document of a *syngeneia* of Ttylichnai, which at the time was completely independent from Metropolis. He challenges the reconstruction at lines 20–1, which would place one of the sanctuaries of Apollo at Metropolis. But the inscription as said earlier was found only one kilometre away from the city and very likely *in situ* (perhaps it was set up in the sanctuary in Metropolis).

⁵⁵ But for the possibility that the group of Horaoi from Atrax, attested in an unpublished inscription, was also a *syngeneia* see Darmezin and Tziaphalias (2007) 26; Appendix 3.

⁵⁶ The argument is based on the evidence of lexicographers (Hesych. *φ* 848; Suda *φ* 694) and on parallels with groups called *syngeneiai* in Caria (for which see apart from Bresson and Debord (1985): Guarducci (1937) 138–43; L. Robert (1945); Laumonier (1958) 128–38, 154–60, 175–83). Crucial for the identification of the Basaidai as a phratry is also the existence of *tagoi* in the group of Labyadai in Delphi, which is also interpreted as a phratry and has on this and other grounds (the use of *darata* in the ritual) a Thessalian colouring: Guarducci (1937) 66, who postulated the existence of phratries in Thessaly, before any relevant evidence was found, on the grounds of the Labyadai inscription; Rougemont (1977) 26–88, 43–6; Sebillotte (1997), who suggests that the technical name of the Labyadai was a *syngeneia* and not a phratry. But Helly (1995) 319 is sceptical about any connections between the two groups. For the *phylai* highjacking supposedly the importance of the old *gene*-phratries system in general in the Greek world see: Andrewes (1961a) 140; Andrewes (1961b) 15; Murray (1980) 53–4. This view was challenged by Bourriot (1976) and Roussel (1976), who have been followed by several scholars (for instance Lambert (1993) 59–94). But for a criticism of the criticism see Humphreys (1983) 41–3, who brings into the discussion also the Basaidai document from Thessaly.

⁵⁷ Moretti (1976) no. 97, pp. 67–8 (followed by Davies (1996) 648–9) argues that *phylai* were introduced at Metropolis only at around the late third or early second century BC. There is actually no certain evidence for *phylai* at Metropolis. Habicht (1970) publishes an early second

not clear to me that the *syngeneia* in the document refers to such a broad group and not simply to the association of *gene* which had access to the *taga*, in which case we ignore what was the wider group within which they may have operated. Given that there is evidence for the association between *gene* and *phylai* in Thessaly, this might have been a *phyle*.⁵⁸

This is a troublesome document with many unknowns. At the end of the matter all that we can say with certainty is that the *syngeneia* was an important group with very rich members, judging from the size of the penalty fee for anyone who would not abide by its rules. What its relationship to the city of Metropolis was, to other groups like *phylai*, and how different the situation might have been in this city from other Thessalian cities, are important tantalizing questions.⁵⁹ Clearly the group must have been connected with the city, as is indicated by the fact that one of the priest/witnesses served in the sanctuary of Apollo Hekatombios in the city. The extent of this involvement becomes greater if this cult was a public cult of the city (or indeed if the *taga* was a civic office).⁶⁰ On the other hand, it is important that the inscription hints at the existence of groups with privileged and underprivileged members (those who share the *isotimia* and *taga* and those who do not) and the ability of these groups to regulate themselves on these matters. This means that these groups could acquire more importance in the life of their various members as miniature hierarchical societies in their own right.

It should be clear, however, that we should be wary of fitting the inscription into a 'from phratries and *gene* to *phylai*' schema, or of classifying Metropolis as a retarded polis. We should recall here that the same phenomenon, the existence of groups with unequal members, seems to be evinced by the 'twelve tribes inscription' from Atrax and that in the foregoing discussion the

century BC decree found at Krannon, which records the decision of a city, whose name has not been preserved, to bestow *politeia* and the right to enrol in a *phyle* on an individual, whose name and origin are also missing. The name of the *phyle* chosen, however, has been preserved: the *phyle* of Onthyreis. Habicht associated the name of the *phyle* with a passage in Strabo, which mentioned that one of the communities which were synoecized with Metropolis was called Onthyriorion. He thus argued that after its incorporation Onthyriorion became a *phyle* of the city and attributed the decree found at Krannon to the city of Metropolis; this was the copy which was set up in the city of the honorand. But it is as likely that the decree was issued by Krannon and that Onthyreis was a *phyle* of that city. See Darmezis and Tziafalias (2007) 24–5 for a *phyle* called Thamieioi both at Atrax and Larisa. The matter is further complicated by a second-century document found close to Larisa and which seems to refer to a dispute between the poleis (?) of Othornion and Polichne (Axenidis 1939). Shall we identify Othornion with Onthyriorion in west Thessaly and why is it called a polis? On this document see also the thoughts of Helly (1993) 189–91.

⁵⁸ Zelnick-Abramovitz (2000) 113–18 suggests that Tylichnai, one of the seats of the sanctuaries of Apollo, was not just a toponym but a *phyle* of the city of Metropolis, of which the *syngeneia* was a subgroup. She, however, maintains that the context of the decision was the expansion of Metropolis over previously independent and self-governed community.

⁵⁹ See n. 55.

⁶⁰ For the cult see discussion in section 2.5.

possibility that the tribes could become independent hubs of activity was raised. Perhaps we should instead seek to understand how *gene* and *phylai* could co-exist, how powerful groups could be accommodated in fully functioning cities, and how these groups were part of the Thessalians' idea of citizenship.

2.3. CITIZENSHIP IN THESSALIAN POLEIS

2.3.1. Political Participation and Citizenship

What is citizenship? Aristotle at one point in the *Politics* defined citizenship as the ability to participate in the deliberative or judicial office of one's city.⁶¹ Such a definition works very well for Classical Athens, where every Athenian could participate in the assembly and the courts of the city. It has thus been a very influential definition, since democracy and democratic citizenship have been the main topics for scholars interested in ancient political history.⁶² But when this perception of citizenship is applied to an oligarchy problems crop up, as Aristotle himself is well aware: clearly a large number of the free population of a city with a strict oligarchic government would not have participated in political life.

We do not know the details of the oligarchic constitutions of Thessalian cities, but we can say a couple of things with some certainty. Office-holding was certainly restricted throughout the periods examined here to a limited group of people. The sources refer again and again to the same families, such as the Aleuads, the Scopads, and the so-called Menonids. In the fourth century Daochos from Pharsalos, appointed as *tetrarchos* by Philip II, depicted himself in a famous monument at Delphi amongst his ancestors, all of whom had been either victorious athletes or statesmen.⁶³ This evidence seems to concern mostly federal offices, but almost certainly the Aleuads dominated Larisean as well as Thessalian politics.⁶⁴ A prosopographic analysis of the *tagoi*, the highest civic officials, of the small provincial town of Gonnoi in the north shows that during the third and second centuries many of them were members

⁶¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1275^b 18–20.

⁶² For discussion of democratic citizenship, focusing on this and other more sophisticated definitions see Manville (1990); the essays in Boegehold and Scafuro (1994); and now R. Osborne (2011) 88ff.

⁶³ For the Daochos monument: Jacquemin (1999) 436 no. 391; Jacquemin and Laroche (2001). For Daochos and his family: Helly (1995) 51–3, 63–6.

⁶⁴ Note also the case of Polydamas from Pharsalos, who was entrusted with the guarding of his city because he was well known and respected both in his city and in Thessaly in general (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2).

of the same families.⁶⁵ It may not have been only that the son of a politician stood more chances, because of wealth, connections, and *savoir vivre*, of being successful in politics himself. The 'twelve tribes inscription' from Atrax may show that in Hellenistic times access to judicial office was restricted to particular descent groups.⁶⁶ Thucydides calls the government of Thessaly a *dynasteia*, a term used in Aristotle to describe the fourth and strictest type of oligarchy.⁶⁷ In *dynasteiai*, Aristotle tells us, a clique has managed to restrict power to itself thanks to wealth and networking, and it rules according to its whim and not according to law. Several other sources indicate that in the Classical period there was intense competition among the elite which occasionally ended in civic strife.⁶⁸

There is only the slightest evidence for the role that the assembly had in all this. Participation in it, as was common to oligarchic government, is likely to have been based on a census of wealth calculated on landed property. The assumption, however, that at some point franchise was opened to all the cavalry class and then, perhaps in the late fifth century, was also extended to the hoplites, is just an assumption and presupposes that there was a close correlation between military service and economic status.⁶⁹

In what ways would the people excluded from politics have been considered citizens? Aristotle, in his discussion of citizenship, comes back to discuss 'one problem that is still left', that of the citizen in a subject position (*archomenos polites*). He wonders whether the working classes (*banausoi*) should also be counted as citizens; and, if not, what were they then, since they could not be classed either as residents or as foreigners.⁷⁰ Mossé in her discussion of Aristotle's *archomenos polites* introduced the concept of passive citizenship.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Helly (1973a) 142.

⁶⁶ See discussion in section 2.2. Note also the much discussed mid-sixth-century inscription from the site of Nevestiki at Magnesia, which might mention a judge with his *genetic*: a possible, but not uncontroversial, indication that the office of the judge was at that time, as seemingly in later periods, connected with *genos* membership. For various interpretations of this difficult document: Arvanitopoulos (1929b) 216–20; Jeffery (1990) 97, 99; Guarducci (1967) 358; Masson (1965) 227–34 and (1968) 98–9; Morpurgo Davies (1968) 91 n. 4; Gallavotti (1975–6) and (1979) 50; Pleket, *SEG* (1979) no. 548; Masson (1980).

⁶⁷ Thuc. 4.78; Arist. *Pol.* 1292^b 5–10; 1293^a 30–2.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the relevant evidence: Gehrke (1985) 184–94; Rechenauer (1993).

⁶⁹ Meyer (1909) 236; Axenidis (1947a) 72–3 and (1949) 132–40 believe that the assembly was open only to those who could enter the 'free agora', that is only to those who did not need to work. Larsen (1960) 240 and Gehrke (1985) 189–90 argue that at the end of the fifth century all the free population could vote in the assembly, but office-holding depended on a census of wealth, perhaps the hoplites. Sordi (1958a) 320–5 argues that the power of the aristocracy was first challenged by the *hippeis* and then briefly and unsuccessfully by the hoplites. Helly (1995) 344–5 speaks vaguely of a democratization of the constitution, during which, as he believes, the *tagoi* replaced in importance the *basileis*.

⁷⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 1277^b–1278^a.

⁷¹ Mossé (1979). For a slightly different definition of passive (= legal) and active (= social) citizenship see Manville (1990) 5. Note also that in some works (cf. Gehrke (1985) 190) the term

A passive citizen, according to Mossé, may not participate in the politics of the state, but is still considered a member of the community in other respects. He might, for instance, have the same military, economic and, what is important for us, religious obligations and privileges that a citizen has.⁷² This should not appear controversial; a quick look at discussions of Athenian citizenship, for instance, makes clear that citizenship was not coterminous only with political rights. It also entailed a number of other rights and obligations: a citizen, for instance, had the obligation to fight in the army of his community and pay taxes, the right to own land, to receive protection under law, and last but not least to participate in the cults of his city.⁷³ Exclusion from office could, to come back to Aristotle, be disguised in many states, for the purpose of deceiving those who were a part of the population (*synoikountes*).⁷⁴ What was the Thessalians' attitude to citizenship, and those whom politics excluded?

2.3.2. *Politeia*, *Politeuma*, and *Astos* in Thessalian Inscriptions

An important source of evidence, the numerous Hellenistic inscriptions which record the bestowal of *politeia* on various individuals, allows us a look at the Thessalians' perception of what citizenship was at that time.⁷⁵ To point out immediately a characteristic feature of the Thessalian material, which sets it apart from similar Athenian evidence, Thessalian decrees do not seem to differentiate clearly between the bestowal of *politeia* (or *isopoliteia*) and *proxenia*, but both honours, together with other privileges, such as *asylia* (inviolability), *ateleia* (exemption from taxes), *enktesis* (right of land or house ownership), *epinomia* (right of pasture), *epigamia* (right of marriage), and *asphaleia* (security), are very often awarded simultaneously to the same individual.⁷⁶ In general, Thessalian honorary decrees could take various

'passive citizenship' seems perplexingly to be used in the opposite sense, to denote those entitled to office.

⁷² A related term is that of 'cultic citizenship', which is used (R. Parker (2005) 218) to describe the religious status of Athenian women, who though excluded from the political community, participated and were important members of the religion of the polis. See also Blok (2009) for the centrality of cult participation in Athenian perceptions of citizenship.

⁷³ See the works cited in n. 62. ⁷⁴ Arist. *Pol.* 1278^a.

⁷⁵ A collection of all the evidence does not exist. The discussions in Axenidis (1949) 143–60; Helly (1973a) 89–93; Helly (1973b) nos. 1–92; Marek (1984) 281–96 are useful. I have tried to include here most of the relevant material.

⁷⁶ This is not a Thessalian characteristic only: M. Osborne (1983) iv. 148–9 notes that outside Athens the division between *proxenia* and *politeia* was not always observed. For the various privileges see the works cited earlier. For *epinomia* in specific, a very characteristic Thessalian type of award, see also Thiel (1924) 54–62; Chandezon (2003) 370–89. Other privileges awarded only once or twice are the permission to own vineyards (Decourt (1995) no. 53), or exemption from military service: Habicht (1970). For the rights of *isotimia*, membership of a *phyle*, *epigamia*, and the rights to hold the *taga* and the *leitoreia* see discussion later in this section.

forms: *proxenia* and *politeia* could be awarded on their own, but very often *politeia* or *isopoliteia* were awarded together with *proxenia*; and there is also variation concerning the other privileges awarded.⁷⁷ At first sight a clear-cut pattern does not emerge: we cannot argue confidently that the status of a *proxenos* was different from that of somebody who was awarded both *proxenia* and *politeia*, that *isopoliteia* had a clear difference in meaning from *politeia*, or that the omission of specific mention of certain privileges, such as *epinomia* or *epigamia*, always means they were not given and were not included in the general formula ‘... and all other rights (καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια) that the *politai* have’.⁷⁸ In a decree from Gonnoi, for instance, the terms *proxenia* and *politeia* seem to be used interchangeably. The honoured individual is bestowed with *politeia* as are the other *proxenoi* (δέδοσθαι πολιτείαν... καθ’ ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις).⁷⁹

Some might then be tempted to believe that *politeia* was simply an honorary, empty title.⁸⁰ But I think that, even if we cannot, and perhaps should not, associate it with a clearly defined legal status, we should see it as encompassing a variety of meanings which came to the fore depending on the context of the inscription. First, there is a topographical pattern to be discerned. Different areas of Thessaly (the perioikic areas, the cities of Thessaly proper, and the city of Demetrias) used different honorific formulas in their decrees. *Isopoliteia*, for instance, is found very commonly in decrees from the Perrhaibian city of Gonnoi, occasionally in decrees of Phthiotic Achaian cities, but very rarely in the published decrees of cities of Thessaly proper. Moreover, there is no case of *politeia* being awarded by the city of Demetrias; the decrees of the Macedonian royal capital always award *proxenia* and other honours, but never *politeia* (or *isopoliteia*).⁸¹ This variation could indicate that the different honours were not interchangeable, empty titles, but that their choice was connected with the socio-political conditions which were particular in each case.⁸² Secondly, there are a few privileges, the right to enrol in a *phyle* of the city, the right of

⁷⁷ Helly (1973a) 89–93 for a breakdown of the formulas attested in the decrees from Gonnoi.

⁷⁸ For *isopoliteia* being potential citizenship while *politeia* proper citizenship: Gawantka (1975). Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1916) 26, commenting on a decree from Phalanna which does not bestow *epigamia* and *epinomia*, suggests that the honorand was thus prevented from becoming a ‘proper citizen’.

⁷⁹ Helly (1973b) no. 70.

⁸⁰ So e.g. Axenidis (1949) 148.

⁸¹ For *isopoliteia* see in general Helly (1973b) and the examples cited by Axenidis (1949) 149 n. 4. From Thessaly proper I have found *IG IX 2 490* from Phauttos; Mastrokostas (1964) 312 from Krannon; and two decrees from Larisa: Tziafalias and Helly (2007). Note that the award of *isopoliteia* is not the only peculiarity of these two Larisean decrees, but might be connected with the particular procedure followed in this case, which is specified as ‘vote par jetons’. For Demetrias’ decrees: Helly (1971b) and those included in McDewitt (1970) 95–7 nos. 700–6.

⁸² For Demetrias see section 4.3.

isotimia, and the rights to hold the *taga* and the *leitoreia*, which are much more rarely awarded, and their inclusion or omission should be significant.

I have already referred to those decrees which prescribe that the honoured individual should enrol in a *phyle* of his choice.⁸³ I should re-emphasize here that in all but one case the honorand was also awarded *politeia* (with or without *proxenia*). It is not very clear what the difference was between a simple *politeia* award and a *politeia* award which included the provision for enrolment in a *phyle*.⁸⁴ Residence seems not to have been the issue since in this case it would be difficult to understand the difference between *proxenia* and simple *politeia* awards, and in any case rights of *enktesis* often go together with simple *politeia* awards.⁸⁵ We have seen also that *phyle* membership was not coterminous with full political rights (although it might have been a precondition for them). Since, as we saw, *phylai* were important cultic and social groups, awards that included *phyle* enrolment may just envisage a more permanent residence and involvement in the affairs of the city than simple *politeia* awards.

Another relatively rare honour bestowed in only twelve decrees (six of which come from Mopsion) was the right of *isotimia*, which in several cases is further specified as *ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ πάθουσι καὶ δράσασιν*.⁸⁶ In all but two cases it is awarded together with *politeia* (or *isopoliteia* in the decree from Gonnoi);⁸⁷ while in two the right of *isotimia* appears to have been connected with membership of a *phyle* and to be given after the new member has

⁸³ See previous section.

⁸⁴ M. Osborne (1983) iv. 148–9, writing on the distinction between proxeny and citizenship grants in Athens, argues that citizenship grants were always made in the assumption that they were going to be utilized, as is also indicated by the provision that the candidate enrolls in the relevant bodies.

⁸⁵ Note also that the honorands of Thessalian decrees often came from nearby cities: in the decrees of Gonnoi, which were not made for foreign judges, the honoured individuals came from Phalanna, Olosson, Larisa, from Macedonia, Demetrias, and Phthiotic Thebes: Helly (1973b) nos. 1–67. Three decrees from Atrax were one for a Cretan, the other two for Trikkaians: Helly (1983a) 157–61. Pherai honoured individuals who came from Krannon, Scotoussa, Proerna, Phthiotic Thebes, and Opous in Lokris: Béquignon (1964) 400–12.

⁸⁶ IG IX 2 461, 513; Helly (1973b) nos. 30, 31; Habicht (1970); Helly (1983a) 157; García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 65 no. 2 (for which see also Papadopoulou-Matthaiou 1992–8); 67 no. 4, 68 nos. 5 and 6, 69 no. 7, 70 no. 8. They also quote (p. 83) L. Darmezín for some further unpublished examples from Atrax. I cannot decide about whether the large percentage of *isotimia* awards from Mopsion is a particularity of this city, or the privilege was in general much more common than the rest of the evidence indicates. *Isotimia* is also mentioned in the ‘Convention of Basaidai’, for which see section 2.2, while according to García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 84 it is also mentioned in an unpublished inscription from Atrax which concerns the group of Horaoi (see also Appendix 3). Note also the related perhaps privilege of *isomoiria*, which is attested only once in a decree from Trikkas: Helly (1991b) with further discussion of the word.

⁸⁷ *Politeia* is certainly not mentioned in the García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 70 no. 8 from Mopsion and in IG IX 2 461 from Krannon. In other cases that *politeia* is missing the decree is fragmentary and it might have been mentioned.

managed to persuade the *phyle*.⁸⁸ It has been suggested that *isotimia* denoted the right to *archein* and *archesthai*; the bestowal of *isotimia* thus equalled the bestowal of political rights on an individual.⁸⁹ But it is as likely that the right might have referred to treatment in legal cases.

Finally, two decrees from Mopsion bestow on the honorands the right to hold the *taga* and the *leitoreia*, which seems to mean access to magistracies (or to the specific office of the *tagos*) and to priesthoods.⁹⁰ This suggests that access to magistracies (or to the office of the *tagos* in particular), was not part of the *isotimia* award. The decrees also raise, but do not help resolve, the question of who, and by what right, was entitled to access to the office of the *taga*. The fact that the polis can award the privilege could be taken to indicate that at Mopsion, at least at that time, there were no clearly established criteria regulating access to magistracies, as for instance a census of wealth, or a hereditary principle limiting office-holding to particular *gene*. But it should be remembered that we are dealing with awards to non-citizens, and it was common in all states to exclude naturalized citizens from offices and priesthoods.⁹¹ The decrees from Mopsion therefore simply state that the two new citizens could have access to office-holding and priesthoods, unlike other naturalized citizens. One could envisage that the decision of the polis could clash with other regulating mechanisms as is for instance indicated by the provision that one had to persuade the *phyle* before having access to the *isotimia*; and the decision of the mysterious groups of Basaidai who decided not to allow access to *isotimia* and the *taga* to anyone outside their own members could in theory be understood in this light.

So far then, we have established that citizens could have a variety of different rights awarded by a variety of different bodies and were far from equal under the law. Let us now pass to other important questions: who was awarded *politeia*, and why? Several decrees state the reasons behind the decision taken. Clearly the main one was to have acted favourably towards the city: serving as a judge, offering money or grain in times of need, and

⁸⁸ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 69 no. 7, 70 no. 8, 88–9.

⁸⁹ *Isotimia* and political rights: Habicht (1970) 141. Contra: Axenidis (1949) 157–8, who considers the bestowal of *isotimia* to be the same as that of *politeia* or *isopoliteia*. Another word which might have been connected with political rights is the word *politeuma* attested in a single late-third-century Larisean inscription (IG IX 2 517). For *politeuma* and political rights: Mossé (1979) 247–8, who, however, does not discuss the Thessalian document. There seems, however, to be variation in the use of the word, which in some cases could have been used in the broad sense of *politeia*: L. Robert (1963) 476–7 for several other epigraphic attestations of the word. He writes ‘son emploi est une question de style’. Relevant, given the Macedonian context of the Thessalian inscription, is the use of the word in a recently published inscription from Macedonia. But it is not clear, in this case too, how the word is being used: Hatzopoulos (2001) 96–7.

⁹⁰ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 67 no. 4, 68 no. 6. For the words *leitor*, *hiereus*, and other related ones in Thessalian inscriptions see Lejeune (1941) 182–91.

⁹¹ M. Osborne (1983) iv. 173–6.

teaching in the gymnasium are some of the favourable acts singled out for particular mention.⁹² Inappropriate acts, on the other hand, caused those initially awarded citizenship in a decree from Larisa to be excluded from it.⁹³ A contemporary decree from Phalanna, which records a mass bestowal of citizenship, refers to a particular process of scrutiny or *dokimasia*, as it was called.⁹⁴ Those interested in acquiring citizenship had first to have their names enrolled on a list, and after a process of selection, some of them were accepted to citizenship. We are dealing here most likely with two different processes. On the one hand there are those awards which appear to have been made by the city ‘spontaneously’, without the honorand asking for it, and those which were made after the honorand had himself expressed an interest.⁹⁵ The reasons behind the award are also likely to have been different in each case. While in the so-called ‘spontaneous awards’ the *politeia* appears as an honour given in return for beneficent acts, in the ‘after application awards’ *politeia* was often given because of a manpower shortage (although the honorand might have been again required to prove his good will to the city). Moreover, while in the first case the honorands are individuals from other Thessalian cities, or elsewhere in the Greek world, who might have become resident in the city or not,⁹⁶ in the ‘after application awards’ the honorands seem to have already been living in the territory of the city and they are not always described as foreign residents, but are often mentioned without any ethnic. A decree from Phalanna which records the bestowal of citizenship on a large group of individuals prescribes that, apart from the resident Perrhaibians, Magnesians, Ainians, and Achaians, citizenship was also given to a group which is described as ‘those in the Phalannaia’ or territory of Phalanna;⁹⁷ the city of Pharsalos bestowed *politeia* on a large number of individuals who are described as having already shared the *politeia* (*sympoliteuomenoi*) and having fought together (*sympolemeisantes*);⁹⁸ and several decrees from Mopsion record individual awards of *politeia* to various individuals mentioned with no ethnic.⁹⁹

⁹² Favourable acts: Tziafalias and Helly (2004–5) 407–17; Helly (1973b) nos. 68–92 honorific decrees for judges; Helly (1973b) no. 41 for grain supply; Helly (2006a) 196–201 for Bombos from Alexandria ‘un homme de lettres’; Tziafalias and Helly and (2007) 444–7 for a philosopher from Athens.

⁹³ IG IX 2 517.36: ... ἀνήκεστόν τι πεπράχασιν εἰς στήν βασιλείαν ἢ τὴν πόλιν ...

⁹⁴ IG IX 2 1228.

⁹⁵ It was a prominent Larisean citizen called Philokrates who introduced the motion in the assembly for a Chalkidean Zoilos (Tziafalias and Helly (2004–5) 409 and 416 for possible relations between Philokrates and Zoilos); whereas at a decree from Mopsion it is stated that the honorand (αἰτεισαμ[ένο]ι πολιτεῖαν ἑαυτ[οῦ]) asked for the award himself (García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 68 no. 5).

⁹⁶ See n. 85.

⁹⁷ IG IX 2 1228.17: ‘τοῖς ἐς τὰν Φαλανναίων’.

⁹⁸ IG IX 2 234.

⁹⁹ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 66 no. 3, 68 no. 5, 69 no. 7, and perhaps 67 no. 4 and 68 no. 6. See also pp. 82, 98 for comments on their non-citizen status.

The exact nature of these population groups is uncertain. The expression 'those in the Phalannaia' can be taken to mean those living in the territory of Phalanna. Since they are not described with an ethnic we could perhaps assume that they were considered to have been at least partly Phalannaians, even if not full citizens. Dittenberger's suggestion that they were the offspring of Phalannaian women with non-Phalannaian men is only one possibility.¹⁰⁰ Shall we see them as *penestai*, whatever the status might have meant at that time? This will match their description as 'those living in the Phalannaia' which stressed their connection with the land. A similar group of 'half-citizens' seems to be the *sympoliteuomenoi* and *sympolemeisantes* mentioned in the Pharsalos decree. This document, which also dates to the Late Hellenistic period, bestowed *politeia* together with a medium-sized plot of land on a group of individuals who are described as having shared in the *politeia* and having fought together. Various plausible suggestions, which are not mutually exclusive, about their exact prior status have been made: that they were emancipated *penestai* or a free pastoralist population, or simply the residents of a nearby village only loosely tied with Pharsalos.¹⁰¹ The publishers of the inscriptions from Mopsion have noted that there is a difference in the kinds of honour bestowed on those individuals mentioned without any ethnic and those bestowed on citizens of other cities: while privileges such as *politeia*, *isotimia*, the right to enrol in *phyle* are found in both groups of decrees, privileges such as *epinomia*, *ateleia*, and *asphaleia* are only found in the awards made to the citizens of other cities.¹⁰² This could be taken to mean that even the so-called 'half-citizens' were already partaking of some of the privileges of citizens. I doubt, however, that we should see the 'half-citizens' of Mopsion as emancipated *penestai*, since in two cases the right to hold the *taga* and the *leitoreia* is also awarded to them.¹⁰³

I have already referred to the decree from Larisa which recorded mass bestowal of citizenship on a large group of individuals.¹⁰⁴ It is noteworthy that, contrary to the similar decrees from Phalanna and Pharsalos, all those who were awarded citizenship in the Larisean decree were foreigners living in the city, Krannonians and Gyrtonians together with a few Samothracians. Is this an indication that there were not, at that time at least, any groups which we could consider as 'half Lariseans', all the resident population being already citizens? There is a detail that should put us on guard against such a

¹⁰⁰ Moretti (1976) no. 108, who cites Dittenberger; Helly (1995) 340.

¹⁰¹ Moretti (1976) no. 96; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou (1989) 62–3 (see also Hatzopoulos (1993) 153 n. 12) argue that it was a dependent village. Decourt (1990b) 181 (see also Decourt (1995) no. 50) believes they were pastoralists. Ducat (1994) 107–13 and Helly (1995) 310 see them as emancipated *penestai*. Launey (1949) 658–9 believes they were mercenaries.

¹⁰² García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 82–3.

¹⁰³ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 67 no. 4, 68 no. 6.

¹⁰⁴ IG IX 2 517.

suggestion. While the awards are made because the city wanted to increase land cultivation, no awards of plots of land are made: presumably they were expecting the honorands to be wealthy enough to buy the land themselves.¹⁰⁵ No similar evidence exists for the honorands of the Pharsalos decree who, as mentioned earlier, might even have been emancipated *penestai* and who were awarded a plot of land. What can we conclude from this comparison? Was Larisa still trying to restrict citizenship to the more privileged classes at a time when other cities were making wider extensions of citizenship? Did Larisa prefer rich strangers to familiar serfs sharing their assembly seats?

The picture is clearly complicated. We have to allow for local variation and accept uncertainty on various individual points. Still, several interesting conclusions have emerged. First, we can be confident asserting that in Hellenistic times *politeia*, membership of the community of the polis, did not necessarily entail participation in politics. It denoted a variety of privileges, from rights of land ownership and pasture to *phyle* membership, to sharing in the government of the city, not all of which needed to be actualized concurrently. The placing of *politeia* amongst other honours and awards helped define what *politeia* might have meant in each individual case. A wealth census is nowhere explicitly mentioned as a criterion for *politeia*, or for any of the privileges that could come with it. Implicitly, however, it did count in many cases, but it was the will to put one's wealth to the service of the city, and not wealth on its own, that led to the award of *politeia*. Similarly it was favourable acts, such as fighting in wars, or unfavourable ones, which could instigate the award or withdrawal of a *politeia* award. We have also seen that there were some groups of the population who are very generally described as such things as 'co-participants' in the polis. The problem is that we do not know precisely who these people were and how complicated the situation might have been. The *phylai* of the Thessalian cities appear also to have had some characteristics which set them apart from what we know about groups of the same name in Athens and other states of the Greek world. The evidence suggests that not all those considered *politai*, in the broad sense that this word seems to have had, would also have been members of *phylai*, but it is unclear about what membership of one of these groups really amounted to—especially as it seems not to be coeval with full political participation.

Time is a factor we need to deal with. The mass bestowals of citizenship, and in general all the awards of *politeia* discussed, are a Hellenistic phenomenon. This could perhaps be explained by recourse to the 'epigraphic habit': it was only in Hellenistic times that, for whatever reasons, publishing public documents on stone really took off. Still, the fact that in the few earlier, fifth- and

¹⁰⁵ See also Axenidis (1949) 52, who argues, on prosopographic evidence, that the descendants of some of the honorands held later important offices in the city of Larisa. But the examples he cites are not persuasive: Antigenes, Menandros, and Leon, for instance, are common names.

fourth-century, decrees only *proxenia* is mentioned and never *politeia* might be an indication that attitudes to citizenship changed through time.¹⁰⁶ The date of the introduction of the *phylai* remains an open question. The *terminus ante quem* for this is the late fourth century, but we have to bear in mind that we know of their existence mostly thanks to honorary decrees, which become common only from the Hellenistic period onwards.¹⁰⁷ A fifth-century inscription from Phalanna indicates that there were at that time special rules for the *astoi*, but unfortunately we are unclear who these *astoi* were being differentiated from.¹⁰⁸ Change through time should certainly not be ruled out. There is indeed much, if rather disparate, evidence that Thessalian society underwent deep changes between the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic times. Nevertheless, some evidence might allow us to see some consistencies back at least to the fifth century. Important here is a fragment of the famous sophist Gorgias who spent some time in Thessaly in the company of noblemen who had fallen for fashion and acquired a taste for the subtleties of rhetoric. Gorgias ironically commented on the Larisean *demiourgoi*.¹⁰⁹ He compared them to mortar-makers in the ability to swiftly produce Lariseans: 'Just as a mortar is made by a mortar-maker, a craftsman, citizens of Larisa are those made by *demiourgoi*. For among the high magistrates of this city are makers of Lariseans'.¹¹⁰ The fragment seems to relate to mass bestowals of citizenship made by the *demiourgoi* and has rightly, in my view, be taken to imply that in practice the *dokimasia* process might not have been transparent, with clear-cut criteria of

¹⁰⁶ There are only a few Classical honorary decrees: IG IX 2 257 (Thetionion); Béquignon (1964) 400–12 (Pherai).

¹⁰⁷ The idea that the *phylai* were late innovations in Thessaly was supported mostly by Greek historians not Thessalian specialists: Szanto (1901) 37–9; Moretti (1976) no. 97; N. Jones (1987) 79; J. K. Davies in OCD. s.v. *phylai*. Several presuppositions lie behind this suggestion, as for instance the idea that *phylai* were a characteristic of the Ionian and Dorian world and thus unknown in areas where the Aiolian dialect was spoken (Szanto), or that because the *phylai* are more developed forms of organization particular to the polis, and not remnants of a tribal past, they have no place in *ethne*, which are seen as primitive tribal forms of organization (Roussel (1976) 2). Sordi (1958a) 327–9; Helly (1995) 172–5, 319 favour an earlier date for their introduction.

¹⁰⁸ IG IX 2 1226 (*Nomima* II no. 19). For the use of the word *astos* in comparison to *polites* see Lévy (1985), who notes the aristocratic connotations of the word in some contexts; Frost (1994) 51 gives to *astos* in Archaic Athenian inscriptions the meaning 'inhabitant of the *asty*'; E. Cohen (2000) 49ff argues that in Athens *astos* meant resident while *polites* citizen; Blok (2005) argues that in Athens until the mid fifth century both *politai* and *astoi* meant inhabitants, then the word *astos* denoted 'belonging to the polis by descent', while *polites* 'having rights and duties within the polis'; R. Osborne (2011) 92ff argues that in Athens both terms denoted the members of communities, but *astos* in some contexts was used to indicate a particular political and legal status, while *polites* was used to cover a whole range of ways of belonging to the community.

¹⁰⁹ Wade-Gery (1945) 25 n. 4; Murakawa (1957) 391 believe that the Thessalian *demiourgoi* were a specific group of magistrates. But see also Vatin (1961) 244 n. 4; Jeffery (1973–4) 319 n. 3; Rougemont (1977) 65; Helly (1995) 28 for the more convincing opinion that the term denoted anyone holding (or being entitled to hold) office.

¹¹⁰ Arist. *Pol.* 1275^b.

who was entitled to citizenship (to be Larisean in origin, to have a certain amount of property etc.): perhaps there was also an interview process which settled the issue at last and, as with all such processes, patronage could quickly become a factor.¹¹¹ If so this would chime well with the Hellenistic evidence.

2.4. THE SECOND SEX: WOMEN IN THESSALIAN SOCIETY AND WORLD VIEW

The study of both participatory groups and of citizenship reveals something of the nature of the divergence of Thessaly from standard models of Greek political and social life that are derived primarily from Athens. These divergences are at once more multivalent and more subtle than some models of Thessalian society might suggest. Another sidelight can be shed on Thessalian social forms by a consideration of the place of women, one of the most important groups of 'half-citizens', in Thessalian religion and society: the topic touches on similar themes to those we have been covering so far and will allow us a more three-dimensional perspective.

It is worth emphasizing that the question of the place of women in any society is not some marginal issue of concern only to those interested in gender studies. Investigating the way in which people conceive and construct the difference between men and women, between one half of the population and the other, should be central to our understanding of their entire social world view.¹¹² Thinking about women in Thessaly is therefore vital in order to reach a better understanding of Thessalian society and religion as a whole, even if the task is, due to lack of evidence, very challenging. Literary sources rarely refer to Thessalian matters, let alone to Thessalian women. Archaeological and epigraphic discoveries in recent years have offered us new insights on several aspects of life in ancient Thessaly, but the material is hardly plentiful in comparison with, say, Athens. Nevertheless, it is, I think, worthwhile to bring the existing evidence together and formulate some thoughts on the regional specifics of the place of Thessalian women in society and cult.

In order to highlight what might have been distinctive in the case of Thessaly the evidence should ideally be juxtaposed with that from another

¹¹¹ Wade-Gery (1945) 25 n. 4 writes: 'he (Gorgias) is mocking the arbitrary choosiness of the *demiourgoi*.' The *Peri Politeias* is often thought to refer to the political situation at Larisa in the late fifth century but its second-century AD date makes its historical value problematic: Drerup (1908); Adcock and Knox (1913); Morrison (1942) 68–74; Wade-Gery (1945); Albini (1968) 11–26; Hornblower (2002) 214; Russell (1983) 111.

¹¹² I single out here, from an increasing body of literature on women in ancient Greece, the inspiring work of Redfield (2003), who skilfully illustrates the centrality of the male/female opposition in a society's world view.

region. This is easier said than done. Discussions of Athenian or Spartan women concentrate on the Classical period, while the topic of women in the Hellenistic period, the time to which most of the relevant Thessalian evidence belongs, is often treated as an undifferentiated whole. There is some epigraphic evidence which indicates that Thessalian women enjoyed privileges, such as property rights, and had a more visible role in public life than Classical Athenian women. It is believed, however, that women's place in society changed during the Hellenistic period and the evidence from Thessaly has often been cited as part and parcel of this general change.¹¹³ The matter is clearly not straightforward, and the possibility that there was greater continuity between the Classical and Hellenistic period in Thessaly has to remain open.¹¹⁴ Even if there was an overall change in the Hellenistic period, social developments must have happened in interaction with local realities and the dynamics of Thessalian society. What follows then aims to be a closer examination of the Thessalian evidence usually cited in general studies, putting it back in its context and juxtaposing it with other relevant evidence from the area, namely information about Thessalian marriage practices and, last but not least, stories about Thessalian women.

That Thessalian women might have enjoyed property rights was first suggested by Babakos back in the 60s on the basis of acts of manumission in which women freed slaves in their own right without the intervention of a male relative (*kyreios*). His suggestion seems to be confirmed by a Hellenistic inscription from Larisa which is an inventory of landed property, perhaps donated to the state for some unknown purpose, and in which women's names figure among property owners.¹¹⁵ Thessalian women might have become better off in the course of the Hellenistic period. We do, however, know of other places in the Greek world where women could own property in their own name already in the Classical period, such as Sparta and Crete.¹¹⁶ Polyaeus had no problem portraying Thessalian women of the Classical period as exceptionally wealthy and free to dispose their property as they saw fit. Jason of Pherai, he tells us, had continuously to borrow or steal money from his wealthy mother in order to fund his mercenaries.¹¹⁷ Polyaeus wrote in the second century AD and the problem lies with deciding what his sources

¹¹³ See e.g. Tarn (1927) 84–6; van Bremen (1996) 217–20, 261–3, who is though more sceptical about the nature of the change.

¹¹⁴ Vatin (1970) 58 writes 'les tradition juridiques et les structures sociales ont dû être plus stables dans les antiques cités de Grèce que dans les grands royaumes des Lagides et Séleukids'; Pomeroy (1975) 125 comments on Athens' conservatism, even in the Hellenistic period, and speculates that outside Athens in the Classical period women might have been less restricted.

¹¹⁵ Babakos (1961) 92–6. For the inventories see also section 2.1.

¹¹⁶ See e.g. Cartledge (2001) 118ff for a discussion of the evidence and bibliography.

¹¹⁷ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.1.2–5. Her source of wealth seems to have been embroidery and cloth-making.

may have been. Thessalian women, as we shall see, figure in his stories on a few other occasions, and they are always attributed an exceptional status.¹¹⁸

Relevant to a discussion about the social status of Thessalian women is also an inscription from Krannon which bestows citizenship, together with the ability to enrol in a *phyle*, on a woman called Archareta from Kalydon.¹¹⁹ *Politeia* awards to women in the Hellenistic period are attested in other places of the Greek world, such as at Miletus, Thasos, and Dyme in Achaia, and often the reason behind the award is to ensure citizenship rights for their descendants.¹²⁰ In the case of Archareta, though, the motive behind the award may well have been different. It has been suggested that Archareta had some unusual status; that she was a poetess who had sung for the common myths linking Krannon with the Aitolians, bringing as a parallel honorary awards to poetesses from other places in central Greece.¹²¹ Be that as it may the provision that she could enrol in a *phyle* of the city has no parallel. The inscription demonstrates an openness to individual status in women, and confirms a rather idiosyncratic conception both of the idea of citizenship and *phyle* membership.

We can perhaps detect the same openness to women acquiring and claiming exceptional status in a fourth-century funerary epigram from Pharsalos, which commemorates the death of a woman, the daughter of Admetus, as mourned by the whole city.¹²² This reference to a woman's death affecting the whole city is remarkable. A very similar expression, that his death had caused sadness to the whole city, is also found on a stele set up at around the same time for Menon from Pherai, who may have been a promising athlete.¹²³ In the case of Athenian funerary epigrams, it has been noticed that the death of a woman usually affects the close family level, while longing and sadness for the deceased man is often ascribed to a much wider group. An exception to this rule are a couple of epigrams for women whose life had brought them in contact with a much wider group, such as midwives, but even in this case the group of mourners is generally described as 'all people' and not identified as the whole city.¹²⁴ There are differences in the funerary epigrams for men and women in Thessaly, too. A woman's death can never be glorious, as is the

¹¹⁸ Other women in exceptional roles in Polyaeus are usually non-Greek. Polyaeus' sources, his audience, and the role of women in his work have not been much discussed: see in general Harder (2007); Wheeler (2010).

¹¹⁹ *IG* IX 2 458. ¹²⁰ See the evidence discussed in Vêrilhac and Vial (1998) 63, 69.

¹²¹ See n. 37. ¹²² Decourt (1995) no. 90.

¹²³ Mastrokostas (1964) 310–11 no. 1; Peek (1960) no. 81.

¹²⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood (1995b) 117. Midwives: *IG* II² 6876 described Phanostrate as *πᾶσι θανοῦσα ποθεῖν*. A funerary stele from Macedonia for Eugenia Phylaka has in the second line the inscription *ΦΡΟΥΡΟΣ ΑΕΩΣ* (*AA* 22 (1967) *Chron.* 377 pl. 284a). Hatzopoulos (1996) 210 writes that he cannot make sense of it.

death of warriors. Still the ability of a woman to cause sadness with her death to the whole city is exceptional. We can only guess at why Admetus' ill-fated daughter was so important to the city of Pharsalos.¹²⁵

I now turn to marriage, undoubtedly one of the most important moments in a woman's life. We know very little else about Thessalian marriage practices. That the Thessalians were monogamous and that Thessalian cities, like most cities from the Classical period onwards, practised civic endogamy seem to be common assumptions, even though the topic has not been systematically discussed. There is indeed some evidence to suggest as much. Whenever ancient sources mention Thessalian wives, it is always in the singular. The tyrant Alexander of Pherai, for example, was murdered by his wife, and there is no sign that she was only the most stropky amongst many.¹²⁶ Funerary epigrams mention couples, or husbands and wives mention one another.¹²⁷ Several Hellenistic honorary decrees include among the various different honours and privileges awarded, such as *proxenia*, *politeia*, *enktesis*, *ateleia*, and *epinomia*, the right of *epigamia* (intermarriage).¹²⁸ This can be taken as evidence that exogamous marriages were not sanctioned in Thessalian cities during the Hellenistic period. Since we know from Herodotus that Diaktorides from Krannon was one of the suitors of Agariste at Sikyon, and Thessalian scholars believe that the famous families of Aleuads from Larisa, Scopads from Krannon, and Echecratids from Pharsalos were connected with intermarriages, Thessalian marriage practices might have changed in the course of the Classical and Hellenistic period, as they did in various other places in the Greek world.¹²⁹

It is, however, noteworthy that in other places, for instance Athens, *epigamia* rights do not receive special mention in the decrees, as they seem to have been considered part and parcel of a *politeia* award.¹³⁰ In Thessaly, on the contrary, the right of *epigamia* seems to have been an exceptional and rare honour awarded less often than other privileges, such as *enktesis* or *ateleia*. It seems then that Thessalian cities guarded access to their women even more strictly

¹²⁵ Decourt (1995) no. 90 argues that she was a member of the local aristocracy.

¹²⁶ Plut. *Pel.* 28ff. ¹²⁷ See e.g. *CEG* ii. 640 (fourth century).

¹²⁸ The vast majority of these decrees comes from Gonnoi: Helly (1973b) nos. 21, 23, 30, 38, 39, 70, 72, 80, 91. But there is also a second-century one from Larisa: *AE* (1910) 348. I doubt that *IG* I 2 1228 concerns the sons of foreign men with citizen Phalannaian women: see section 2.3.2. *Epigamia* is also awarded, together with citizenship, in the recently published decree from Aigai: Malay and Riel (2009).

¹²⁹ Hdt. 6. 127. For intermarriage between the various noble families see e.g. Morrison (1942). See also Sprawski (1999) 50, who discusses the possibility that Jason's wife was from Thebes. Note, however, that there might well have been different laws concerning the marriage of a citizen man with a foreign woman and that of a citizen woman with a foreign man: Vatin (1970) 126.

¹³⁰ M. Osborne (1983) ii. 34 argues that in the very few occasions where *epigamia* is specially mentioned it is designed to allow Athenians to marry foreigners.

than some other places, and that the right to marry them was considered an honour given only occasionally. That *epigamia* becomes a special honour might well attest to a prominent public role for marriage in interstate relationships. We can perhaps see here an element of continuity from earlier periods in which aristocrats from various cities exchanged their daughters in marriage.

Aelian in his *Nature of Animals*, which is concerned as the title shows with wholly different matters, gives us a snapshot of a Thessalian wedding. Aelian composed his work in the late second to early third centuries AD, but made extensive use of much earlier sources. It might, therefore, be worth paying some attention to what he said.¹³¹ 'In Thessaly, a man about to marry,' he tells us, 'when offering the wedding sacrifice brings in a war horse bitted and even fully equipped with all its gear. Then, when he has completed the sacrifice and poured the libation, he leads the horse by the rein and hands it to his bride.' We could draw some very general parallels between the ceremony described by Aelian and what we know about other Greek wedding ceremonies. There are some obvious general associations between marriage and horses—the man tames the woman as a horse—although that isn't the obvious link here as the man ultimately gives the horse to the woman.¹³² We hear of the groom offering a sacrifice before marriage, but he seems to do that in the context of his family. After the marriage in some places the man offered a sacrifice in his phratry in the presence of his wife, who however seems to have stayed in the shadows.¹³³ What is striking in the Thessalian ceremony, and what could reflect back on the discussion so far, is precisely the prominent role of the woman as the end recipient of the war horse, as well as the placing of marriage in the same conceptual sphere as warfare, that is to say in the competitive world of intercity connections.

Two of the most important events of Thessalian history, one mythical, the other historical, were marked by a wedding. According to a tradition reported by Polyaeus the culmination of what we call the Thessalian invasion, the first conceptual arrival of the Thessalians into Thessaly, a foreign land then occupied by another people, was a marriage. According to the story, as the Thessalians in their wanderings came to the banks of the river Acheloos, Polykleia, the sister of their leader Aiatos asked him to carry her across. He put down his armour and did so. Once close to the other shore, the sister jumped from his arms onto the land thus fulfilling an oracle that the first to set foot there would become the ruler. Rather than becoming angry with his sister, Aiatos chose to marry her, so the kingdom would not pass to another man.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Ael. NA. 12.34. Sources: Aristotle is mentioned as a source on more than fifty occasions.

¹³² Marriage and horses: Detienne (1981) 97 with reference to the Thessalian custom.

¹³³ For Greek wedding ceremonies in general see Vatin (1970) 207ff; Oakley and Sinos (1993); Vêrilhac and Vial (1998) 281ff, esp. 291–3, 330–2.

¹³⁴ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.44.

Another important turning point in Thessalian history marked by a wedding was Thessaly's surrender to Macedonia. Philip II acquired during the 350s two Thessalian wives, Philinna from Larisa and Nikesipolis from Pherai.¹³⁵

Both Aiatos' and Philip's marriages were to some extent 'abnormal'. Philip was a foreigner and polygamous, while Aiatos' wedding was incestuous. It is impossible to know how common intermarriages within the same family were in Thessaly;¹³⁶ or how willing a Thessalian would have been to hand in his daughter to a polygamous foreigner, had he not have been someone of the status of Philip.¹³⁷ When viewed, however, in the context of the archetypal role they perform, the 'abnormal' character of Aiatos' and Philip's weddings acquire some of their meaning. Aiatos' incestuous wedding to Polykleia is an extreme measure to exclude any trace of foreign blood and validates in the story the Thessalians' righteous exclusive claim to the new land, while the exogamous polygamous marriages to Philip somehow mark the Thessalians' opening to a new foreign ruler.

Polykleia's claim to her brother that the kingdom was rightfully hers is striking. We should wonder what place this story, which made a woman the first legitimate ruler of Thessaly, would have had in the imaginative world of Thessalian men and women. It was perhaps precisely because women could function as vehicles of legitimacy that marriage acquired such importance in the Thessalian civic culture and worldview. We can now better understand how Philip, by marrying two women from the longstanding rival cities of Larisa and Pherai, could present himself, or rather his descendant, as the legitimate ruler of the whole Thessalian *ethnos*.¹³⁸

Several pieces of evidence, then, seem to indicate that Thessalian women had important privileges, such as property rights, and that some of the important events of their lives, such as death, marriage, and childbirth, although typically belonging to the private sphere, found a place and were celebrated in the public. They did so elsewhere. In Athens, for instance, the Brauronia was an important public festival, and the frequent depiction of women on funerary *stelai* from the mid-fifth century onwards has been connected with their changed status as conduits of legitimate citizenship after Perikles' citizenship law.¹³⁹ In Thessaly, however, this interplay between

¹³⁵ See in general Carney (2000) 60–2.

¹³⁶ Archinos *FGrH* 604 F 1 mentioned in his work *Thessalian matters* that the brother-sister marriage was an Aiolian custom. Vêrilhac and Vial (1998) 93–4 for different states allowing the marriage between siblings from the same father or mother.

¹³⁷ In Athens all but certainly it would have been derided: see Dem. 24.202–3 and 25.55, who describes marrying out one's sister to a foreigner as a selling.

¹³⁸ The idea that legitimacy to rule passed through the woman might also account for the tradition (Plut. *Mor.* 492a–b) that Aleuas the Red, when selected by Apollo at Delphi to become King of Thessaly, was announced with his matronym (*τὸν Ἀρχεδίκη τέκε παῖδα*).

¹³⁹ R. Osborne (2004) 38ff.

a woman's private moments and public life took on a different character. Marriage, childbirth, and death seem to have entered the agonistic civic culture. They found a place in honorary civic decrees, the death of a woman could become a polis event, and women commemorated childbirth on inscribed monuments, similar to those dedicated by officials to Athens Polias.¹⁴⁰ This phenomenon can, on the one hand, be associated with the fact that Thessaly was an oligarchic society, and in oligarchic societies a few women can often play more prominent roles than in democratic regimes. On the other hand, it was reinforced by the Thessalian world view which made women, at least in some traditions, the first legitimate rulers of Thessaly.

What might all this have meant for their everyday lives?¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, we know very little else about how Thessalian women spent their time: in a few sources they are associated with weaving;¹⁴² about their education: late sources make them experts in astronomy or in *pharmakeia*,¹⁴³ or about their modes of socialization: the only evidence that shows women acting collectively is a couple of dedicatory inscriptions from north-east Thessaly offered by several women.¹⁴⁴ While trying to outline the different horizons of a Thessalian woman with both their highs and lows it is worth wondering whether the fact that they were more closely intertwined with the competitive world of male politics also made their lives more unstable. We do, for instance, hear of incidents of Thessalian cities fighting wars between them and selling the defeated population into slavery.¹⁴⁵

2.5. MODELS OF OLIGARCHIC CONSTITUTION AND RELIGION IN THE THESSALIAN POLEIS

It is time to return to the more general theme of this chapter, the impact of the social structures of Thessalian oligarchic cities on the religious life of the population. There are not many discussions of religion in oligarchic Greek states, just as there are not many studies of the relationship between religion and society in states other than Athens. But we can get an idea of some

¹⁴⁰ See section 1.4.1a.

¹⁴¹ Note van Bremen (1996), 217–20, 261–3, 301, who argues that such privileges as property rights do not necessarily mean 'increased freedom'.

¹⁴² Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.1.4–5; *Anth. Pal.* 6.136.

¹⁴³ See section 6.3.

¹⁴⁴ Tziafalias (1984b) 219 no. 97: a third-century BC dedication found at Larisa, which lists the names of eight women followed by their patronymics. Two of them are mentioned alongside other women in *IG IX 2 1227*, which was found at Phalanna. There were of course all women rituals in honour of Demeter: section 3.2.3; and of Aphrodite: *Ath.* 13.589a; *Paus.* 2.2.4–5; *Σ Ar. Plut.* 179d (Chantry).

¹⁴⁵ *Diod.* 14.82; *Paus.* 6.5.2.

common attitudes by looking at some of the statements that have been made about oligarchies and some of the discussion concerning religion in Athens in the Archaic period before it became a democracy. Aristotle's statement that any state that wants to become a democracy should aim to restrict the number of private cults and replace them instead with a few public ones has been extremely influential.¹⁴⁶ Again and again we find the idea that public religion was rather secondary in oligarchies, the great bulk of religious life taking place in other more restricted contexts: in one's village, home, or small kinship group.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, there is no reason to connect public religious life only with democracy. Indeed, Jameson has argued that the creation of an extensive public religious calendar—what made Athens a city of festivals—was not necessarily the democracy so much as the empire.¹⁴⁸ A rich oligarchy, too, may have had the wherewithal and impulse to invest in lavish spectacles. In any case, the dichotomy of oligarchy versus democracy is in some respects abstract and schematic.¹⁴⁹ It is true that democracies gloss over status differences to emphasize common citizenship. But if they were to function both democracies and oligarchies would have needed to accept, make use of, and, through ideology, justify, status differences. We can perhaps grant that oligarchies would need to have formed common identities that stretched beyond the narrow political elite.¹⁵⁰

Our reconstruction of Thessalian society indicates that a more complex model is needed. There were undoubtedly deep divisions in the Thessalian population. Someone like Menon, who had marriage links and *xenia* relationships all over Thessaly, visited Athens and enjoyed the company of Socrates, had little in common with Gigoun, who claimed that his family had never moved from the environs of Pharsalos, and was finally awarded a small plot of land in the area only at the end of the third century. Women's lives and their religious experiences were also very different from those of men. Nevertheless, an idea existed of a common citizenship shared by Menon, by Gigoun (partly at least), as well as by women. Instead of polarizing the discussion into a public versus private opposition, we should investigate the ways in which they co-existed, were kept separate, or blended on numerous occasions. Centralized festivals, for instance, could have brought everyone together, but given prominence to particular groups in them, or ascribed different roles to different types of participants. Other festivals, even if they were celebrated by specific

¹⁴⁶ Arist. *Pol.* 1319^b.

¹⁴⁷ The idea is critically discussed by Brulé (1998b) esp. 319–20 and Jameson (1998).

¹⁴⁸ Jameson (1998).

¹⁴⁹ Brock and Hodkinson (2000) 12 argue that changes from democracy to oligarchy and back again were extremely common in the political life of many Greek states and actually meant little for social structures.

¹⁵⁰ See also Arist. *Pol.* 1321^a about how magistrates in an oligarchy should offer splendid sacrifices and construct some public work.

groups separately, could have acquired importance as polis cults because, for instance, participation was restricted to members of the polis or because myths rooted them in the polis' history. And the religion of the household, although a private affair, could have wider symbolic importance.¹⁵¹ Our aim should be to try to describe in detail these interactions, and to assess their possible significance for the perceptions of the participants.

I start with religion in the household.¹⁵² Archaeologists' attempts in the early twentieth century to discover the 'palaces', or 'baronial castles,' of the Thessalian noblemen met with little success.¹⁵³ Excavations in more recent years have occasionally revealed Archaic and Classical layers under later Hellenistic houses, but they are too fragmentary to give us a picture of an Archaic or Classical house, the status of its inhabitants and the activities that took place there.¹⁵⁴ The Hellenistic material is more plentiful, but has yet to be studied in detail, and again very rarely can we associate particular houses with particular classes of the population.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a) 52–4; R. Parker (1996) 5–6 and (2005) 9ff; Boedeker (2012). For the wider significance of women's 'private' affairs in Thessaly see previous section.

¹⁵² Household religion has been approached traditionally mostly through Athenian literary sources: H. J. Rose (1957); Nilsson (1961) 65–83; R. Parker (2005) 9ff; Boedeker (2012); Faraone (2012). But attempts have been made to bring into the discussion the important archaeological evidence for household cults in different periods: Morris (1987) 189 (with the comments of Sourvinou-Inwood (1993) 6); Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 375ff; Jameson (1990a) and (1990b); Bruneau (1970) 640–1; A. Chrysostomou (1996–7) 218; Harward (1982) 119–20, 127; Kreeb (1988) 63–7; Kunze (1996) 111–15.

¹⁵³ Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1909) 168 for the house of local aristocrats at Soros; *PAE* (1910) 249 for Gonnoi and *PAE* (1915) 173 for the 'palace' of the Scopads at Krannon. The most special characteristic of these buildings seems to have been their location. In all cases the supposed palace was inside, or in close proximity to the acropolis. Arvanitopoulos seems to have envisaged a close relation between these ruling families and the cult of Athena Polias. Arvanitopoulos' suggestions have been ignored, or viewed with scepticism: Morris (1998) 40.

¹⁵⁴ But see Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, *AD* 34 (1979) *Chron.* 221–2 and (1985) 85–6, 88–9, who reports the finding of a Late Archaic/Early Classical megaron-like building at Larisa under later Hellenistic habitation remains. The finds included several Attic black-figure and red-figure pots, including a cup by the painter of Euergidis, which had the inscription Hipparchos Kalos. These finds may indicate that the inhabitants had contacts with Athens and perhaps a liking for the Peisistratids. The context of an Attic red-figure crater, which might have been a commission of a Thessalian visitor to Athens, is not clear, but it might have been a house: *AD* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 289; Tiverios (1989) 126ff. Remains of an Archaic building, interpreted as a house with evidence for metalworking has been found at Pherai (*AD* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 255–6) and of two apsidal buildings at Pharsalos (*AD* 51 (1996) *Chron.* 374). For a fifth-century house at Pharsalos see Katakouta (2009). Other Archaic buildings have been found at Ktouri: Béquignon (1932) 139–47, who, though, believes it was a temple; and at Orphana in western Thessaly: *AD* 48 (1993) *Chron.* 245–8.

¹⁵⁵ I give here a list of those Hellenistic buildings identified as houses whose plan is better known. Numerous other remains of walls which possibly belonged to houses have also been excavated. See also *AD* 52 (1997) *Chron.* 499 for the remains at Azoros (Perrhaibia) of the mansion of the royal *epistates*, which, however, has not yet been excavated. Demetrias: Stählin, Meyer, and Heidner (1934) 125ff; Batziou-Efstathiou (1996) 22–6; *AD* 48 (1993) *Chron.* 229–30; *AD* 53 (1998) *Chron.* 414–15. Goritsa: Bakhuizen (1992) 222–5. Halos: Reinders (1988) 113–34;

Portable ritual equipment, such as small altars, *thymiateria* (incense burners), and, in particular, figurines, has been found in many houses.¹⁵⁶ In a few houses at Pharsalos and Kastro Kallithea a more characteristic type of monument, a kind of small altar with small round protrusions on it, has been found.¹⁵⁷ Further examples of similar objects set up as dedications in sanctuaries have been reported from Pharsalos itself, Phthiotic Thebes and Kastro Kallithea in Achaia Phthiotis, Eretria, a city west of Pharsalos, and Pelinna in north-western Thessaly.¹⁵⁸ These small spherical protrusions were, according to one interpretation, imitations of small *omphaloi*, or, preferably, imitations of cakes.¹⁵⁹ In one of the Pharsalian houses six such spherical objects were

Haagsma (2003) and (2010). Kallithea: AD 39 (1984) *Chron.* 148. Krannon: AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 368–9 for a Late Hellenistic house with an *andron* decorated with a mosaic floor. Larisa: AD 34 (1979) *Chron.* 221–2; AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 230; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1985); Tziafalias (1994c) 157. Metropolis: AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 248. Pharsalos: AD 35 (1980) *Chron.* 289–91; AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 271–4; AD 49 (1994) *Chron.* 335–6 remains of various Hellenistic houses, including a large one with two storeys; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 373–7; AD 54 (1999) *Chron.* 423–4; AD 55 (2000) *Chron.* 506; Karapanou (2012) 406 mentions a luxurious house with two symposium rooms and mosaic floors. Pherai: AD 35 (1980) *Chron.* 269–70; AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 259–61; AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 243–5; AD 46 (1991) *Chron.* 212–15; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) 81. Difficulties exist in distinguishing between workshops and houses: the two activities might have taken place in the same building. See e.g. the buildings excavated at the locality Aulagadia at the south-eastern part of Pherai: AD 39 (1984) *Chron.* 146; AD 40 (1985) *Chron.* 191–2; AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 237–8; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1992) 440.

¹⁵⁶ See n. 155. For *thymiateria* in specific see also Karapanou and Katakouta (2000) 118–25. Another exceptional find is reported by Haagsma (2003) 58–60: a stone vessel containing various objects (a bone fragment, a shell, a sherd, and two serpent-shaped pieces of metal) and dug into the earth in the largest room of the ‘house of the snakes’ at Halos. It has been identified as a *semeion* of Zeus Ktesios. But as far as we know this peculiar ‘image’ of the god was set up in the storeroom of the house, not just in any room: Menander fr. 410 (Kassel/Austin). For the cult of Zeus Ktesios in general see Cook (1914–40) ii. 1054ff; Sjövall (1931) 53–74; H. J. Rose (1957) 100–3; R. Parker (2005) 15–16. For the evidence of cult in some houses (?) of Demetrias see section 4.3.

¹⁵⁷ Pharsalos: AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 271–4; AD 49 (1994) *Chron.* 335; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 376–7. Kastro Kallithea: Haagsma (2010) 38 for a marble block with three protrusions found in a house.

¹⁵⁸ Eretria: Blum (1992) 203–8: worked on the natural rock in a sanctuary of Apollo (?). Kastro Kallithea: Haagsma et al. (2011) 202 refers to an example found in the agora of the city. Pelinna: Darmezín and Tziafalias (2005) 67–9 dedicated by a man. Pharsalos: AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 283 (= Decourt (1995) no. 134) dedicated by a woman. Haagsma et al. (2011); Karapanou (2012) 412 mention further possible examples from the sanctuaries of Zeus Thaulios and Asclepius at Pharsalos, although the reports of Arvanitopoulos describe them as projections to support offerings. (Haagsma has kindly informed me that they are still visible at the area of the sanctuary of Asclepius and that they look like the other examples.) Phthiotic Thebes: AD 32 (1977) *Chron.* 128 dedication by women to Artemis and Ennodia. The assertion that, when found in domestic contexts, they were connected with Ennodia/Hecate or Aphrodite is uncertain.

¹⁵⁹ *Omphaloi*: Blum (1992) 206 for the ones at Eretria. Cakes: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 62 n. 182 for the examples from Phthiotic Thebes. Darmezín and Tziafalias (2005) 68, stress, unconvincedly to my view, differences between the examples found at Eretria, and those at Pharsalos and Pelinna (they do not mention the examples from Phthiotic Thebes) and argue that the first were *omphaloi*, while the latter were cakes.

found deposited in a niche created at the corner of a room;¹⁶⁰ while in another case an altar with a single spherical protrusion was found in the courtyard of the house. In the same house, almost in the middle of the courtyard, a shallow pit lined with stones and containing several figurines which depicted reclining women was also found. It is noteworthy that the figurines were made several centuries before the construction of the house, in the late sixth or early fifth century. From the same pit came the base of a small stele; the stele itself was found a few metres away.¹⁶¹ Comparable finds, pits with figurines, or small delineated spaces with a stele set up in them, have been reported from other houses at Pharsalos and Pherai. In one of the rooms of a house at Pharsalos a small pit, which contained five intact seated female figurines, has been unearthed;¹⁶² while in a Late Hellenistic house at Pherai a simple stele with a triangular top was erected in an area at the north-eastern side of the courtyard, which was set apart by a stone peribolos. In front of it, dug into the earth, was a clay pot divided into two parts and covered with a slab.¹⁶³ There are enough similarities between these cases to point to some sharing of traditions among households across Thessaly, or at least parts of it.¹⁶⁴ The simplicity of the finds, and in one instance their date, could indicate that they were connected with some small-scale household ritual in honour of the ancestral gods of the house.¹⁶⁵

That being said, we know from literary sources that household celebrations could at times turn into large and sumptuous social events. The feasts of the Thessalians were proverbial. Scopas' ill-fated celebration for some victory, which ended up with the roof of the house collapsing and killing almost all participants, was the most infamous of them. It must have been an opulent celebration, and the great poet Simonides was invited to sing the praises of his host. The circle of those invited, however, seems to have been limited to members of the family. So much at least we can infer from the fact that the event was remembered as the 'sudden demise of all the Scopads'.¹⁶⁶ The name-giving ceremony organized by Jason of Pherai for his newly-born son was,

¹⁶⁰ AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 377.

¹⁶¹ AD 43 (1998) *Chron.* 271–3.

¹⁶² AD 35 (1980) *Chron.* 291.

¹⁶³ AD 46 (1991) *Chron.* 213.

¹⁶⁴ Note also that simple *stelai* but with dedicatory inscriptions by women (the god is not mentioned) have been found in buildings interpreted as houses at Pherai and Krannon: AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 259–60; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 369.

¹⁶⁵ For *stelai* serving as the focal point in household cults at Corinth see Williams (1981); Gaifman (2012) 207ff for a discussion of such simple stele-monuments and the cult of the ancestral gods of the family, with reference to the example from Pherai. R. Parker (2005) 21ff for the household gods being subsumed in the category of 'ancestral gods'. We know very little and uncertain about who these gods worshipped in the Thessalian houses might have been: for the *patrooi* (ancestral) gods in Thessaly see later in this section; for Zeus Ktesios see n. 156; for the lack of any evidence for the cult of Ennodia in Thessalian houses see section 3.4.2.

¹⁶⁶ The sources are collected and discussed by Molyneux (1971).

according to Polyaeus, a more open event, attended by various Thessalian noblemen.¹⁶⁷ The celebration appears exceptional in scope in comparison to the image we have of its Athenian equivalent. In Athens the name-giving ceremony seems to have taken place on the seventh or tenth day after birth and involved a night feast in which close relatives must have participated.¹⁶⁸ In Jason's case what was meant to be a family gathering became an event of Panthessalian importance.

Families and kinship groups worshipped also outside the house. A group called *anchistoi* is known from two dedicatory inscriptions found at Pharsalos and Phalanna dedicated to Zeus Thaulios in the first case and to the Patrooi Theoi in the second.¹⁶⁹ The word *anchistoi*, which literally means the ones close or nearby, was used in Athens as a technical term to describe the bilateral kindred who had rights of mourning and inheritance. The group of *anchistoi* in Athens was ego-focused and seems to have included the relatives up to first cousins once removed, or second cousins.¹⁷⁰ But if the reading of the inscription on the dedication at Pharsalos as 'to Zeus Thaulios from the *anchistoi* those around Parmeniskos' (Διὶ Θαυλίῳ/ἀνχιστῶν οἱ περὶ Παρ/μένισκον) is correct, then the *anchisteia* in Thessaly cannot have had precisely the meaning it had in Athens, since it would be impossible to have as a subunit of the *anchisteia* (which is itself an ego-focused group) another ego-focused group (those around Parmeniskos).¹⁷¹ Perhaps we should allow for a more general

¹⁶⁷ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.1.6.

¹⁶⁸ About the ceremony and the problem of its relation to the *amphidromia* see: R. Parker (1983) 51; Hamilton (1984).

¹⁶⁹ Pharsalos: Decourt (1995) 79 no. 62. Phalanna: unpublished inscription mentioned by Tziafalias (2000b) 100.

¹⁷⁰ Lacey (1968) 28–9, 275, n. 21–2; Littman (1990) 24, 35; MacDowell (1963) 15–18 and (1978) 97–9, 106–7; Seaford (1994) 101. The only other epigraphic attestation of *anchisteia* to my knowledge is that in the decree in Nacone, Sicily. The word seems to have been used generally to mean 'close relationships', but there was at the same time a law which seems to have attributed to the word a more precise legal meaning: *SEG* 30 (1980) no. 1119; Asheri (1982); Dössel (2003) 235–47. For groups with similar functions as the Athenian *anchisteia* elsewhere in the Greek world see R. Parker (1983) 40, who discusses the Labyadai inscription from Delphi and the Ioulis law from Keos.

¹⁷¹ For the form ἀνχιστῶν as a partitive genitive see Decourt (1995) 79 no. 62. P. Chrysostomou (1998) 237 has even suggested that Parmeniskos was dead and it was on this occasion that his *anchisteia* dedicated. The suggestion is far-fetched; note also that the expression οἱ περὶ τινα, when followed by a proper name, is usually inclusive and signifies the person named and his entourage (Radt (1980) 47–58; Gorman (2001) 201–13; Radt (2002) 46). Another possible reading would be to take the genitive ἀνχιστῶν not as a partitive genitive but as dependent on the god. The translation would then read 'to Zeus Thaulios of the *anchistoi*. Parmeniskos and his entourage'. I do not know of any examples where the cultic epithet derived from the social group is put in the genitive after the name of the god. But there are forms, such as Zeus Alastoros Patroos of the Peleides (Rolley (1965) 446). The fact that the phrase 'ἀνχιστῶν οἱ' starts in a different line and does not follow immediately the epithet of the god may, however, indicate that the genitive ἀνχιστῶν was not actually dependent on the god.

meaning of the word, such as the kin or relatives, without it having, or always having, a restricted technical sense.¹⁷²

The Patrooi Theoi and Zeus Thaulios seem to have been gods of kinship groups. In Thessaly the cult of gods called Patrooi is attested by several inscriptions, other than the one from Phalanna, spanning the period from the fifth to the first century BC. Athena, Ennodia, the Moirai, and, last but not least, Poseidon appear to have been the gods whom the Thessalians considered as Patrooi.¹⁷³ Most of the dedications to the Patrooi were made by private individuals, and in all cases where the name is included, they came from men. Be that as it may, a dedication to Athena Patroa from Gonnoi seems to have been dedicated by a kinship group,¹⁷⁴ and I have already referred to the dedication from Phalanna offered by the *anchistoi*. The cult of gods called Patrooi is widely attested in the Greek world and, although the epithet Patroos, which is usually translated as ‘ancestral’, is a broad one and could, in speech, apply to the whole pantheon of the state, whenever evidence for the structures of their worship is available, the Patrooi gods appear to be those of the household or of other small kinship groups.¹⁷⁵ Zeus Thaulios is a god more peculiar to Thessaly.¹⁷⁶ In his case, too, there is further evidence for his association with kinship groups. At Atrax he received a dedication

¹⁷² For yet another suggestion see Helly (1995) 316 n. 106, who prefers to see them as a group of neighbours with Parmeniskos as their *archon*.

¹⁷³ Athena at Gonnoi: Tziafalias (1984b) no. 78 (end of fourth century). Ennodia and Poseidon at Pythion: *IG IX 2* 1286; Tziafalias (1985a) nos. 20, 25; Lucas (1992a) nos. 33 and 36 (third century). Athena and Ennodia at Larisa: Helly (1970b) 251 l.19 (late third century); *AD* 51 (1996) *Chron.* 382 no. 1 (fifth century). Theoi Patrooi at Atrax: Tziafalias (1984a) no. 68 (first century); Voutiras (1985). The Moirai at Pherai: *AD* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 270–1 (for the cults of Moirai: Graf (1985) 24–31). Ennodia at Pagasai (?): *IG IX 2* 358 (first quarter of fourth century). The cult of Poseidon Patragenēs attested at Atrax and Agia (*AD* 45 (1990) *Chron.* 219 no. 12; *AD* 40 (1985) *Chron.* 207 no. 32) might be related: so Nilsson (1906) 73–4; Nilsson (1967) 452. Contra: Robertson (1984) 12–14, who argues that this and other related epithets of the god, such as Genethlios, Genesios, Phytalmios, and Pater, have nothing to do with his role as patron of kinship groups, but testify to his interest in procreation. But Plut. *Mor.* 730d, who attributes to the descendants of Hellen (the Thessalians, we may assume) the cult of Poseidon Patragenēs, seems to imply that he was the Patroos god par excellence. Nilsson (1906) 74 no. 1 surprisingly associates the passage with the Peloponnese (perhaps because at that time the cult had not yet been epigraphically attested and Poseidon’s related titles Genesios, Genethlios, are only known from the Peloponnese. See also Mylonopoulos (2003) 61–4, 225). Apart from the cases discussed so far see also P. Chrysostomou (1998) 250 n. 1005, who suggests that a dedicatory inscription to *ΑΠΛΩΝΙ: ΠΑ* from Meliboia was a dedication to Apollo Patroos: *AE* (1932) 19 no. 2. Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000) 83–4 also suggests that *IG IX 2* 1020, a fragmentary inscription from Larisa with the letters . . . *ONITIA*, was a dedication to Apollo Patroos.

¹⁷⁴ The last letters of what might have been the name of the dedicant survive: the ending in -idai points to a kind of gentilician group.

¹⁷⁵ For the Patrooi in various places see discussions in Rolley (1965) 452ff; Hedrick (1988) 200ff; Lambert (1993) 211–15; Brulé (1998b) 313–17; R. Parker (2005) 20–3, who also stresses the connection with the household and (2008).

¹⁷⁶ His cult is discussed in detail in section 3.2.2.

by a group called Simmidai, a gentilician group of some kind with twenty members;¹⁷⁷ while a group of six men also dedicated to the god at Pherai.¹⁷⁸

Although the affair of kinship groups, the cults of the Patrooi gods were often, elsewhere in the Greek world, of great importance to the city.¹⁷⁹ We know very little about the setting of their cults in Thessaly, or of that of Zeus Thaulios; whether different kinship groups had separate shrines, or several kinship groups (or all of them) worshipped together at a single spot.¹⁸⁰ The latter is usually assumed in the case of Zeus Thaulios. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the dedications to the god at Larisa and Xylades, a small settlement east of Pharsalos, were set up on the acropolis, one of the most symbolically important places of the city, underlying thus the centrality of the affairs of kinship groups to the polis. Elsewhere, the sanctuary of the god was in a more peripheral location. At Pharsalos it was at the west edge of the city, still, though, in a prominent spot, the hill of Hagia Paraskevi. And although the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios seem to have been simple-looking, making use of the natural rock, the finding of Archaic Doric capitals indicates that the wider area might have been quite monumentalized from early on.¹⁸¹ At Larisa the sanctuary of Athena Patria was in a peripheral location, outside the city walls and on the road going to Krannon. We have no idea how it looked. We only learn about it because the broader area was inspected by officials of the city, perhaps an indication for polis interest even in such private shrines.¹⁸² The shrine of Poseidon Patroos at Pythion was also outside the city walls, but the dedications to him were set up in the largest and most prestigious sanctuary of the city, that of Apollo Pythios, and Poseidon Patroos might even have had his own temple within its bounds.¹⁸³

Another cult in which kinship groups were clearly involved was that of Apollo Hekatombios attested in the Basaidai document from Metropolis.

¹⁷⁷ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918; Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147.

¹⁷⁸ Pherai: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 232 pl. 35a (unpublished). Note also the dedication by eight men at Atrax: Tziafalias (1984a) 202 no. 70. The name of the god is not mentioned, but the inscription was found together with other dedications to Zeus Thaulios at the supposed sanctuary of the god: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 68.

¹⁷⁹ In the sense that their cult seems to have served to bring together the various subgroups, rather than to keep them apart: see the works cited in n. 175 and especially R. Parker (2008) 208–9.

¹⁸⁰ See for example the shrines of the Patrooi gods at Thasos: Rolley (1965).

¹⁸¹ For some scholars the hill of Hagia Paraskevi was the centre of the old city: Stählin (1924) 136. For Zeus Thaulios being worshipped in the large sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai see section 3.2.2.

¹⁸² Helly (1970b); Salviat and Vatin (1971).

¹⁸³ Preliminary reports mention the remains of two temples, one of which is identified with that of Poseidon Patroos. It is not clear if that was true only for the Roman sanctuary. Excavations have revealed the Roman sanctuary, which, according to Tziafalias, had two temples, one of Apollo Pythios and another of Poseidon Patroos. The Classical and Hellenistic sanctuary was further up the hill. See in general Lucas (1997) 184–5; Tziafalias (2000a) 91; *AD* 51 (1996) *Chron.* 363–4.

Their exact role in the cult is not clear. Was this a private cult of one particular group, the Basaidai; of kinship groups in general as the Patrooi, or Zeus Thaulios seems to have been; or a state cult in which a kinship group, the Basaidai, had a prominent role? The god had two sanctuaries served by two priests, one at Ttylichnai, the other most likely at Metropolis.¹⁸⁴ The existence of two sanctuaries, one of which was centrally located, could indicate that his cult at Metropolis was public and the Basaidai had a special connection with it, not least by furnishing the priest. But this conclusion is not inescapable, since we could as well imagine that the Basaidai had another private shrine, a seat in the city.¹⁸⁵ The epithet of the god (the one to whom hecatombs are offered), which connects him with large-scale sacrifices,¹⁸⁶ might also be taken to indicate extended worship beyond the confines of the Basaidai group. The *Hekatombaia could be a state festival in which the Basaidai played a prominent role,¹⁸⁷ or alternatively a festival celebrated by various small kinship groups, without there being any central celebration.¹⁸⁸ Eitrem has indeed suggested that the festival of Apollo Hekatombios elsewhere in the Greek world was similar to the Ionian Apatouria.¹⁸⁹ His tentative argument, which was based on the evidence for participation of young boys and ephebes in the sacrifice in the Mykonian cult of Apollo Hekatombios, now finds some slight support in the Thessalian evidence, in the sense that one kinship group at least, and not just representatives of various age groups, seems to have been involved in the cult. The connection with the Apatouria, however, which Eitrem put forward, invokes much more than the evidence allows us to support. The Apatouria, which we know mostly from Athens, was celebrated by all phratries. And the introduction of young boys to their father's phratry, which was the high moment of the festival, marked also their entrance to

¹⁸⁴ Only the epithet of the god, Hekatombios, survives on the inscription, but the restoration of the god's name as Apollo is very plausible, since the epithet Hekatombios, seems to have commonly been an epithet of Apollo. It was also of Zeus: Hesych. ε 1270: Ἑκατόμβαιος. ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνη καὶ παρ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ Κρησίν. For the cult of Zeus Hekatombios on Crete: Willetts (1962) 238–9; Sporn (2002) 174, 227. Note also the festival Hekatombaia for Hera at Argos: Nilsson (1906) 43. But for Apollo being the most likely option in the case of Metropolis see Helly (1970a) 185–6.

¹⁸⁵ Zelnick-Abramovitz (2000) 118 believes that non-members were debarred from the cult.

¹⁸⁶ The name was associated with large offerings: Strabo 8.4.11 refers to the festival Hekatombaia at Sparta so-called from the offerings of 100 *polichnai* outside Sparta; see also Σ Pind. Ol. 7.152 for the Heraia at Argos. But on Mykonos (see later in this section) only few offerings were given and Nilsson (1906) 174 n. 5 mentions the small hecatomb of Miletus. Σ Eur. Phoen. 1408 refers to the Thessalians promising every year a hecatomb of men to Apollo Kataibasios and not giving it.

¹⁸⁷ So seem to think Decourt et al. (2004) 697–8 no. 403, who identify, for reasons not clear to me, the sanctuary at Lianokokkala as that of Apollo Hekatombios.

¹⁸⁸ See n. 186 about the *polichnai* of Sparta.

¹⁸⁹ Eitrem (1921–2) 106–8. He was followed by Helly (1970a) 186. Contra: Guarducci (1937) 67 n. 1. See also Nilsson (1906) 174, who connects the cult of Apollo Hekatombios with plague.

citizenship.¹⁹⁰ Although it would not be too far-fetched to argue that it was during this festival that new members were introduced into the group of Basaidai (which would also explain why the priests of the god were appointed to safeguard the decision not to allow anyone outside the *syngeneia* to be enrolled), we unfortunately lack enough hard evidence for the civic importance of the cult or for this kind of extended celebration.

The cult of Zeus Homoloios might be a better example of a centrally organized cult in which one kinship group, at least, had some role. The god is known from three dedicatory inscriptions from various Thessalian cities, and the one found at Larisa was offered by a group called the *Ἀνδραγαθίδαι οἱ ἐν Κυλιάδαις*.¹⁹¹ It is uncertain what kind of group the Andragathidai were. All that we can say is that since the word Kyliadai could well be identified as a toponym, the Andragathidai were based in different localities.¹⁹² The cult of Zeus Homoloios seems once to have been widespread in central and northern Greece: his cult is attested in Boiotia, Euboia, Aitolia, and Lesbos.¹⁹³ According to one tradition the god was worshipped by the Aioliens and he was so-called because he promoted concord, an interpretation that gives a certain political colouring to the god.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, in Boiotia the cult seems to have been a state cult celebrated at some expense. The festival of Homoloia at Orchomenos, for instance, included choregic competitions and, if an inscription from Megara is to be associated with the Boiotian festival (and not with that of some other area, such as Thessaly), also athletic ones.¹⁹⁵ If the comparison with Boiotia carries any weight then perhaps in Thessaly, too, the Andragathidai had a role in a bigger festival.

Such a role for a kinship group is revealed to us in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, who in relating Erysichthon's misfortunes mentions his invitation by

¹⁹⁰ For the Athenian Apatouria: Lambert (1993) 143–89; R. Parker (2005) 458–61.

¹⁹¹ Tziafalias (1984b) no. 96. Other dedications were found at Atrax: Helly (1983a) 164 (end of third century); Tziafalias (1984b) no. 25 (third century); and Metropolis: *AD* 40 (1985) *Chron.* 195 (Hellenistic).

¹⁹² Tziafalias (1984b) identified the Andragathidai as a phratry and the Kyliadai as a *phyle*. But see now Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147, who call the Andragathidai a phratry or a *genos*; Darmezis and Tziafalias (2007) 28 call them a *genos*. The dedicant at Atrax (see previous note), prosopographic evidence shows, belonged to one of the most prominent families of the city.

¹⁹³ For Boiotia see later in this section. Eretria: *IG* XII 9. 268 a boundary stone of Zeus Homoloios. A month Homoloios is attested at Boiotia, Aitolia, and Lesbos: Trümper (1997) 225. The little we know about the cult is discussed in Nilsson (1906) 12–13; Cook (1914–40) ii. 900–1; Schwabl (1978) 1467; Schachter (1981) iii. 120–2, 148.

¹⁹⁴ Istros *FGH* 334 F 5: ... διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηρικὸν ὄμιλον λέγεσθαι. Farnell (1896–1909) i. 64 follows this etymology to make the cult of the god political. But *S*² Theoc. 7.103; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὀμόλη; Paus. 9.8.5–7 associate the epithet with the mountain Homole or Homolion and the city of the same name at the border of Macedonia and Magnesia.

¹⁹⁵ Schachter (1981) iii. 121 for the Boiotian evidence and *IG* VII 48 for the inscription from Megara. See also Tziafalias, *AD* 34 (1979) *Chron.* 217 no. 3, who suggests on the basis of the findspot of the stele of Andragathidai that the sanctuary of the god was in the agora of Larisa. But the inscription was reused for the recording of manumissions.

a kinship group called the Ormenidai to the games of Athena Itonia. Athena Itonia, whose sanctuary at Philia was excavated in the 60s, was one of the most important goddesses of the Thessalians.¹⁹⁶ One might be suspicious as to how reliable Callimachus' testimony about the cult is. If the hymn was indeed performed at Kos at a time when the Koans sent *theoriai* to the sanctuary of Itonia, and were thus familiar with the cult, then we would have good reason to believe that the information about the Ormenidai was not misplaced.¹⁹⁷ We would desperately want to know much more about this group which was connected with the most important Panthessalian cult. Were the Ormenidai a *genos* of a city and if so which one?¹⁹⁸ Or shall we imagine them as an independent kind of group (the kind of *syngeneia* that some have wished the Basaidai to be) living outside any civic structures and close to the sanctuary?

The descendants of Athamas at Halos also had a prominent, if slightly ambiguous, role in a public ritual staged at the *prytaneion* of the city, which culminated in the ritual expulsion and 'sacrifice' of one of its members. According to a well-known, but tantalizingly abbreviated, passage from Herodotus, the eldest of the family was forbidden to enter the *prytaneion*, and if he did enter he would have to be sacrificed. While some scholars give to the rite an initiatory character, we should stress here the tension, which the ritual seems to play upon, between the public building of the *prytaneion* and the prominent family of the Athamantidai.¹⁹⁹

We can say very little about the extent of the religious responsibilities of the Ormenidai, the Andragathidai at Larisa, or the Athamantidai of Halos. In her last book Sourvinou-Inwood demonstrated the importance of thinking about

¹⁹⁶ Callim. *Cer.* 74–5.

¹⁹⁷ Sherwin-White (1978) 306–9 for the possibility that the hymn was performed at Kos. For the Koan *theoriai* to Itonos see section 5.6. But other suggestions concerning the possible place of performance have been made, while several scholars believe that the poem was not meant for actual performance at all: Hopkinson (1984) 35–9; Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2012) 84ff. Still the information about the Ormenidai might have been right.

¹⁹⁸ The name seems to be related to a city called Ormenion, which is often located close to Itonos: Diod. 4.37.4, retailing the story of Heracles' slaying of Kyknos, places both Itonos and Ormenion at Achaia Phthiotis; the Homeric Catalogue of Ships mentions Ormenion as part of the kingdom of Eurypylos, which largely coincided with the later district of Thessaliotis, where the sanctuary of Athena Itonia has been excavated. Strabo 9.5.18 knew of a place called Orminion in Magnesia, which was incorporated in the synoecism of Demetrias, and of a place called Armenion, which was located between Larisa and Pherai. Helly (2006b) 153–4 identifies the Homeric Ormenion of the kingdom of Eurypylos with the place called Armenion which Strabo 11.4.8; 11.14.12 locates between Larisa and Pherai. Even in this case the connection with Itonos might still hold since Paus. 1.13.2 located Itonos between Larisa and Pherai. There is also a mention of Orminion in a list of *theorodokoi*, a *terminus ante quem* for which is the 316 BC: *IG IV* (1) 2, 94 b 1.44.

¹⁹⁹ Hdt. 7.197. Hughes (1991) 92–6; Bonnechere (1994) 96–107 give to it an initiatory character. But Georgoudi's (1999) 73 scepticism seems to me right, as does her emphasis on the rite's 'political' implications. Decourt et al. (2004) 714 no. 435 express some scepticism about whether the *prytaneion* mentioned in Herodotus belonged to the local community of Halos or the Phthiotic Achaians.

these issues, which had hitherto been taken for granted, even if we can hardly hope to answer them.²⁰⁰ Intriguing for instance is the name of the group of the Ephyraioi, known to us as the performers of *Pythian* 10th in honour of a young victor from Pelinna. The Ephyraioi may have been the kinship group of the victor, and there is no evidence that they were connected with some particular cult.²⁰¹ Their name, however, connects them with one of the most 'mystical' of cities,²⁰² and we may wonder whether they were perhaps also holders of special religious knowledge. It is a shame we know so little about them.²⁰³

I finally come to the question of the religious life of *phylai*. From the mention of cults in the plural in the document from Atrax we can tentatively suggest that the *phylai* of Thessalian cities were more active religious groups than the Athenian ones which seem to have been centred on the cult of the tribal hero.²⁰⁴ Indeed it has been suggested above that Thessalian *phylai* might better compare to Athenian demes, in that they might have been local communities, some perhaps with old local traditions. The community of Onthyreis, for instance, which might have been incorporated as a *phyle* at Metropolis, had an unusual cult of Aphrodite where pigs were sacrificed.²⁰⁵ Metropolis after the synoecism emulated the rite in its central cult of Aphrodite,²⁰⁶ creating thus a symbolic ritual link between the polis and the member community, but, even so, the various *phylai* could still continue to provide a distinctive religious environment for their members. We know even less about the religious life of those excluded from the cults of the *phylai*, for instance people like Promatheus, or those who are described only as *sympoliteuomenoi*, and finally the *penestai*. While any of the above groups might have participated in public cults, the question about whether they maintained a distinct religious identity remains troublesome and open. Epigraphic evidence hardly allows us to touch on these issues. The archaeological evidence for cult studied

²⁰⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood (2011) 1–23, 340–53.

²⁰¹ It has thus been suggested that the Ephyraioi might have been Krannonians or a group from Krannon. But there is no good reason why the ode would have been performed by people other than Lariseans or Pelinnaians. See Pind. *Nem.* 4, where the *patra* of the victor seems to perform the ode. I find implausible the suggestion that the term Ephyraioi may stand for all Thessalians: von Gaertringen (1890) 2.

²⁰² Ephyra was the name of a city in Thesprotia that was rich in herbs and had an oracle of the dead (Hom. *Od.* 1.261; 2.328; Strabo 8.3.5; Ogden (2001) 46), but tradition also associated it with the area of Krannon (see section 4.2).

²⁰³ Section 6.3 discusses the meager evidence for religious practitioners with special ritual knowledge.

²⁰⁴ For the religious role of the *phylai* in Athens see e.g. Kearns (1985) 192–200; Parker (1996) 103–4.

²⁰⁵ Strabo 9.5.17. For the prohibition of pig sacrifice in the cults of Aphrodite see Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 388–93.

²⁰⁶ Moggi (1976) 344 rightly stresses that, according to the passage, Metropolis took over the rite, not the cult.

in combination with the settlement pattern of the area might prove more promising, but the fragmented nature of archaeological prospecting means that it is still quite difficult to distinguish primary from secondary settlements, and even when this is possible, to talk about the status of their inhabitants and their religious life.²⁰⁷

The evidence discussed thus far does not tally with a model which stresses the role of private religion versus that of the polis. There is no evidence that cult practised in the house was idiosyncratic and that it provided an alternative and competing arena to that of the polis in religious life; and although kinship groups had their own cults, we cannot be certain about how extended their religious activities were, though there is evidence that some of their cults had a public dimension. Even in the case of cults practised in solely private contexts, we cannot just assume that these cults had no wider significance. Nevertheless, as argued above, we should not frame the discussion as a simple opposition between private and public, but pay attention to the details of the interaction between the private and the public sphere. And at this level some interesting points have emerged that are worth bringing to the fore: private parties celebrating what we might think of as normal family moments could become events of Panthessalian importance; some cults of kinship groups, like that of Zeus Thaulios, seem to have had a very prominent position in the city; and apparent tension between prominent private families and public institutions was elaborated in rituals, like that staged at the *prytaneion* of Halos. All could be taken to indicate a tendency for the private to dominate, at least on occasion, the public, and to thus create the potential, given the right circumstances, to override it. Weighing the centrifugal forces of small-group identity against the cohesive forces of the polis to gauge the tipping point at which one overcomes the other is extremely difficult. Any kind of understanding of them must rely on an assessment of the nature of Thessalian society as a whole at particular historical moments.

Now, to gain a different perspective on these issues, I will turn the focus of discussion upside down, moving from the question of groups within society and their relationship to polis religion to the question of polis cults and their importance to the religious life of the population.

²⁰⁷ The settlement pattern of Thessaly is still little known. Since the average distance between cities has been calculated at around 10 kilometres, a dispersed pattern of habitation would not be necessary (but see the arguments of S. and H. Hodkinson (1981) 282–6 for Mantinea). Helly (1995) 292 assumes the existence of at least three villages in the *chora* of each Thessalian city. See also Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) 194–7, who argues that some of the gates of Scotoussa were named after nearby villages. The evidence for cult from some seemingly secondary settlements is discussed further in section 4.2.

3

Polis Cults

3.1. QUESTIONS AND DEFINITIONS

The definition of what a state or public cult is, and in what precise way it differs from private and non-state cults, is problematic. The individual participated in public cults, which often included private acts of worship, and private cults were often condoned by the polis. The division between public and private can best be discerned in matters of administration and finance. In public/state cults the polis was responsible for the financing, organization, and regulation of several cults. But a lot of variation existed, ranging from the polis regulating every aspect of the cult to its sharing responsibilities and co-operating with other bodies, or having only a minimum involvement.¹ Thessaly is not an area where we will find ourselves engrossed in the minutiae of cult administration. Evidence for such matters is in short supply. Occasionally, we will see a polis seeking oracular advice concerning the treasure of one of its sanctuaries; or civic officials handling the money for sacrifices and supervising what seems to be the sacred property of various cults. In many instances we will have to advance by a more indirect way. Evidence such as cults depicted on coins, eponymous priests, the cults to which magistrates dedicated, or the sanctuaries where civic decrees were displayed can manifest a polis' interest in a certain cult.²

The location of the various sanctuaries has played an important role both in the selection of the cults, and in the structuring of the discussion that follows. Much has been written in recent years on the placement of sanctuaries, stressing that their location is an important parameter which should contribute to our understanding of a cult.³ Very popular is the division of sanctuaries into urban, suburban, and extra-urban. While the mechanical application of these categories, with little attention given to the actual topography of a place

¹ On these matters see Aleshire (1994); R. Parker (1996) 5–7; Jost (1998); Dignas (2002) 9ff.

² Cole (1995) 299–301 with different emphasis.

³ de Polignac (1984); the papers in Alcock and Osborne (1994); Malkin (1996); R. Parker (2005) 50ff.

and to chronological changes, has been rightly criticized, this should not lead us to deny the importance of the placement of sanctuaries.⁴ Features of the human or natural landscape could impact on our understanding of a particular cult. The acropolis and the agora, for instance, to mention here just the most obvious examples, were important symbolic places in ancient cities and we need to discuss the cults situated within them against the background of the rest of the activities that took place there. For these reasons, and in order to help the reader form a better picture of ancient Thessalian cities, I will follow broadly a topographical approach, starting with the cults of the acropolis, moving to the agora and then to the outskirts of the city. Where necessary, however, and in order to understand a particular cult better, I will bring together evidence which crosses these divisions. That said, this chapter, as will become apparent, discusses almost exclusively sanctuaries which were located inside Thessalian cities or very close to them, that is to say, those that would be classified in various studies as urban and suburban. This is simply due to the evidence available, not because I accede to an a priori division between urban and rural cults. Important polis sanctuaries, as is well known, could also be found in the countryside.

The question of who participated in a cult, how and why, will be continuously asked throughout this work. Since, as we saw, one of the criticisms of polis religion is that it might describe, particularly in an oligarchy, only a minority of religious life, the questions of participation in a cult and the role that the cult played in peoples' lives are particularly important. If we look at what we know from other parts of the Greek world, such as Athens, different cults brought together different groups of worshippers.⁵ Some were open only to women, in others they were excluded. Important polis festivals could pull together a large crowd: women, men, and children; citizens, metics and other foreigners, or even slaves. Some walked in the procession, others took part in the competitions, set up an offering, received a portion from the public sacrifice, or dined in private. And still others, we may imagine, stood apart, being merely spectators.⁶ On the other hand, some cults demanded the least number of people. There were rites which required secrecy; and rites which could be sufficiently executed only by those directly involved in the cult, such as the sacrifices performed by the assembly and by the magistrates. It is clear, then, that, when asking about religious participation in the polis cults of oligarchic Thessaly, we should not be looking for a single all-encompassing answer, or build the argument solely on the evidence of a single cult. One source, for example, speaks of a festival at Krannon in which all Krannonians

⁴ See e.g. the criticism of Polinskaya (2006), who though, in my opinion, takes it too far.

⁵ See in general Georgoudi (1998a); Jameson (1999); Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a) 47ff.

⁶ '...merely spectators': see, however, Krauter (2004) 70 ff, who discusses the various modalities of cult participation and comments on the importance of viewing in certain cults.

participated.⁷ But this in itself implies the existence of more exclusive festivals. We should aim to sketch the contours of a picture with the expectation that there will be considerable variety and varying degrees of participation in different cults. This variety, however, may not be incompatible with, and may enable, the emergence of an overall pattern.

We must accept the limitations of the Thessalian case study. We will never be able to access the details of festival participation in the way that can sometimes be done in Athens. Nor will we be able to guess the number and identity of the spectators. For the French school the most important status-defining ritual was sacrifice,⁸ but we do not have a single piece of information about the division of Thessalian sacrifices.⁹ The evidence available, then, largely comes in the form of dedications, and in particular inscribed dedications. This relatively large body of evidence, and its use for the study of Thessalian religion, has been discussed in detail in the first chapter of this work. It was argued there that the patterning of the evidence seems to indicate that there were customs governing the decision of who could offer an inscribed dedication to a particular god. Their evidence may, therefore, provide us with a starting point for discussions of the importance of certain cults for particular worshippers. Geographical variation, the demands of individual cults, the evidence of other types of dedication, and different forms of religious participation add complexity to the picture. By combining the various sources of evidence available, and while bringing this complexity to the fore, I will attempt in what follows to come up with a plausible description of some of the most important Thessalian polis cults.

Sourvinou-Inwood, when discussing what she called ‘central polis cults’, put the emphasis not on the question of who precisely undertook the administration of the cult but on the group for whom the cult was administered: ‘central polis cults’, she argued, are those ‘administered on behalf and for the welfare of the whole polis.’¹⁰ Her definition brings forth the other major issue that is going to concern us here, the symbolic importance that a cult had in people’s lives. We should elaborate here on Sourvinou-Inwood’s definition and distinguish between the claims of a cult to be performed for the welfare of the city at large and the perception of this cult by different groups within the population. These are difficult questions—difficult not only because we hardly have the evidence to answer them, but because we should perhaps not search for clear answers. The matter, though closely related to the questions of cult participation and the function of a cult, is not exhausted by them. There is not a simple

⁷ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 2.34.

⁸ See e.g. Detienne (1989).

⁹ The ancients, though, spoke of the Thessalian generous portions of meat: see section 6.1. But we do not know who was entitled to these and how often. Naiden (2012) argues that even in Athens fewer people ate than has hitherto been believed.

¹⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood (2000a) and (2000b).

correlate of the sort ‘cults with few participants mattered to few’ or ‘cults which had some connection with fertility loomed large in the popular imagination.’ In the case of Athens, passages in literary sources convey to us something of the importance that some cults could have in people’s lives: the Anthesteria for a child or an expatriate in Egypt; the Thesmophoria for the women who left the house and for their men who stayed indoors. In Thessaly we lack any texts to signpost the way for us. In most cases the texts are only particularly vivid reflections of widely held attitudes and perceptions. These can potentially be accessed from other angles and with other types of data; we might well guess something of the significance of the Anthesteria from the many *choes* found in excavation.

In order to understand the significance of a cult we have to explore the multiple ways in which it could be inscribed in people’s lives. Participation and function are obviously important. But we must also consider the frequency of festivals, the accessibility and use of the sanctuary outside of festival days, and the memories evoked by the cult in worshippers. Degrees of material investment can offer us insight into these phenomena. Magnificent temples, for example, even if viewed from afar, can evoke the cult in the minds of onlookers. It is in this respect that the evidence of inscribed dedications acquires some of its interpretive value. They should not be seen so much as an indicator of actual cult participation, but as an indicator of the constructed memories of it. In what follows I occasionally venture thoughts on the symbolic importance of some of the cults. In no case am I claiming a simple correlation between specific types of evidence and specific types of conclusion. It is through an overall assessment of as many varying factors as are available that these arguments are constructed.¹¹

3.2. CULTS ON THE ACROPOLIS

The acropoleis of Thessalian cities, and their cults, can be described in detail only in a handful of cases, such as Pharsalos, Pherai, and Larisa. In all three cases, as with many others,¹² the hill of the acropolis was located at the edge of the city, using as its exterior wall the city fortifications, while a second, separate, wall supposedly divided the acropolis from the rest of the city. Traces of that separate wall have only been found at Pharsalos. The Pharsalian acropolis, located in the southernmost part of the city, in the area of Prophitis Elias, consisted of two hills united by a lower saddle. The walls visible today

¹¹ For a discussion of the value of the various sources of evidence see section 1.4.

¹² This seems to have been the case in several cities, such as Atrax, Kierion, Krannon, Pelinna, Proerna, Scotoussa, and Triikka.

are Byzantine, but closely follow, so it is believed, the course of the ancient fifth- and fourth-century walls. The area enclosed had a total length of 500 metres and a width of 60 metres: approximately the same size as the Athenian acropolis.¹³

A similar arrangement for the acropolis, consisting of two hills and a ridge, possibly existed at Pherai. In the south-west part of the city the two hills of Magoula Bakali and Hagios Athanasios rise, and on the low saddle between them stands the modern chapel of Panagia. The course of the acropolis wall is unclear and no remains exist of the wall that cut off the acropolis from the city. Only a few traces of the fourth-century city wall have been unearthed in the south and south-western part of Hagios Athanasios. It is likely, as Kakavogiannis has suggested, that both hills, and not only Magoula Bakali, as other scholars prefer, served as the acropolis.¹⁴

At Larisa the acropolis, if we follow the suggestions of the main excavator of the city, A. Tziafalias, seems to have enclosed a much wider area. It was located in the north part of the city, at the site called Phrourion, where the modern church of Hagios Achileios is situated. Tziafalias has suggested that the acropolis enclosed to the south both of Larisa's theatres and the Peukakia hill. To the south-east he places the Tempe gate, at the point where he believes the acropolis wall met the city wall.¹⁵ However, no trace of any of these walls survives; the city wall, a Hellenistic inscription informs us, was made of mud bricks.¹⁶ Tziafalias' reconstruction of the city wall's circuit is based on the location of the ancient cemeteries, while that of the acropolis wall is merely hypothetical.

Given that we do not know how far the area of the acropolis extended, it will not always be clear which cults should be counted as cults of the acropolis. Nor will we be able to tell whether they were located inside the walls or on the slopes of the acropolis hill, and whether deciding on the matter is of any significance or not. It has, for instance, been suggested that in the case of Athens we could perhaps distinguish between 'acropolis' and 'periacropolitan' cults.¹⁷ In what follows we could tentatively distinguish between two groups: on the one hand the cult of Athena Polias and perhaps of Zeus Thaulios, located on top of the acropolis, which stood symbolically for the city and its

¹³ Stählin (1924) 139–40; Katakouta and Toufexis (1994) 189–200. The existence of another wall dividing Pharsalos into an upper and lower city (Stählin (1924) 139 n. 6) is refuted by Katakouta and Toufexis (1994) 199 n. 26, who argue that all remains in the area are Byzantine. The size of the Athenian acropolis is 110 x 250 metres: Camp (2001) 248.

¹⁴ Béquignon (1937) 9–11 places the acropolis on Magoula Bakali. Kakavogiannis (1977) 179–85 includes in it the hill of Hagios Athanasios. Stählin (1924) 106 argues that Hagios Athanasios became part of the acropolis only in the fourth century. For the walls see Kakavogiannis, *AD* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 119–21.

¹⁵ Tziafalias (1994c) 155–8, esp. 155 fig.1.

¹⁶ Tziafalias (1992b) 392–7.

¹⁷ R. Parker (2005) 51–2.

protection; and, on the other, the cults of Dionysus, Demeter, and Heracles, which, although of no less civic importance, were located on the slopes of the acropolis, standing symbolically for the countryside within the city.

3.2.1. Guarding the City: the Cult of Athena Polias

We will begin our survey with the cult of the acropolis par excellence, that of Athena Polias. At Larisa, a Hellenistic civic decree specifies that a copy of it should be set up in the sanctuary of Athena Polias.¹⁸ Little else is known about this Larisean cult, presumably located on the acropolis of the city, other than that the goddess was honoured, probably in the fourth century, with a large temple, remains of which are still visible on the hill of Hagios Achileios.¹⁹ According to one strand of tradition, Akrisios, the founder hero of Larisa, was buried in the sanctuary.²⁰ At the nearby city located at Gremnos Magoula (most commonly identified with ancient Argissa) we learn that fines were paid to the treasury of the goddess in the fifth century.²¹ It is not clear from the fragmentary decree whether the trespassing being punished related to the cult of the goddess or not; the latter case would mean that the treasury of Athena Polias served as a repository for a wider income. An important passage from Xenophon, to which I will return on several occasions later in this chapter, informs us that in the fourth century funds to be used both for sacred and secular purposes were kept on the acropolis of the city of Pharsalos. Xenophon tells us that the Pharsalians, when they fell into strife, entrusted Polydamas with the acropolis and with the duty of receiving the revenues. He was responsible for spending both for religious purposes and for the administration in general, following the laws and giving them a yearly account. And whenever there was some difficulty he paid from his own money, and whenever there was a surplus he paid himself back.²²

Apart from Larisa and Argissa all evidence for the cult of Athena Polias in other Thessalian cities is conjectural. According to Arvanitopoulos, the

¹⁸ *IG IX 2 517*.

¹⁹ Tziafalias (1994c) 172 mentions the existence of foundations made of poros and architectural remains, such as Doric columns, parts of the entablature and cornice.

²⁰ Antiochos *FGrH* 29 F 2. Another strand, however, places his grave outside the city walls (Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 12; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4). See Helly (1987) 127–9 and discussion in section 4.2.

²¹ The inscription, which was found at Gounitsa, was initially attributed to Atrax, and has since then been known as the ‘sacred law from Atrax’: see Giannopoulos, *AE* (1934–5) 140–5; McDevitt (1970) 44 no. 326; Jeffery (1990) 99 no. 6. Helly (1979b) 246–9 reattributed the inscription to Argissa. Gounitsa was a small fortified settlement, which must have been a secondary settlement. Although a local cult of Athena Polias is not to be excluded, no evidence from the site predates the Hellenistic period: *AA* 70 (1955) 220; *AA* 72 (1957) 52.

²² Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2.

sanctuary which he briefly excavated on a hill, perhaps the acropolis, in the centre of Krannon was that of Athena Polias. Numerous fragments of decrees were unearthed during these excavations. Most of them are lost today. Judging from the reports, none seems to have mentioned the name of the deity in whose sanctuary they were to be set up.²³ The city of Krannon, so we learn from decrees found scattered all over the area of the city, set up its documents in several sanctuaries, including those of Apollo Proernios and of Asclepius, whose exact location is unknown.²⁴ A single decree, which also comes from the wider area of Krannon, specifies that a copy of it should be set up in the sanctuary of Athena.²⁵ We are left to speculate: was this sanctuary located on the acropolis, or elsewhere in the city? Moving on to Pherai, a torso of Athena in the severe style and of almost life size found on the acropolis could be evidence for her cult.²⁶ And Athena's head wearing a helmet was represented on fifth-century coins minted by Pharsalos and Kierion and on fourth-century issues of the cities Orthos, Peirasia, Phalorea, Pharkadon, and Triikka.²⁷ But again whether she was worshipped as Polias on the acropolis or under some other title elsewhere we can hardly tell.²⁸ The importance of the goddess, however, for the various cities is unmistakable.

The cult of Athena Polias was also observed in the perioikic areas. Two important sanctuaries of the goddess were revealed at the beginning of the last century on the acropolis of Gonnoi in Perrhaibia and Phthiotic Thebes in Achaia Phthiotis.²⁹ Evidence for cult activity at both dates back to the Archaic period, to the sixth or even the seventh century,³⁰ when the first votives appear, and lasts well into the Hellenistic period. To this later period of use belong several inscribed dedications engraved sometimes on small bases, but usually on simple *stelai*, which may have been once covered with painted decoration. It is from these inscribed Hellenistic dedications that we can start

²³ A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1922–3) 35–8. See also Crowther (1997) 345–58, esp. 345–8 for a decree which might come from these excavations.

²⁴ Apollo Proernios: *AD* 16 (1960) *Chron.* 181–2; Habicht (1981). Asclepius: *IG IX* 2 461; *PAE* (1915) 172; Béquignon (1935) 71–3 no. 4. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1915) 172–3 tentatively suggested that the sanctuary of Asclepius was located close to the modern church of Zoodochos Pege, where he had noticed the existence of several natural springs.

²⁵ *IG IX* 2 460.

²⁶ *AD* 22 (1967) *Chron.* 297; Bakalakis (1973) 1–24. In the wider area were also found a fourth-century marble head tenuously identified with Aphrodite (Kakavogiannis (1994) 61–78), a statuette depicting a female figure (Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990) 58, who identifies it with Artemis Phosphoros; but Mitropoulou (1992) 326* argues that the type represents Aphrodite; see also P. Chrysostomou (1998) 191 n. 702). There were also numerous architectural remains: *AD* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 122 (fourth century); Kakavogiannis (1990) 437–8; Bakalakis (1973) 1 (fifth century).

²⁷ Moustaka (1983) 26–7; Lavva (2001) 34.

²⁸ Perhaps the nearby presence of the famous sanctuary of Athena Itonia stimulated the depiction of Athena on the coins of all these western Thessalian cities: see also section 4.2.

²⁹ For details see Appendix 2.

³⁰ For details see Appendix 2.

conjuring up an image of the cult of the goddess in these cities. As we shall see, some of the conclusions we will reach could be relevant to the Thessalian evidence.

The first observation to be made is that all the dedicants who recorded their name in the dedications were men. Looking more closely at the dedicatory formulae, we can glimpse something of the role and interests that these men had in the cult. In a dedication from Gonnoi, offered by one Timon, the goddess is called 'Hoplophoros' and 'Pallas', two cultic epithets of Athena with clear military connotations. Although the epithet 'Hoplophoros' could simply refer to the armed Athena herself, *hoplophoria*, the carrying of arms, is attested as the name of a ritual elsewhere in the Greek world; and armed parades were not foreign to the cult of the goddess. It may well be that Timon had processed or danced in armour during a celebration in honour of the goddess.³¹

Four other dedications to Athena from Gonnoi made by the guards, *phrouroi*, bring out the possibility that men in armour were actually to be seen in the sanctuary of the goddess on days other than those of festival celebrations.³² A group known as the *phrouroi* is also attested on several dedicatory inscriptions found at the modern village of Mikro Kesarli (ancient Elateia?), almost opposite Gonnoi,³³ and on a funerary stele from Atrax set up for Teleutias, presumably one of their colleagues who died in office.³⁴ It has been further argued that the *archeskopoi*, who dedicated to Athena Polias at Phthiotic Thebes, were a similar type of group.³⁵ The *phrouroi*, ten, eleven, and twelve in number and headed by an *archiphrouros*, seem to have been citizens, as is indicated by the inclusion of their patronymic. But as for their age, mode of appointment, and exact duties we are less certain. They have been compared to the Athenian ephebes, who were, in the Hellenistic period, responsible for patrolling the Attic countryside.³⁶ And it has also been

³¹ Helly (1973b) 178 no. 156. *Hoplophoria* ritual: Latte (1953) 39 n. 7. Note also the mention of a Perrhaebian *hoplophoros* in *IG XII* 8 178. A ritual called *hoplophaniai* is attested in an inscription from Achaia Phthiotis (N. Giannopoulos, *AE* (1932) suppl. 19 no. 5). L. Robert (1969) 276–7 associates it with the cult of Athena Itonia, but see section 5.3 for problems concerning the identification of this sanctuary. Armed parades and Athena: R. Parker (2005) 260 (Panathenaea); Nilsson (1906) 90–1 (Sparta, Pellene).

³² Helly (1973b) nos. 147–50.

³³ Dedications were made to the Hero Aineas (*IG IX* 2 1064; Franke (1956) 183; Franke (1958) 337 no. 2), Apollo (?) Leukatas (*IG IX* 2 1059), Artemis (*IG IX* 2 1058), (Artemis?) Phosphoros (*IG IX* 2 1060, 1061, 1063; Franke (1958) 338 no. 3), Dionysus Karprios (Mastrokostas (1964) 318 no. 2), Zeus Perpheretas (*IG IX* 2 1057; Mastrokostas (1964) 316 no. 1; Woodward (1910) 155 no. 7). See in general Mili (2011).

³⁴ *AD* 20 (1965) *Chron.* 317; Moretti (1976) no. 100.

³⁵ *IG IX* 2 1322: six names are listed with patronymics (fourth century). See also A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1908) 173 for a third-century inscription engraved on a rock on the acropolis and recording the dedication of an altar to Eirene by two men and the *syskopoi*. For the relation between *phrouroi* and *archeskopoi/syskopoi*: A. Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1911) 123 ff.

³⁶ Helly (1973a) 145–6. For ephebes and military/patrolling duties see e.g. Chankowski (2004) 55–76.

suggested that their duties were not strictly speaking military, but mainly religious: what the *phrouroi* safeguarded was not the territory of the city, but its temples and precincts.³⁷ Others have seen the *phrouroi* and *archeskopoi* as military, a standing unit, permanently resident on the acropolis.³⁸ It is not clear either whether we should draw a distinction between the *archiphrouros*, who was at the head of the group, and the rest of the *phrouroi*. The *archiphrouros* (but also one of the *phrouroi*), evidence from Gonnoi shows, belonged to one of the most prominent families of Gonnoi.³⁹ By contrast one dedication from Mikro Kaserli, if correctly restored, would provide evidence that some of the *phrouroi* were of low status.⁴⁰ Phthiotic Thebes, Gonnoi, Mikro Kaserli (Elateia?), and Atrax were all located at sites of strategic importance during the Macedonian period. Was the presence of the *phrouroi* in these cities an innovation of that time?

It is time to bring into the discussion the *poliarchoi*. At Phalanna, a Perrhaebian city, guard duties seem to have been the responsibility of a college of civic magistrates, the *poliarchoi*. A Hellenistic inscription, engraved on a large base, found at the broader area of ancient Phalanna, records a dedication by the *poliarchoi* to Athena Polias.⁴¹ More important, Helly has associated with this base, because of similarities in material, size, and date, a stone carrying an epigram composed by an otherwise unknown poet called Aphthonetos, which commemorates the dedication of a statue to Kore Tritogenes (a poetic epithet of Athena) by the faithful guards (*phylakes*) whom the whole city has elected.⁴² If Helly's suggestion is correct, we gain a couple of important pieces of information concerning the *poliarchoi*. First, they were elected by the demos, secondly they seem to have had guarding duties. *Poliarchoi* are also attested in the Hellenistic period in Thessalian cities, such as Krannon and Mopsion.⁴³ In this case we might, therefore, feel ourselves on less slippery ground while crossing the Thessalian/perioikic divide.

We could take with Helly another step: at Larisa we hear of another group of magistrates, the *poli(to)phylakes*, who, he argues, had similar functions to

³⁷ Woodward (1910) 155 no. 7; Franke (1956) 187; Stählin (1924) 90 n. 7; Mastrokostas (1964) 318. See also Jeffery (1966).

³⁸ Baker (2001) 191–206; Launey (1949) 911–12, 1010–11; J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1959) 225; *BE* (1965) 118. For *phrouroi* in Asia Minor see Labarre (2004) 221–48.

³⁹ Helly (1973b) 174 no. 150 (second century).

⁴⁰ *IG IX 2* 1057, a first-century BC dedication to Zeus Perpheretas by a group of men, presumably the *phrouroi*. In lines 8–9 after the name of one of the *phrouroi* the word *apeleutheros* has been restored. See Mastrokostas (1964) 318; Helly (1983b) 365 n. 69.

⁴¹ *IG IX 2* 1233 (found at Tyrnavos). Helly (1995) 332 n. 10 expresses doubts concerning the attribution of this and the following inscriptions to Phalanna; Helly (2009) 351 n. 55 attributes the inscription to Atrax.

⁴² *AD 10* (1926) *Chron.* 49 no. 1; Helly (1977) 540–1. For the epithet Farnell (1896–1909) i. 266–70; Borthwick (1969); Pötscher (1987) 150–60; R. Parker (2005) 256.

⁴³ Krannon: *IG IX 2* 459; Mastrokostas (1964) 312–15. Mopsion: Papadopoulou and Matthaiou (1992–8) 355–67.

those of the *poliarchoi*. They were, judging by their name, the guards of the city, and according to Aristotle, who briefly refers to them, they were also elected by the demos, unlike other magistrates who were elected by a more restricted group. According to Aristotle the role of the *politophylakes* in the politics of Larisa was not negligible. They were, he tells us, often prone to demagogy, their lust for power causing many revolutions in the city of Larisa.⁴⁴ A different picture starts to emerge here, one in which the duty of safeguarding the acropolis and the city seems to have fallen on the shoulders of an important group of magistrates.

Guards and the acropolis also figure prominently in the passage, quoted at the beginning of this section, from Xenophon, which refers to the Pharsalian Polydamas and his duty to guard the acropolis and keep it safe.⁴⁵ Polydamas was a contemporary of Jason of Pherai and Xenophon takes the opportunity to talk about him while describing the events that led to the ascendancy of Jason to the leading position in the Thessalian *ethnos*. Jason, we are told, in order to achieve his plans, visited Pharsalos and met Polydamas, a prominent citizen of the city, who was a man of high esteem not only in Pharsalos itself, but in the whole of Thessaly. Which office Polydamas held in Pharsalos at the time of Jason's visit is a much debated question. Almost every possible answer has been rehearsed, but one possibility is that he was something like a *poliphylax*.⁴⁶

It is not easy to fit the evidence we have been reviewing into a single coherent picture. We have come a long way from the *phrouroi* of second-century Gonnoi to Polydamas, the opponent of Jason in the first decades of the fourth century and one of the few named individuals in Thessalian history. Is it likely that what was once the duty of an important group of magistrates steadily passed, in some places at least, into the hands of more minor officials? Did the *poliarchoi/politophylakes* lose over the course of time some of their power? Even if we are uncertain of the specific details, a general picture emerges: we can clearly discern the symbolic importance of the acropolis as a stronghold and treasury of the city and the responsibility accorded to various groups of officials to safeguard it; themes that were, in some cities at least, closely connected with the cult of Athena Polias.

Armed parades, military guards, civic officials safeguarding the city; at Gonnoi we even find male priests serving the goddess.⁴⁷ Usually in Greek religion men served male gods and women served goddesses. Athena, like Aphrodite, does furnish the occasional exception to this. But the evidence

⁴⁴ Arist. *Pol.* 1305^b.

⁴⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2.

⁴⁶ Newman (1887) 351 sees him as a *mesidios archon* (for the office see Arist. *Pol.* 1306^a); Westlake (1935) 77 as a *poliphylax*; Berve (1967) 285 as a tyrant; Helly (1995) 347 as the leader of the Thessalian *ethnos*.

⁴⁷ Helly (1973b) no. 151.

discussed here suggests an exceptional centrality of men in her cult.⁴⁸ To our present knowledge, not a single inscribed dedication to Athena Polias was offered by a woman. It is not, however, only the lack of any female votaries that stands out but also the lack of any private dedications made by either men or women. What about the rest of the votive material? The finds from the sanctuaries at Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes, recorded very briefly and with no precise dating (but most objects seem to date to the Archaic period) or numbers being mentioned (sometimes we only know them from photographs), were very similar.⁴⁹ They included small bronze fibulae and rings, other jewellery items, such as lead pendants, and a couple of gold and silver pieces (Phthiotic Thebes), small bronze vases, bronze figurines of birds (Phthiotic Thebes), knives (Gonnoi), and miniature weapons (Phthiotic Thebes). Several terracotta figurines portraying a standing female were also found; in particular, a single protome representing helmeted Athena has been reported from Phthiotic Thebes. The diversity of the finds and their material opens up scope for us to imagine a variety of worshippers of different statuses and means coming to the sanctuaries. But can we build on this evidence an image of a goddess, like the one on the Athenian acropolis, approached with gifts and thank-offerings at numerous occasions of one's life? Several of these offerings, such as the dress ornaments and jewellery items, are usually, although not unequivocally, connected with female votaries.⁵⁰ Furthermore, they are sometimes considered as dedications made by women at important periods of their life, such as marriage or childbirth,⁵¹ but there is little other evidence to suggest that Athena Polias was related to such female concerns, or to say that pins and fibulae must have had this meaning in Thessaly. We could equally well think that several of these objects were offered by participants during some official celebrations; the dress ornaments, for instance, could have been offered by women in commemoration of some ritual role they had in the cult, for example after a rite of *peplophoria*.⁵²

The matter ultimately has to remain open. But we could, in the way of framing a discussion, put forward one possible image of the cult of Athena

⁴⁸ Male priests in the cult of Athena: Farnell (1896–1909) i. 320; Cole (2004) 126 n. 217. Note on the contrary the particular prominent role of women in Athena's cult in Athens: Lefkowitz (1996).

⁴⁹ For the excavations in these sanctuaries see Appendix 2.

⁵⁰ Jacobsthal (1956) 96–105; Kilian-Dirlmeier (1978) 219 and (2002) 219–23; Kron (1996) 159; Philipp (1981) 19–20; Ridgway (1987) 403; C. G. Simon (1987) 198–205, 253–9, 417.

⁵¹ C. Morgan (1990) 34 and (1994) 118 n. 34; Foxhall and Stears (2000) 3–16, esp. 3; Cole (2004) 213–18; Rouse (1902) 252 for the dedication of clothing.

⁵² For the rite of *peplophoria*: Sourvinou-Inwood (1978) 113–14; Mansfield (1985) 442ff. For jewellery offered to commemorate participation in ritual: Rouse (1902) 227ff. An epigram by Anacreon commemorates the offering of a dress by Dyseris (from one of the best-known Thessalian families) and another woman. Unfortunately we do not know the occasion: *Anth. Pal.* 6.136 = 'Anacreon' VII in Page, *FGE*.

Polias. We could picture a public celebration during which men paraded in arms, while women offered garments to the goddess. The festival, we may guess, might have been a splendid one, celebrated in the manner of the Thessalian *megaloprepeia*: fine woven textiles hanging on the walls and gold or silver drinking sets being passed around. But once the festival was over there was little left to remind one of these splendid occasions, little reason for a visitor to wander about. The temples, to an Athenian at least, would have looked humble,⁵³ the dedications poor, and the only names that one could read on the *stelai* would be those of men who had served in the cult, of priests, *phrouroi*, and magistrates. Is it a coincidence that with the exception of the border city of Gonnoi, other Thessalian cities only very rarely set up copies of their decrees on the acropolis? The *epiphanestatos topos* of the city, where honours were announced and the decrees were to be seen, was usually elsewhere.⁵⁴ The acropolis, it could be argued, was important and had to be safeguarded, but once this was arranged the majority of the people could, and perhaps should, forget about it. At Pharsalos, it has been observed, the

⁵³ An Archaic small oval temple with stones used only up to a certain height, and mud brick and clay for the upper parts, existed at Gonnoi, and similar ones seem to have existed at Homolion: *PAE* (1910) 188–9; *PAE* (1911) 286–7; and Evaggelismos: *PAE* (1911) 332–3. Archaic building remains have also been spotted on the acropolis of Atrax: Tziafalias (1995) 75; that of Soros: *PAE* (1909) 169–70; and Paliokastro in Magnesia: *PAE* (1910) 218. A fifth-century temple at Phthiotic Thebes also had a simple plain form: *PAE* (1908) 171–80; *AD* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 323–4. The evidence seems to become more abundant from the fourth century onwards and there is also use of marble, but we rarely know the details about the number, size, or shape of buildings. The temples at Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes were restored in the fourth century, but they retained their original shape and were constructed with similar materials (see the earlier references). At Larisa and Pherai architectural evidence dates to the Hellenistic period and includes: poros foundations of a large Hellenistic building, and scattered poros and marble architectural remains at Larisa: *PAE* (1910) 174–5; Tziafalias (1990) 56; and a fourth-century marble Doric column from Pherai: Kakavogiannis (1977) 180; *AD* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 121–2. For a Doric triglyph and other marble remains from Larisa Kremaste in Achaia Phthiotis see Stählin (1924) 184; and for parts of two trapezoid buildings and a stoic one at Melitaia see Ioannidou (1972).

⁵⁴ Compare Liddel (2003), who notes that honorary decrees for foreigners in Athens were preferably set up on the acropolis and links the phenomenon with the symbolic prestige of the area. Apart from Gonnoi, only the Perrhaibian city of Phalanna seems to have regularly set up decrees in the sanctuary of Athena Polias (*IG* IX 2 1230, 1231). Atrax in that of Apollo Lykeios (Helly (1983a) 162); Kierion in that of Heracles (*IG* IX 2 258); Krannon in those of Athena, Apollo Proernios, and Asclepius (see n. 24, 25); Larisa set up her decrees in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos (see later in this section) and only once copies of a decree (*IG* IX 517) were set up both in the sanctuary of Athena Polias and in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos; Metropolis in that of Aphrodite (*IG* IX 1231); Mondaia in that of Themis (Helly (1973b) no. 69); Phauttos in its agora (*IG* IX 2 489); Pherai in the sanctuary of Ennodia (see later in this section); Perrhaibian Python set up its decrees in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios (Missailidou-Despotidou (1980) 233); Demetrias, in Magnesia, in those, Zeus Akraios (Helly (1971b)), Sarapis (Arvanitopoulos (1929a) 28 no. 419), Artemis Iolkia/sacred agora (*IG* IX 2 1105; 1106; *IG* V 367). Stählin (1929) 227 includes the sanctuaries of Demeter, Apollo Koropaios, and Archegetai, but the decrees set up there seem to have been relevant to the cult. Spalauthra, in Magnesia, in that of Artemis Soteira (*IG* IX 2 1111).

acropolis was a city within the city. It was perched on the edge of the town and had two gates, allowing on the one hand contact with the city itself and the other direct contact with the countryside. The larger one surprisingly was the one that led outside, while only a small gate gave access to and from the city.⁵⁵ In Athens, to bring the argument into sharper focus, the acropolis was the symbolic heart of the city. The feeling that it belonged to the demos and could not be associated with any separate individual, or group of them, was so strong that, it has been argued, any political gatherings were normally excluded from the area. The only time that we find the acropolis associated with particular individuals is with Peisistratos and Demetrios Poliorketes. When Peisistratos fell from power, he surrendered, according to Aristotle, the acropolis to the Athenians.⁵⁶ The situation seems to be reversed in Thessaly when, in the words of Xenophon, the Pharsalians consigned their acropolis to Polydamas. It could be argued that in Thessalian cities, the acropolis, although it was a symbolically important area, retained a strong official character and possibly never became the popular destination that the Athenian one came to be.⁵⁷

3.2.2. Killing for the City? The Problem of Zeus Thaulios

Let us proceed to examine other cults which may have been housed on the acropolis. Zeus Thaulios might also have been worshipped on the acropolis of Larisa, if the late fourth- or early third-century stele dedicated (?) to him and found at the area of Hagios Achileios was found *in situ* and is evidence for actual cult.⁵⁸ The cult of Zeus Thaulios is attested only in Thessaly. The epithet Thaulios, it has been suggested, stems from the root *thau-*, which means to kill. Zeus Thaulios could thus mean something like Zeus Phonios, another epithet of the god, which is also attested at Larisa.⁵⁹ The power of Zeus Thaulios (and Zeus Phonios) to kill, it has further been argued, was mainly directed against animals. The argument rests on the similarity between the epithet of the god and the name of the Athenian *genos* Thaulonidai, which played an important role at the Athenian Bouphonia.⁶⁰ At the Bouphonia, which was the name of

⁵⁵ Katakouta and Toufexis (1990) 74 and (1994) 196–8.

⁵⁶ Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.6.

⁵⁷ For the importance of the acropolis in the lives of Athenians: Hurwit (1999) 35–63.

⁵⁸ Tziafalias (1984b) 227 no. 114 (early third century). Dedicated (?): the name of the god is in the genitive. P. Chrysostomou (1998) 238 for a date in the late fourth, and for an unpublished fourth-century stele to Zeus Thaulios from Larisa, but with no precise findspot.

⁵⁹ Helly (1970b) 279; Salviat and Vatin (1971) 28. Helly (p. 285) places the plot of land sacred to Zeus Phonios on the acropolis of Larisa together with that of Zeus Thaulios (followed by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 237–8). But Salviat and Vatin (pp. 25, 34) prefer an extramural location (followed by Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 37–8).

⁶⁰ Zeus Thaulios and Bouphonia: von Gaertringen (1911) 154–6; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 240–1 (but he describes the Bouphonia as ‘the sacrifice of a bull to propitiate a dead person who

the most prominent ritual of the Dipoleia festival celebrated in honour of Zeus Polieus, a member of the *genos* Thaulonidai killed an ox with an axe.⁶¹ Zeus Thaulios, following this suggestion, was a kind of Zeus Bouphonios (or better Zeus of the Bouphonia), the Thessalian version of Zeus Polieus paired neatly on the acropolis of Larisa with his daughter Athena, as he was on the acropolis of Athens. The connection, however, between the epithet of the god and, through the *genos* of Thaulonidai, with the Bouphonia is tenuous.

We should in turn consider another dominant strand of interpretation, one which places Zeus Thaulios among other Zeuses, such as Zeus Alastor, Zeus Meilichios, or Zeus Hikesios, whose relation with killing and death came through their association with purification from bloodshed and the vengeance of the angry dead.⁶² Zeus Thaulios may well have shared interests with Zeus Meilichios in Thessaly, if it is true that they were both worshipped together with Ennodia (a goddess who, as we shall see, might herself have had a connection with purification). Zeus Meilichios received a dedication together with Ennodia and another god at Larisa.⁶³ But the suggested relation between Zeus Thaulios and Ennodia, though it is prominent in scholarship, is less clear.⁶⁴ The suggestion that Zeus Thaulios was worshipped together with Ennodia at her great sanctuary at Pherai dates back to the beginning of last century, when excavations at the large temple of the goddess in the northern part of the city began. At that time the temple was actually attributed solely to Zeus Thaulios, though no inscriptions mentioning the god were found in the sanctuary. The excavators, Arvanitopoulos and Béquignon, assumed that the temple belonged to him, because they had found several *stelai* dedicated to the god in the city of Pherai, and so Zeus Thaulios appeared to have been an important Pheraian divinity. When inscriptions were eventually discovered in the sanctuary, however, they actually named Ennodia. But even then, and even though the ownership of the temple was reinstated to the goddess, Zeus Thaulios was allowed a share in her cult. The findspot of some further

has been murdered': a strange definition). Solmsen (1911) 286–91 offers a different suggestion: the god took the name Thaulios because his sacrificial animals were strangled.

⁶¹ For the Dipoleia in general: Parke (1977) 162–7; E. Simon (1983) 8–12; Durand (1986); R. Parker (2005) 187–91. Thaulonidai: R. Parker (1996) 299.

⁶² P. Chrysostomou (1994a) 183–9 and (1998) 231–43, who, however, combines this interpretation with the suggestion that Zeus Thaulios was the god of the Bouphonia. The relation between Zeus Thaulios and Zeus Meilichios is also supported by Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 37–8; Salviat and Vatin (1971) 28. For Zeus Meilichios, Alastor, and Hikesios elsewhere in the Greek world: Jameson (1965) 159–72; Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky (1993) 81–103; Cusumano (1991); R. Parker (2008) 206–8.

⁶³ *IG IX 2* 578.

⁶⁴ See e.g. P. Chrysostomou (1998) 59–62, who suggested that, apart from their shared sanctuary at Pherai (for which see later in this section), Zeus Thaulios and Ennodia were worshipped together on a number of other occasions, such as at the west cemetery of Atrax and on the hill of Hagia Paraskevi at Pharsalos. There is no supporting evidence for these suggestions.

inscriptions, discovered more recently, which also mention Zeus Thaulios, is equally unclear and information about them is often contradictory in the various reports.⁶⁵ Another piece of evidence which may or may not have come from the sanctuary is a bronze figurine of Zeus brandishing his thunderbolt dated to the fifth century: but was he a visiting god or a recipient of cult? And which Zeus are we to recognize in this image?⁶⁶

To continue, both Zeus Thaulios and Zeus Meilichios seem to have been worshipped by small kinship groups. But again, there is possibly a difference to be noted here. The evidence, meagre though it is, suggests that different worshippers dedicated to Zeus Meilichios and Zeus Thaulios. Zeus Meilichios, as elsewhere in the Greek world, seems to have cared for the prosperity of the family and its members. An unknown dedicant offered a stele to Zeus Meilichios and Tyche in favour of somebody else (a child?) and in another instance a woman dedicated to the god.⁶⁷ In the previous chapter we have discussed the association of Zeus Thaulios at Pharsalos with the problematic groups of the *anchistoi*, arguing that the cult of Zeus Thaulios seems not to have been the cult of a particular kinship group, a *genos* cult for instance, but a cult of kinship groups in general. Other evidence shows that the dedicants of Zeus Thaulios were mostly groups of men. Six men dedicated to the god at Pherai and another dedication from Atrax, possibly to Zeus Thaulios, preserves the name of eight men.⁶⁸ At the same city he also received a dedication by a group called Simmidai (possibly a gentilician group of some kind), which counted twenty members. The dedication was dated by the two *tagoi*, the officials of the Simmidai we may assume.⁶⁹

To conclude, even with the uncertainties, in total the evidence seems to indicate that with Zeus Thaulios we are outside the closed family unit and its concerns. His realm seems to have been more related to the male world. We

⁶⁵ First identification: A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1915) 166. Béquignon (1937) 66 expresses his doubts since the temple 'n'est identifié que d'après des inscriptions que ne proviennent pas du sanctuaire même.' The inscriptions which mention Zeus Thaulios (Béquignon (1937) 87 no. 52, 91 no. 65, 92 no. 66, 94 no. 71) were found in various spots in the city. But P. Chrysostomou (1998) 35, 326 includes them in the finds from the sanctuary together with an unpublished one (p. 236, n. 916). He also includes two dedications to Zeus Aphrios, which in original publications are also recorded as finds from the city (*IG IX 2 452*; *AE* (1913) 219 no. 4).

⁶⁶ Biesantz (1965) 35 no. 111. For visiting gods: Alroth (1989–90). It is interesting that, if Zeus Thaulios was worshipped in the sanctuary, his iconography then would be different from that of Zeus Meilichios, who, elsewhere in the Greek world at least, is normally depicted in the form of a snake, or as a bearded figure holding cornucopia (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky (1993) 94). At Sicyon he was portrayed as a pyramidal stone (Paus. 2.9.6).

⁶⁷ *AD 45* (1990) *Chron.* 220 no. 25; *IG IX 2 145* (Thebes).

⁶⁸ Pherai: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 232 pl. 35a (unpublished). Atrax: Tziafalias (1984a) 202 no. 70. The name of the god is not mentioned, but the inscription was found together with other dedications to Zeus Thaulios at the supposed sanctuary of the god (P. Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 68).

⁶⁹ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918; Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147. Note that the *tagoi* of the Simmidai were called Simmidas and Simmos.

can hardly tell what constituted his precise interests. Perhaps he was connected with purification and vengeance, as has been suggested. But if the association with Ennodia is removed, as might very well be the case, then little remains to ground this suggestion. The location of his sanctuaries, judging at least from the discovery of several of his dedications at important locations (on the acropolis of Larisa, on the acropolis of the small settlement Xylades close to Pharsalos, and in Pharsalos itself on the Hagia Paraskevi hill, which some have identified as the old city centre), also begs a question. How were the concerns of a god worshipped by small groups of kinsmen central to the city? Was it because he could direct his power for vengeance against the enemies of the city that Zeus Thaulios could be associated with the acropolis? Thaulon, Hesychius informs us, was the Macedonian Ares.⁷⁰ It is also noteworthy in this respect that Xylades, the small settlement close to Pharsalos, where one of the dedications to Zeus Thaulios came from, might have been a defence settlement.⁷¹ Were the worshippers of Zeus Thaulios also brothers in arms?

Whatever the precise function of the cult of Zeus Thaulios, the fact that he is being worshipped by groups of kinsmen at the very heart of the city, on the acropolis, remains most important and remarkable. The cult offers us another view of the claims staked in the heart of the city; a view of the factions and competitions of various groups of a type that ultimately led at Pharsalos to the election of Polydamas and the assignment of the acropolis to his hands.

3.2.3. Acropolis' Views of the Countryside: Dionysus, Demeter, and Heracles

We shall proceed down the south slopes of the acropolis of Larisa to more familiar ground. Dionysus was worshipped here in one of his well-known settings, close to a monumental theatre constructed in the third century BC. He was invoked as Dionysus Makedonikos in a first-century dedication offered to him by the priestesses of Aphrodite.⁷² But he was also worshipped in a more Thessalian guise. A list of the priestesses of Demeter Phylaka and *archousai* of Dionysus Karpios was inscribed on a first-century stele found in the wider area of the acropolis.⁷³ The title Karpios for Dionysus seems to have had an old Thessalian pedigree. It can be traced back to the fifth century, when the god

⁷⁰ Hesych. θ 149: Θαύλιος ἢ Θαῦλος. Ἄρης Μακεδόνιος. Note also that Phonios (another epithet of Zeus at Larisa, see earlier) was a literary epithet of Ares (Soph. *Elec.* 96; Eur. *Phoen.* 1006).

⁷¹ Decourt (1995) no. 63. For the site J. D. Morgan (1983) 33–4; Decourt (1990a) 185–205.

⁷² K. Gallis, *AD* 27 (1972) *Chron.* 419.

⁷³ Oikonomidis and Koumanoudis (1956–7) 17–22. There are also two Roman dedications to Demeter Phylaka and Dionysus Karpios by priestesses (*IG* IX 2 573; Arvanitopoulos (1911) 123 no. 26).

received a dedication at Larisa.⁷⁴ He was also worshipped at Mikro Keserli, a small settlement to the east of Larisa, and at Gomphoi in western Thessaly.⁷⁵

The pairing of Dionysus and Demeter is not uncommon, given the agricultural connections of both deities, a point reinforced by the title Karpios (deriving from *karpōs* 'fruit') given to Dionysus.⁷⁶ The cult of both deities, it is often stated, was very popular in Thessaly, an area famous for its agricultural produce.⁷⁷ There is quite a lot of evidence for their cult, but we should not consider the matter entirely straightforward and unproblematic. Their cults introduce us to a number of questions concerning the relationship between agriculture and religion in Thessaly. To help understand the issues at stake we can bring here, as a parallel, the case of Sparta. In both areas much agricultural work was done by the servile classes of the *penestai* and helots, while anyone with social or political aspirations should have had his hands free from agricultural labour. Related to this characteristic of Spartan society, it has been argued, was the fact that the cults of Dionysus and Demeter did not develop in the way they did elsewhere in the Greek world; only certain aspects of their cult seem to have been prominent.⁷⁸ Thessaly, however, was no Sparta. Despite Pindar's invocation, in the first lines of *Pythian* 10th, of their common Heraclid origin, the two states were in several respects very different. To boil the matter down to its essentials we could say that Sparta had a military aristocracy, while Thessaly had a landed one. The fertility of the Thessalian land was a common *topos* in literary sources, and the Thessalian noblemen, although never engaged themselves in agricultural labour, were still very often mentioned in the same breath as their vast estates of lands, their numerous *penestai*, and large flocks of animals. Neither was the status of the Thessalian under-classes comparable in all matters to that of the helots. The helots were owned by the Spartan state, while no such evidence exists for the *penestai*, who seem to have been closely associated with their owners; and while every year Sparta declared war against its helots, the Thessalian *penestai* seem to have found themselves regularly fighting at the side of their masters.⁷⁹ In a land that boasted its fertility, it is thus no surprise to find the cult of such agricultural gods as Dionysus and Demeter housed on the acropolis of its cities. But we

⁷⁴ AD 16 (1960) *Chron.* 185.

⁷⁵ Mikro Keserli: Mastrokostas (1964) 318 no. 2. Gomphoi: IG IX 2 287b.

⁷⁶ For cultic relations, particularly, though, in mystery cults, between Demeter and Dionysus see Nilsson (1906) 278, 287–90; R. Parker (2005) 341 n. 59.

⁷⁷ See Moustaka (1983) 42; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 33, 41; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 42, 62. Kern (1926) i. 213 had a slightly different view on the matter (section 1.3 for a fuller discussion of his opinions).

⁷⁸ R. Parker (1988); R. Parker (1989) 150–1.

⁷⁹ Ducat (1994) 118–20. But note that some scholars question the state ownership of the Spartan helots: see the various papers in Luraghi and Alcock (2003).

also need to wonder: how stressed were concerns about agriculture in the cults and how open was participation in their festivals?

Let us start by going through the evidence for the cult of Dionysus in Thessaly. Eleven inscribed dedications to him survive, the oldest of which has been dated to the fifth century, while the rest belong to the third, second, and first centuries BC. They came from a number of sites: Larisa, Mikro Kaserli, Atrax, and Pherai in Thessaly, and Polydendri and Lechonia in Magnesia.⁸⁰ Other sources of evidence help complete the picture. We hear for instance of a month called Dithyrambios at Gonnoi, of one called Iyggios at Kierion and Scotoussa, and Thyios in the federal calendar.⁸¹ A mountain called Nyseion, which might have been identified with the mythical Nysa where Dionysus was born, appears in a territory dispute involving Kondaia, a city close to Larisa.⁸² At Scotoussa, there was a gate called *Auros Chadophoros*, named most likely from a ritual in honour of the god, which involved the carrying of vine branches called *auroschades*.⁸³ Connected might be the bunch of grapes depicted on fourth-century bronze coins of the city.⁸⁴ There was a cult of Dionysus Pelekos at Pagasai.⁸⁵ Dionysiac imagery appears on the coins of several cities, including Metropolis in western Thessaly. They portray Dionysus seated on a rock and holding a thyrsus.⁸⁶ A bunch of grapes also appears on the coins of the cities of Eurai, Eurymenai, Meliboia, and Rhizous, all of which seem to have been located on the north-east coast of Magnesia.⁸⁷ Finally, a typical 'resistance myth' told how Boutes, the brother of Lycourgos, pursued the nurses of Dionysus who were celebrating orgiastic rites somewhere in Achaia Phthiotis.⁸⁸

There is, then, a fair amount of evidence for the cult of Dionysus in several Thessalian and perioikic cities, with a clustering of the evidence in north-east Thessaly and Magnesia. We can only touch here on the possible relations between the distribution of the evidence for Dionysus and the practice of

⁸⁰ See Appendix 1.

⁸¹ See in general Trümper (1997) 217–18, 229 n. 923. For the name Iyggios, which was perhaps a spring month, see Hesych. ι 1103. The month Thyios is also attested in Achaia Phthiotis, Boiotia, Lamia, and Elis. For a dionysiac festival in Elis called 'Thyia': Nilsson (1906) 291–2. In Miletus 'Thyios' is known as an epithet of Apollo (Hesych. θ 843).

⁸² IG IX 2 521.10 (discussed by Ager (1996) no. 70; Helly (1999) 100ff). Helly in BE (1997) 530 no. 285 briefly comments on possible connections between the mountain Nyseion and the cult of Dionysus. Hesych. ν 742 names Thessaly among various other places which had a mountain or place called Nysa.

⁸³ Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) B57, 197. According to the LSJ *auroschas* was a variety of vine.

⁸⁴ Head (1911) 309–10; Rogers (1932) 170–4; Moustaka (1983) no. 106.

⁸⁵ Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 352. For a discussion of this cult see section 4.2.

⁸⁶ Head (1911) 302 (fourth century). ⁸⁷ Helly (2004b).

⁸⁸ Diod. 5.50.2–5. For the myth alongside other myths of Dionysus see Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 204.

viticulture in Thessaly. We know from Theophrastus that vines, albeit not among its most famous products, grew in Thessaly.⁸⁹ Vineyards bought by the city are indeed mentioned in an inscription which perhaps came from Homolion, a city located in the north-east part of Magnesia close to Eurai, Eurymenai, Meliboia, and Rhizous, all of which depicted grapes on the coins.⁹⁰ Was viticulture perhaps a specialization of the area?⁹¹

How exactly shall we picture Dionysus' festivals? Were they occasions celebrated in jolly intoxication by farmers and landowners alike—times when someone with the status of an Athenian ambassador could find himself drinking convivially in the company of *penestai*?⁹² Several scattered pieces of evidence (the iconography of coins, the names of the gate Auroschaophoros and of the month Thyios) might betray a connection with wine, but in festivals of Dionysus this should be expected. We are unfortunately missing both the end and, most importantly, the starting point of the procession at Scotoussa, which brought into the city the symbol of the 'foreign god' from somewhere in the countryside (or just from a sanctuary by the walls?).⁹³ We are equally ignorant about the number and identity of those who walked in it, whether they were just members of some prestigious families, or whether they were joined by people of all sorts. One of the only hints as to participation in Dionysiac cults is that the third-century theatre of Larisa could fit, it has been calculated, 10,000 people. This is a large number, if we think that Larisa was a small city (even more so if we follow some scholars in thinking that theatre seats were meant only for citizen males). Helly has calculated that the number of those liable to military service in a Thessalian city would average around 1,000. It is sometimes argued that the total population of a city would be eight or ten times the number of those serving in the army, which in this case will give us a number of 8,000 to 10,000 people.⁹⁴ If we are not very far off the

⁸⁹ Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 4.14.13.

⁹⁰ Arvanitopoulos (1911) 132–9 no. 36 (see also L. Robert (1940b) 68–9 no. 4). For problems with the origin of this inscription see section 2.2.

⁹¹ Westlake (1935) 4 seems to think so. Vineyards are also mentioned in an honorary decree from Pharsalos: Decourt (1995) no. 53 with some discussion on the question of the importance of viticulture in ancient Thessaly and in particular Pharsalos. Perhaps connected with viticulture was the cult of the hero Oinousseus at Krannon: Tziafalias, *AD* 45 (1990) *Chron.* 220 no. 22 dedicated by a woman called Oina to a hero. García Ramón (2007) 64 connects the name of the hero with the word *oinoutta*: a cake of barley mixed with wine. Phthia is called *εὐάμπελος* in *Anth. Pal.* 7.544.

⁹² Ar. *Vesp.* 1270–4 for the Athenian ambassador Ameinias drinking in the company of *penestai*. Critias, too, seems to have spent time with *penestai* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.36) but we do not know in what context. On these passages: Ducat (1994) 15–17.

⁹³ Note, however, that other gates of the city seem to have been named after villages (Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) 194–7); an indication perhaps of their symbolic importance for the city.

⁹⁴ Helly (1995) 283 concludes with the number of 1,024 citizens liable to serve in the army. Not everybody agrees with Helly's calculations, and he himself argues that this number describes the situation in around the late sixth century, and that there were demographic differences

mark, this would mean that in the theatre of Larisa, when packed, one would not have met only with one's fellow citizens. Citizens from other Thessalian cities, foreigners who lived or visited Larisa, *perioikoi*, non-citizen Lariseans, women, and even *penestai*: we can choose from any or all of these to fill in the empty seats.

The festival programme might have been quite cultural. Dramatic competitions could well have been staged in honour of the god, although we have no hard evidence for them.⁹⁵ But Dionysus also loved dancing and it is not, of course, in dramatic performances that we should imagine the *archousai* of Dionysus being involved. Even if we hesitate to picture them in maenadic ecstasy, we should nevertheless most likely imagine them dancing or singing for the god.⁹⁶ Men too, some of them of high status, may have joined in the festive dance. Lucian tells us that in Thessaly the 'leading men' (*προστάται*) were also called *προορχηστήραι* thanks to their prominent role in the dance. The god in honour of which they danced is not mentioned, but Dionysus is as good an option as any.⁹⁷ The *βουκόλοι* of Dionysus known from a third-century dedication from Atrax must also have been a group of male dancers in honour of Dionysus.⁹⁸ Groups of the same name are mostly known from Late Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions from Pergamos, and their members seem to have come from the best families of the city.⁹⁹ So much we could perhaps infer for the Atracian *boukoloi*, judging from their dedication which seems to have been a statue, and the findspot of the inscription, which may have come from the agora.¹⁰⁰

between the various cities. But it does give us a starting point for a discussion. Compare also the calculations of Bintliff (2006) 25 who argues that the total population of a small- to medium-size settlement with a territory of a 5–6 kilometre radius was around 2,000 to 4,000, as well as those of Corvisier (1991) 238ff which are based on a tentative calculation of the size of cities and which ascribe to Larisa a much larger population.

⁹⁵ See e.g. Easterling (1994); Taplin (1999) 42, 44–8, who speculate on several Euripides' tragedies having been performed in Thessaly.

⁹⁶ For women choruses in Dionysiac worship: Calame (2001) 134–8. For the leader of the chorus (*ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ χοροῦ*): Calame (2001) 43–8.

⁹⁷ Lucian *Salt*. 14.1. Note also the interesting reversal in the titles between men, whose political title is after their role in the dance, and women who acquire a political title in the sphere of ritual.

⁹⁸ Tziafalias (1984b) 198 no. 28, who, though, suggested that the title *boukoloi* is literal and that they were a group of shepherds (followed by Kontogiannis (1992) 385). The dedication was made to the Theoi, and so the possibility that the *boukoloi* were not related to Dionysus cannot be excluded, since groups called *boukoliastai* are also attested in the cult of Artemis: Nilsson (1906) 198; Frontisi-Ducroux (1981) 29–56; Graf (1985) 88ff. Nevertheless the finding of *phalloi* in the same area (Tziafalias (1984a) 195 no. 54) supports the connection with Dionysus.

⁹⁹ Jaccottet (2003) i. 108–12, ii. 182–8, esp. 184 n. 364 for a discussion of the problems concerning the origins and spread of the institution. Outside Pergamos *boukoloi* are also known from Eretria *IG* XII 9. 262; Knoepfler (2000) 346.

¹⁰⁰ If the reading *Εὐκλείδην* is correct. Heinz (1998) 329 no. 281 mentions that according to Decourt we should read *Εὐκλείδης*.

A vivid description of a military dance called *karpaia*, which has been associated, thanks to its name, with Dionysus Karpios, is found in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. According to Xenophon it was performed by Ainians and Magnesians—*perioikoi* of the Thessalians.¹⁰¹ The dance took the form of a pantomime. To the music of the flute, a man whose arms were laid to one side pretended to sow and to drive a team of oxen. He frequently turned and checked around himself as if in fear. A robber approached. As soon as the man saw him coming, he snatched up his arms and went to fight in order to save his oxen. The dance usually ended with the robber binding the farmer and driving off his oxen. But sometimes, Xenophon tells us, the farmer won, yoked the thief alongside the oxen, his hands bound behind him, and drove off. The relationship of the *karpaia* to the cult of Dionysus is not immediately secure. It could be objected that the epithet of the god, which also supposedly gave its name to the dance, was hardly a uniquely dionysiac epithet. An epithet like Karpios and a dance called *karpaia* could easily be attached to other divinities such as Demeter.¹⁰² Moreover, Dionysus had little interest either in warfare or in the kind of agricultural concerns expressed in the dance.¹⁰³ Should we, however, expect the theme of every dance to be related to the cult of the god? Normally we might say yes, but Dionysus might constitute an exception given the range of Dionysiac drama.

Having two pieces of evidence that might match is something of a luxury in Thessalian studies! To find, therefore, a Dionysus Karpios and a dance called *karpaia* in the neighbouring *perioikoi* has understandably proven an inviting prospect for scholars.¹⁰⁴ It is extremely tempting to tidy up the inconsistencies and pursue the argument, since it can lead the discussion down some interesting avenues concerning participation in the cult. According to tradition when the Thessalians came to Thessaly many of those who had hitherto lived in the place left Thessaly and settled in their historical homelands, but many others chose to stay behind.¹⁰⁵ The latter were either subdued into serfdom or

¹⁰¹ Xen. *An.* 6.1.7. Hesych. κ 863 associates the dance with the Macedonians. See also Kalléris (1954) 202, who associates it with the supposedly common origins of Macedonians, Magnesians, and Ainians.

¹⁰² There are, though, several *karpos*-related epithets for Dionysus, such as Karpophoros and Kallikarpos: Graf (1985) 274. For *karpos*-related epithets for other deities see e.g. the cult of Ge Eukarpiia in Thessaly itself: Helly (1973b) no. 203. At Aigai in Cilicia a Demeter Karpophoros was worshipped together with Dionysus Kalikarpos: SEG 37 (1987) no. 1247; SEG 54 (2004) no. 1479.

¹⁰³ Note, however, Diod. 4.4.1 for a myth that Dionysus, the son of Zeus and Persephone, was the first to set himself to yoke oxen and, thus, to perfect the process of sowing crops. For a discussion of the passage see Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 181. There is little evidence for Dionysus' connection with war: Farnell (1896–1909) v. 101, 138–9. See also Wheeler (1982) 227 n. 26; Lonsdale (1993) 141 for a discussion of the dance among other military/agricultural dances.

¹⁰⁴ Hatzipoulos (1987) 407 and (1994c) 249 n. 12 associates the *karpaia* with the cult of Dionysus Karpios in Thessaly and the Macedonian month Gorpiaios.

¹⁰⁵ Archemachos *FGrH* 424 F 1 = Ath. 264a; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 122a = Ath. 265b.

mingled with the newcomers, according to traditions which seem to have been cultivated particularly in the area of the Dotian plain to the north-east of Larisa.¹⁰⁶ There seems to be a body of tradition here that tied together Thessalians living in cities like Larisa, excluded classes like the *penestai* and neighbouring communities like the *perioikoi*. Each of these groups should have had different responses to these myths and this has an interesting resonance with Xenophon's description of the multiple culminations of the dance. We may ask, therefore, whether this was perhaps a dance shared by multiple groups: could it be, for instance, that Larisa's neighbours, *perioikoi*, or even *penestai*, danced a *karpaia* in Larisa?¹⁰⁷

I move now to the cult of Demeter. The fertility of the fields and that of women are usually considered among the main functions of the goddess.¹⁰⁸ So much we can generally say was true in Thessaly, too. Several of the epithets with which she was worshipped in Thessaly, such as Megalartos¹⁰⁹ at Pherai, Phylaka¹¹⁰ and Plout(e)ia¹¹¹ at Larisa, could betray a connection with agriculture. A *σύνδος γυναικῶν* (gathering of women) is mentioned in one of the inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Demeter at Proerna.¹¹² And all but two inscribed dedications to her and/or Kore were offered by women, reminding us that in Thessaly, as elsewhere in the Greek world, the goddess was mostly approached by those who did not work the land.¹¹³ It has further been

¹⁰⁶ See section 4.2 and section 5.2.

¹⁰⁷ Dances were performed by *penestai*, but we do not know in what contexts. Theopompos *FGH* 115 F 81 = Ath. 259f–260a refers to funny dances performed by a *penestes* in the court of Philip II. See also the discussion of Ducat (1994) 50–1, 99–101.

¹⁰⁸ That of afterlife is another. I discuss the Thessalian evidence for the relation of Demeter with the afterlife in section 6.2. Let me just mention here that there is no evidence for an official mystery cult of Demeter.

¹⁰⁹ *IG* IX 2 418. A month Megalartios is also attested at Halos and Phthiotic Thebes: Trümper (1997) 237, 240. For the festival Megalartia which was also celebrated elsewhere in the Greek world and was named so from the loaves brought as offerings see Nilsson (1906) 333.

¹¹⁰ Apart from the lists of priestesses of Demeter Phylaka and Dionysus Karpios (Oikonomidis and Koumanoudis (1956–7) 17–22) there are two Roman dedications to Demeter Phylaka and Dionysus Karpios by priestesses (*IG* IX 2 573; Arvanitopoulos (1911) 123 no. 26). Axenidis (1949) 173 interprets the epithet as 'the goddess who protects (agriculture)'. He is followed by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 244 n. 969, who, however, also mentions that the epithet could be topographic, from the city Phylake in Achaia Phthiotis. It is not clear whether the cult of Demeter Phylaka is to be associated with that of Demeter, Kore, and Despotes known from a Hellenistic dedicatory inscription found at the hill of Hassan Bey cami north-west of the acropolis hill and which Tziafalias includes within the area of the acropolis. There were also several architectural remains perhaps to be connected with this sanctuary: *AE* (1910) 377; Axenidis (1949) 172–3; Tziafalias (1985b) 61 no. 16; Tziafalias (1994c) 155 pl. 1; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 33–4.

¹¹¹ Helly (1970b) 251.16, 265 notes that the epithet describes Demeter 'déesse de la richesse'; Salviat and Vatin (1971) read Ploutia.

¹¹² Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 34–6.

¹¹³ For the evidence see Appendix 1. In one of the two male dedications the offering was made in favour of his daughter: *PAE* (1915) 192. Note that Mounogone is mentioned instead of Kore at

suggested that the festival of Thesmophoria, popular all over Greece, was widely celebrated in Thessaly, too.¹¹⁴ A *thesmophorion* is epigraphically attested only at Demetrias,¹¹⁵ hardly a traditional Thessalian city, but the sanctuary of Demeter at Proerna, and those known from archaeology on the acropolis and *chora* of Pharsalos (at the modern village Ambelia), have also been identified as *thesmophoria*. I am not going to press the point any further here, since arguing for or against all these sanctuaries being *thesmophoria* tells us nothing more than what we already knew, that the goddess was worshipped by women and in some connection with fertility (unless we accept that defining citizen status was among the functions of the festival of Thesmophoria, for which see further later in this section).

The presence, however, of large numbers of horse figurines in two of these sanctuaries (60 have been reported from Proerna and 102 from the votive deposit at Ambelia) is worth further discussion. Peloponnesian myths told of how Demeter mated with Poseidon in the form of a horse, and horse figurines have been reported from some sanctuaries of the goddess.¹¹⁶ But only in Thessaly do they occur in such large numbers. On the one hand, this is hardly surprising given the importance of horse-breeding for the area. On the other, we would like to know precisely how Demeter and her female worshippers were connected with this activity. Demeter had no connections with pastoralism, mountain meadows, and moving herds of animals.¹¹⁷ As for the women in her cult, they all but certainly had nothing to do with horse-breeding themselves. But it is perhaps too hasty to think of horses in Thessaly only in terms of pastoralism. Horses and bunches of corn were sometimes chosen to decorate opposite sides of Thessalian coins.¹¹⁸ Very much like the corn, whose growth Demeter oversaw, the horse too seems to have been considered a product of the Thessalian land, springing from the earth at the stroke of Poseidon's trident.¹¹⁹ Moreover, it is very likely that the horse might have

Trikka: *IG IX 2* 305; and at Krannon and Chorto: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 216 n. 820 (unpublished). The title Mounogone is attributed to Hecate in Hes. *Theog.* 426 and to Persephone, Athena, and Demeter in *Hymn. Orph.* 29.2; 32.1; 40.16. It is also attested in an unpublished inscription from Koroneia in Boiotia: Schachter (1981) i. 100. Women and the cult of Demeter: R. Parker (1988) 103 notes and comments on the phenomenon.

¹¹⁴ Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Arvanitopoulos (1929a) 32 no. 420.

¹¹⁶ Myths: Paus. 8.25.4; 8.42.1. Note also the *poloi* of Demeter in Laconia and Messenia: *IG V i.* 594, 1444. For horse figurines in other sanctuaries of Demeter see in general Kozłowski (2003), who includes, apart from the Thessalian sanctuaries, Pella, Knossos, and Thasos. For Demeter's connection with the horse see also Scheffer (1994).

¹¹⁷ Her epithet Malophoros is, though, explained by Paus. 1.44.3 as designating the goddess of sheep. See in general Farnell (1896–1909) iii. 32.

¹¹⁸ See e.g. the fifth-century issues of Scotoussa, Me(thy)lion, and the federal issue: Franke (1970); Moustaka (1983) 117 no. 94.

¹¹⁹ For the myth concerning the birth of Skyphios, the first horse: *Etym. Magn.* s.v. 473. 42; *Σ Pind. Pyth.* 4.246b. See also section 6.1 for further discussion of the perception of Thessalian fertility in pastoral terms.

served in Thessaly, like the corn, as a metaphor for married life and reproduction.¹²⁰ It might have been because of such a symbolic association that horses came to be associated with Demeter in the first place.¹²¹ Some support for such a suggestion can be gleaned from the prominent appearance of the animal in Thessalian wedding ceremonies.¹²²

In Athens one of the prime functions of the Thesmophoria seems to have been to define the status of citizen women.¹²³ A similar case can perhaps be made for Thasos, where the altars of the *patrai* of the city were housed in the *thesmophorion*.¹²⁴ But we do not have evidence from elsewhere in the Greek world to assert that this was a function of the cult everywhere. In the case of Thessaly we need to also ask who exactly these citizen women would be: only those whose husbands sat in the assembly seats, that is the wives of full citizens, or should we also include the wives of those excluded from politics, and how far down the social scale of the various categories of *archomenoi politai* should we reach? It is worth pointing out here that sanctuaries identified as *thesmophoria* have been found in various localities. That of Demetrias was inside the city, the one at Proerna at its edge, just outside the walls. But at Pharsalos we have evidence for two *thesmophoria*, one on the slopes of the acropolis and the other at the rural locality Ambelia. Another votive deposit which has been connected by the excavator with a cult of Demeter has recently been found at the locality Karpochori in west Thessaly, and it seems that it should also be connected with a rural sanctuary.¹²⁵ We hardly know the settlement pattern of Thessaly, and despite claims that have been made at times, we have no reason to make the a priori assumption that the affluent lived in cities while the *chora* was inhabited by *penestai* and small landholders.

There are some differences, however, between the finds from the votive deposits at rural Ambelia and those on the acropolis of Pharsalos which invite further consideration. To start with horse figurines, hundreds of which were found at Ambelia, these seem not to have been found, at least in significant numbers, at the sanctuary on the acropolis. The situation is not very clear because three different votive deposits have been excavated on the slopes of the Pharsalian acropolis and it is not certain that we should associate them all with a single sanctuary.¹²⁶ Only the finds from deposit 1 have been fully

¹²⁰ R. Parker (2005) 280 notes that it was through such a metaphor that cults like the Thesmophoria worked.

¹²¹ For other interpretations, which see the horse figurines as an allusion to the myth of the capture of Persephone, or as directly connected with pastoralism see Lilibaki-Akamati (1996) 71–3; Kozłowski (2003).

¹²² Ael. NA. 12.34. See discussion in section 2.4.

¹²³ Detienne (1989); R. Parker (2005) 276. ¹²⁴ Rolley (1965).

¹²⁵ AD 30 (1975) *Chron.* 197–8.

¹²⁶ Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) publishes the finds from deposit 1, which had been excavated by Theocharis at a locality called Hagios Nikolaos (property Raïos): AD 21 (1966) *Chron.* 578–9. The other two deposits were excavated a few years later at the spots termed Platoma and

published: they were contemporary with those found at rural Ambelia and included many similar finds, such as protomes and other seated and standing female figurines, but there were no horses, or other animal figurines. There were also other differences in the votive material. No miniature hydriae or hydriaphoroi figurines were found in deposit 1, although they occur in large numbers at rural Ambelia. Horse figurines and hydriaphoroi have, however, been reported from deposit 2 and miniature hydriae from deposit 3, but we do not know in what numbers, and the finds from these two deposits seem to have been much later.¹²⁷ Moreover, the protomes found on the acropolis were significantly larger than those from Ambelia.¹²⁸ Let us accept, for the moment, that there were differences between the votives offered at any one time in the two sanctuaries of Demeter, the one in the countryside, the other on the acropolis. It would be tempting to interpret these differences by appealing to the different setting of the two cults. Dedications related to the animal world and the fertility of the land (hydriae are often thought to be related with some kind of fertility rite) were at home in rural Ambelia, while the more monumental offerings were brought to the sanctuary in the city. Whether the differences in the votive material of the two sanctuaries reflected the different clientele of the two cults is less clear. There is no reason to suppose that a sanctuary in the countryside necessarily served a clientele of lower status than one on the acropolis.¹²⁹ But if we accept that these votive deposits represent the same cult, i.e. the Thesmophoria, undertaken by women in two different settings, then we must naturally conclude that the differences between them represent differences in the interests of women in the countryside as opposed to the city. This conclusion will tend to lead us to suppose that these differing interests represent different lifestyles and, therefore, different statuses.

The cult of Heracles, who might have been worshipped on the slopes of the Pheraean acropolis, offers us a different view of the countryside. To the well-born (and perhaps not so well-born) ladies of Demeter we can now juxtapose Heracles' virile worshippers. A second-century dedication revealed during the excavations of the fortification wall on Hagios Athanasios hill was offered to

Eikonismataki respectively: *AD 29* (1974) *Chron.* 578–9. It is reported that deposits 1 and 2 were found close to each other, while deposit 3 was at a distance of 500 metres. Remains of two buildings of uncertain date have also been found. Tziafalias, the excavator of deposits 2 and 3, suggests that deposits 1 and 2 might be related, but is cautious about deposit 3. For the finds and date of these deposits see later in this section.

¹²⁷ The excavator gives us the information that deposit 2 was created in the middle of the fourth century, while the finds from deposit 3 belonged to the late fourth and early third century BC.

¹²⁸ Most of the protomes found at Pharsalos have a height of between 20 and 30 cm, while those from Ambelia are around 7 cm. Compare Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 73–5 nos. 1–25 and 80–2 nos. 32–56.

¹²⁹ Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 28 calls it a rural sanctuary founded by farmers close to their fields.

the hero by the twelve *hylouroi*.¹³⁰ The *hylouroi*, that is the wardens of the forests, were, according to Aristotle, the magistrates responsible for maintaining order in the *chora*.¹³¹ Patrolling the countryside was, it has been suggested, a duty which in several places fell on the shoulders of the ephebes, or young men,¹³² and it is thus possible that the role of Heracles as a patron hero of men, and especially young men, was here at play.¹³³ The name of the officials, *hylouroi*, seems appropriate for Heracles, who was often connected, not least through his son Hylas, with names of young men formed with the root *hyl-*.¹³⁴ But we should certainly bring forward another prominent persona of Heracles in myth, that of the civilizing hero. The stories which told how Heracles with his deeds cleansed the countryside from its dangers and spread, wherever he passed, the benefits of civilization are well known.¹³⁵ To stay in Thessaly, a local tradition attributed to the hero the draining of the Thessalian plains.¹³⁶

Heracles' cult seems to have been quite popular in Thessaly, known from inscribed dedications from several Thessalian cities, all offered by men, and usually by groups of men.¹³⁷ We can guess at the context of many of these dedications, associating them with some of Heracles' well-known functions: at Pythion, it has been tentatively suggested, the groups of twelve and fifteen men might have honoured the hero in the context of the gymnasium;¹³⁸ the Herakleistai of Atrax and Souidai of Larisa might have been religious associations dining in honour of the banqueting hero par excellence.¹³⁹ But Heracles' cult in Thessaly seems to have stepped beyond the confines of the

¹³⁰ The inscription was found outside the walls and close to tower no. 5. The publisher of the inscription Kakavogiannis (1978) 318–21 and esp. 319–20 argues that the stele was transferred from the sanctuary of the hero which supposedly existed at the area of the modern church of Hagios Charalambos (for this sanctuary see *PAE* (1907) 158; Béquignon (1937) 25–6, who is more sceptical about its existence; Appendix 2). P. Chrysostomou (1998) 255–6 argues that it was found *in situ*. He mentions that part of the wall of a building was also found and a fragment of Hellenistic relief depicting part of a leg.

¹³¹ Arist. *Pol.* 7.1331^b. The *hylouroi* are mentioned in another second-century inscription from Pherai. They were headed by an *archihylouros* and were nine in number, while another three names were added a century later according to the editor: Kakavogiannis (1978) 324. The earliest attestation of a *hylouros* is in a fifth-century decree from Thetionion, which mentions the *hylouros* as the *eponymus archon*: *IG IX 2 257*. Kakavogiannis (1978) 320 and Helly (1995) 332 use it as evidence that the office of the *hylouros*, held by a single official, was once very important. But the *hylouros* of the Thetionion decree might have been assisted in his duties, as the *archihylouros* was later at Pherai, by a group of *hylouroi*.

¹³² See e.g. Chankowski (2004), who also points out the need to differentiate between ephebes and young men in office.

¹³³ For Heracles and young men: Salowe (2002); R. Parker (2005) 412–13, 437–9.

¹³⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 376 ff. ¹³⁵ Jourdain-Annequin (1989) 53, 221–352.

¹³⁶ Diod. 4.18.6–7. ¹³⁷ See Appendix 1.

¹³⁸ Lucas (1992a) 444–8 nos. 29, 30.

¹³⁹ Herakleistai: Tziafalias (1984a) 201 no. 69, where he restored the name of the group as *Ἡρακλει(ο)δαίων*. For the reading *Ἡρακλειστάων* see *AD 34* (1979) *Chron.* 226 no. 20. In both cases he calls them a phratry. But in Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147 they are simply called a college. Souidai: *IG IX 2 580*. Kontogiannis (1985) 119 calls them a phratry.

gymnasium or the private diners of his cultic associations. At Kierion, in west Thessaly, his sanctuary served as the repository of civic decrees.¹⁴⁰ Scotoussa had an important cult of Heracles. The god's club and head were depicted on fifth- and fourth-century civic coinage, and one of the earliest dedications we have from Thessaly, a sixth-century inscribed base offered to Heracles Kraterophroun, seems to have supported two kouros statues, a rare find from Thessaly.¹⁴¹ A second-century inscription refers to a Herakleion close to the city walls, which may or may not have been the same sanctuary as the one where the base was set up.¹⁴² Another important and old sanctuary of Heracles, which seems to also have had an Early Archaic temple, has been recently revealed at the locality called Latomeio, to the south of Pherai. It is a shame that we barely understand the topography of the area and have thus to leave open the question of which settlement the sanctuary belonged to.¹⁴³ Here, too, the hero received one of those rare dedications of a kouros statue. Other offerings included bronze bowls, one of which carried an Archaic dedicatory inscription. Weapons were also found, bringing to mind the otherwise known association between Heracles and war.¹⁴⁴

The functions of Heracles we have found in Thessaly, the military, athletic, dining, and even the protection of the countryside, are all well attested elsewhere. But in comparison to some other places, such as Athens, where his cult seems to have been mostly observed by small groups, and to have been particularly important on the personal or private level, in Thessaly, while we still have evidence for this kind of activity related to his cult, his worship seems to have transcended this, entering the more monumental, state or public sphere.

3.3. CULTS IN THE AGORA

We can now pass to the cults in the agoras of Thessalian cities. But before turning our attention to matters of religion, we need to discuss what we know

¹⁴⁰ *IG IX 2* 258 = Decourt (1995) no. 15.

¹⁴¹ For the evidence for kouros and kore statues from Thessaly see Biesantz (1965) 29 L1–6 and the examples mentioned by Stamatopoulou (2007) 324. Meyer and Brüggemann (2007) discuss the cultic contexts where these sculptural types were set up, usually important sanctuaries of the polis or the area.

¹⁴² Herakleion: Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) B 1.5 places the Herakleion to the north. The dedication was found one kilometer east of the acropolis and some architectural remains might indicate that it was *in situ*: *AD 19* (1964) *Chron.* 265; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (2000) 101–5. Coins: Head (1911) 309.

¹⁴³ The results of the recent excavations at the site have been reported in *AR* (2007–8) 59. For earlier excavation reports: *PAE* (1911) 300–1; *PAE* (1915) 157. di Salvatore (1994) 106–7 associates the sanctuary with the ancient city Glaphyrai.

¹⁴⁴ For Heracles and war: Graf (1985) 99.

about the placing and function of Thessalian agoras. Thessalian cities, Aristotle mentions, had an agora called the free agora (ἐλεύθερη ἀγορά). In it, he tells us, no trade was allowed, nor was entrance permitted to craftsmen, traders, or land labourers, unless they had been summoned by the magistrates.¹⁴⁵ The banning of commercial exchanges from the agora, R. Martin assures us, was a common feature of oligarchic cities.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, with the exception of the Thessalian 'free agoras', known to us through this single reference in Aristotle, I know of no other concrete example of an 'oligarchic agora'. Be that as it may, there is no compelling reason to doubt Aristotle's testimony concerning the free agoras of Thessalian cities, although one may ponder various uncertainties, such as the age of the institution, how long it lasted and whether it was to be found in all Thessalian cities. Aristotle does not explicitly mention which activities took place in the free agora, but the reference to magistrates would seem to indicate that at least some political activities took place there. The information that the Thessalians used the word 'agora' to describe their political assemblies confirms this point.¹⁴⁷

Hesychius tells us that the Thessalians had another word which meant agora, the word λιμήν, which literally means port. Unlike most modern interpretations, which take the word to mean the 'free agora',¹⁴⁸ I find it far more likely that the word λιμήν was instead used by the Thessalians to designate the commercial agora. We could start from the assumption that the word λιμήν would have been used metaphorically, to describe a location which had in the inland Thessalian cities at least some of the characteristics of a port. While there is no obvious reason why the word port would have been used to designate a space like the free agora,¹⁴⁹ an argument can be constructed for the use of the word to designate a place where market transactions took place. Martin has noted a consistent association between ports and market places.¹⁵⁰ The argument gains further strength if the word ἐνλίμενα mentioned in a very fragmentary decree from west Thessaly, which regulates the sympolity between Gomphoi and Thamiiai, referred to the taxes collected on various products.¹⁵¹

The word λιμήν is also found in a late third-century Larisean document, which concerns the decision of the Lariseans to enrol, following Philip V's

¹⁴⁵ Arist. *Pol.* 1331^a. ¹⁴⁶ R. Martin (1951) 283–308 (esp. 296).

¹⁴⁷ Axenidis (1949) 132; García Ramón (2004) 239.

¹⁴⁸ For instance Axenidis (1949) 166–8; Tziafalias (1994c) 159 suggests that *limen* was a particular space within the free agora; García-Ramón (2007) 41 n. 176 argues that it was so-called because originally meetings were held close to a meadow or to a harbour.

¹⁴⁹ But see García Ramón (2007).

¹⁵⁰ Ports and market places: R. Martin (1951) 284.

¹⁵¹ The inscription is discussed by Helly (1993) 178. The word ἐνλίμενα means tax collected from harbours: Thiel (1924) 62–7. But, perhaps, it was here used metaphorically to denote a land tax: Knorrhinga (1926) 44 notes that words mainly used for sea trade, such as ἐμπορος, could be used for overland trade.

orders, new citizens in the civic body.¹⁵² The process did not go very smoothly. While the king had originally advised the Larisean magistrates to bestow citizenship on all foreigners living in the territory of the city, and the *tagoi* had originally done so, they later changed their minds, and withdrew citizenship from those whom for some reason they deemed to be unworthy. Following a second missive from the king, urging them to reinstate citizenship to all, and promising to hear and decide personally any dubious cases, the *tagoi* of Larisa chose a slightly different solution. They decided to write down two lists, one on a stele with the names of those accepted to citizenship, which was to be set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos, and a second one on a white board (λεύκωμα) with the names of those deprived of citizenship, which was to be set up in the λιμὴν. There is no reason to believe, as has been done so far, that both the stele and the λεύκωμα were set up in the same place, that is in the free agora/λιμὴν of the city of Larisa. Instead the document seems to indicate that the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos and the λιμὴν were two different places. Moreover, the fact that different kinds of document were set up in each underlines their difference. The permanent public record with the names of those awarded citizenship, and indeed all civic decrees, were displayed in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos, which was clearly the *epiphanestatos topos* of the city, and may have been located in the free agora of the city (for its location and the cult see more later in this section). In contrast, the temporary public record with the names of those who were not deemed worthy of citizenship, who may not have been allowed access to the free agora, was displayed in the λιμὴν underlining their marginality and the marginality of the area.¹⁵³

The limited exploration of Thessalian cities does not allow us to ground these suggestions concerning the free and commercial agoras more firmly. No agora has been securely located. Often the strongest argument for the identification of an area as the free agora is archaeological instinct. A relatively flat area, in the centre of the city, close to the acropolis is usually dubbed as the free agora. Arvanitopoulos located, on such criteria, the agora of Gonnoi somewhere close to the south walls of the city.¹⁵⁴ In the cases of Pharsalos, Pherai, and Larisa the existence of monumental architecture, revealed in rescue excavations, is strong supporting, but not unequivocal, evidence.¹⁵⁵ Similarly,

¹⁵² IG IX 2 517. See also Hannick (1968); M. Austin (1981) 117 no. 60.

¹⁵³ I know no other example of negative publication apart from the pillar with names of the sacrilegious and traitors which was set up on the acropolis (Lyc. *Leoc.* 117).

¹⁵⁴ A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1910) 247.

¹⁵⁵ At Larisa numerous architectural remains (foundations of a building, Doric and Ionic remains, pedestals) from the fourth century onwards, and a few decrees were found under the modern square Tachydromeiou: *PAE* (1955) 147–50; *AD* 31 (1976) *Chron.* 176; *AD* 34 (1979) *Chron.* 215–19. At Pharsalos Arvanitopoulos reports remains of a stoic building under the modern square: *PAE* (1907) 148–51; a fourth-century stoa and another building were found close to the modern square of the city: *AD* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 151; *AD* 40 (1985) *Chron.* 202. Note, however, that the building had evidence for metal and pottery workshops. See in general

a peripheral location, and a much humbler appearance, is usually assumed for the commercial agora. There is some slight evidence for workshops located on the outskirts of the city.¹⁵⁶ A complex of buildings interpreted as a potters' quarter has been unearthed in the south-east part of the city of Pherai and a few pottery kilns have been found outside the city of Metropolis along one of its main roads.¹⁵⁷ The city of Atrax furnishes one rare example where we can talk with more confidence about the agora and its cults.¹⁵⁸

3.3.1. Cults in the Agora(s) of Atrax: Themis Agoraia, Athena Agoraia, and Others?

Atrax has been securely identified with the site of Paliokastro, at the borders of the villages Peneiada and Kastro on the banks of the Peneus river, between Larisa and Triikka. The layout of the city is known only through surface survey. Habitation seems to have started in the Archaic period, and until the fifth century it was restricted to the east slopes of the Kastro hill, the area which has been identified with the acropolis of the city. After the Macedonian conquest the city flourished: habitation expanded to the lowlands, a new carefully made wall was constructed. The location of the agora, according to Tziafalias, also changed. The area enclosed in the Classical wall was now all incorporated into the acropolis, and the agora moved further to the south, close to the walls and the so-called area of the sanctuaries.¹⁵⁹ In his brief reports Tziafalias does not make explicit his reasons for these suggestions, but it seems that they were, partly at least, based on the discovery of two fifth-century inscriptions, one recording a dedication to Athena Agoraia by the *archons*, and the other a

Karapanou (2012) 410–11. At Pherai a Late Hellenistic stoa was excavated at the north of the Hypereia fountain, as well as a round building of uncertain date; the excavator proposed a date in the fifth century because of a deposit found inside it with skyphoi of that period: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1990); *AD* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 145–6.

¹⁵⁶ Arist. *Pol.* 1331^b suggests that the traders' agora should be at a location convenient for the reception of goods.

¹⁵⁷ Pherai: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1990). Metropolis: *AD* 52 (1997) *Chron.* 486. See also Tziafalias (1994c) 173–4, who locates the market agora of Larisa at the area between the first theatre of Larisa and the so-called free agora (square Tachydromeiou), that is in the area delineated by the streets Ermou, Kyprou, Androutsou, Venizelou, and Phillelennon. Helly (1970b) 258 suggests that the locality called τετράγωνος (the square one) mentioned in a Larisean inscription was the name of the trade agora and was located outside the city on the road to Krannon.

¹⁵⁸ Current excavations being conducted at Kastro Kallithea in Achaia Phthiotis are going to add to our understanding of Thessalian agoras. They have brought to light a large open area inserted in the grid plan of the Hellenistic city. The area was surrounded by a number of free-standing buildings built in various phases, included a long stoic building, a round one, tenuously interpreted as a heroon, and a small rectangular building identified as a temple: Haagsma et al. (2011).

¹⁵⁹ See in general Tziafalias (1995) and p. 75 for the agora.

dedication to Themis Agoraia by the *tagoi*. Both were collected from the property of Zarimbias, but we are not told whether this plot of land lies in the area identified as the Classical agora or in the one identified as the Hellenistic one.¹⁶⁰ Other dedicatory inscriptions were also found in the wider area, but there is also much confusion in the reports concerning their exact findspots. Two *stelai* dedicated to Zeus Tritodios, one dated to the fifth and the other to the third century, have been found, according to the information provided in the *Deltion*, in the same property.¹⁶¹ Helly, however, who published the inscriptions, located the sanctuary of Zeus cautiously just as somewhere in the general area between the upper and lower city.¹⁶² And, according to Chrysostomou, the inscriptions came from the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios, which is not even in the city, but seems to have been outside the city walls.¹⁶³ Moreover, a phallus dedicated to Dionysus and another inscription mentioning the *βουκόλοι* were found in the property Zachares, also described once as lying in the supposed area of the sanctuaries, and elsewhere as lying in the area of the agora.¹⁶⁴

The cult of the gods called *agoraioi* is well attested. Zeus and Hermes were most often the *agoraioi* gods of the Greek cities.¹⁶⁵ Outside Thessaly, a cult of Athena Agoraia is attested only at Sparta.¹⁶⁶ The cult of Themis Agoraia is also attested explicitly only in Thessaly.¹⁶⁷ But the association of Themis and agoras is well known through literature. The epithet fits well with the goddess who was the personification of right and social order, the goddess of wise counsel. In Homer, Themis was often the summoner of assemblies.¹⁶⁸ Apart from Atrax, Themis Agoraia received an early fifth-century dedication at Chorto in Magnesia.¹⁶⁹ She might well have been worshipped in the agoras of many other Thessalian cities. Her cult seems to have been quite prominent in the area.¹⁷⁰ A month in the calendars of several Thessalian poleis and in the federal calendar was called Themistios.¹⁷¹ Strabo knew of a famous sanctuary of Themis Ichnaia in west Thessaly.¹⁷² The goddess also received dedications

¹⁶⁰ Gallis (1974) 273–80.

¹⁶¹ AD 30 (1975) *Chron.* 199.

¹⁶² Helly (1983a) 165–8.

¹⁶³ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 243. The exact location of the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios in Atrax is itself a complicated issue, but it was outside the fortification walls: Tziafalias (1995) 75 places it at the west extension of the city. In AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 238 n. 19 says it is a few hundred metres from the north part of the fortification wall.

¹⁶⁴ Contrast Tziafalias (1984b) 198 and Tziafalias (1995) 75.

¹⁶⁵ R. Martin (1951) 174–94 for the *agoraioi theoi* in general.

¹⁶⁶ Paus. 3.11.9.

¹⁶⁷ Themis was worshipped, however, together with Zeus Agoraios at Thebes: Paus. 9.25.4. Schachter (1981) iii. 50–1 suggests that Themis was worshipped in, or close to, the agoras of various Boiotian cities.

¹⁶⁸ For Themis Agoraia: Stafford (2000) 46, 52; Schachter (1981) iii. 50–1.

¹⁶⁹ Arvanitopoulos (1911) 300 no. 49.

¹⁷⁰ Themis and Thessaly: Vos (1956) 68ff; Hamdorf (1964) 50; Stafford (2000) 50–2, 67–8.

¹⁷¹ Trümper (1997) 216.

¹⁷² Strabo 9.5.14.

at Stomio in Magnesia and at Tyrnavos.¹⁷³ And the city of Mondaia had a flourishing cult of the goddess. Public decrees were set up in her sanctuary, and the goddess' treasure seems to have been wealthy enough for the Mondaiaans to consult Dodona about it.¹⁷⁴

It is difficult to tell whether in these cults Themis put aside her political role and acquired other functions. In many cases the *agoraioi theoi* seem to have supervised also the commercial activities of the agora, although this would be problematic in the case of Thessaly, given the division between the free and the commercial agora. In any case there is no evidence for Themis having any commercial functions in Thessaly.¹⁷⁵ It is also often stated that Themis took the place of Hera in Thessaly. As we have seen there is ambiguous evidence for the cult of the latter in Thessaly.¹⁷⁶ And on the so-called altar of the six goddesses at Pherai, which seems to have been part of a larger monument offered to the twelve gods, Themis took the place of Hera. Moreover, the cult of Themis Ichnaia might have been connected with a myth which related her erotic pursuit by Zeus, stressing Themis' conjugal relations with the king of the gods.¹⁷⁷ Whether, however, this means that she also took up the marital functions of the spouse she replaced is far less certain. In all, there is, then, little evidence for Themis having functions other than the political in Thessaly.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the fame of her cult as Ichnaia in west Thessaly and the wealth of her Mondaian sanctuary might suggest that celebrations in her honour were, at least in some cities, larger public events and not just confined to a few magistrates.¹⁷⁹

The dedications to Themis Agoraia and Athena Agoraia share a peculiar feature. The first line of the inscription, which mentions the deity, was inscribed almost a century later than the names of the dedicants, that is in the first half of the fourth century. Gallis has suggested that this was done because the area was being populated with new cults, and it was no longer

¹⁷³ PAE (1910) 191–2; IG IX 2 1236. The text of the Magnesian dedication is not very clear: see discussion in SEG 37 (1987) 491; BE (1991) no. 350; García Ramón (2004) 240.

¹⁷⁴ Decrees: Helly (1973b) no. 69. Treasury: Parke (1967) no. 4.

¹⁷⁵ For Themis supposedly commercial functions through a connection between the goddess and the idea of fair trading see Stafford (2000) 52.

¹⁷⁶ For the evidence and the problem of Hera's cult in Thessaly see section 1.5.

¹⁷⁷ St. Byz. s.v. *Ἰχναί*, which refers, however, to the Macedonian cult.

¹⁷⁸ Berti (2002) distinguishes two main functions of Themis, the political and the oracular. There is no evidence for the latter in the Thessalian cults of Themis, although the cult at Ichnaia is sometimes considered as an oracular cult: for Ichnaia and the cult of Themis Ichnaia see also section 4.2.

¹⁷⁹ Note also that IG IX 2 1236 was offered by a woman. A sanctuary of Themis in the *chora* of Doliche also raises questions concerning the role of the cult there: Tziafalias and Lucas (2012). Corsano (1988) 5–8, 97–101, argues, but on little evidence, that Themis' early cult was mainly a business of the *gene*. See in general Rudhardt (1999) for a criticism of the old idea that Themis represents an archaic concept of justice.

self-evident to whom the *stelai* were dedicated.¹⁸⁰ Helly's more prosaic suggestion, that originally the name of the deity, and possibly her figure, had been painted, cannot, of course, be excluded.¹⁸¹ Be that as it may, the possible presence of several other cults in what seems to have been the Hellenistic agora of the city, including a cult of Dionysus, poses the question of whether the cults housed in the free agora were not as one might originally have assumed strictly political, or whether changes indeed occurred in the use of the area in Hellenistic times.

3.3.2. Hestia, Private Claims at the Common Hearth

We shall continue with two cults which we have reason to believe might have been located, in some cities at least, in the agora and whose importance for the city is in any case undeniable. We start with Hestia, the goddess who had the honour of sitting at the centre of houses, but also at the centre of cities. It is possible that the common hearth in Thessaly, as was common practice in the Greek world, was located in the *prytaneion*, or some other public building—although our information for Thessalian public buildings, and the institutions they represented, is meagre.¹⁸² There are a couple of references to the common hearth of the city in second-century proxeny decrees from the Perrhaebian cities Gonnoi and Phalanna, which invite the foreign judges honoured for their services to dine in the *koine hestia*.¹⁸³

The circle of those who dined around the common hearth was always limited: the magistrates, who often took care of the cult, together with those who had been awarded the honour.¹⁸⁴ But even in an oligarchy, where the political cult of Hestia must have been the business of the privileged few, we should not rush to conclude that the cult was deprived of any wider civic importance, and was not perceived to have been performed for the city at large.¹⁸⁵ So much, however, has

¹⁸⁰ Gallis (1974) 276.

¹⁸¹ Helly (1995) 32.

¹⁸² *Prytaneis* are with certainty known only in Demetrias: Kip (1910) 102. Helly (1973b) no. 81 restores *ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ* in a decree from Gonnoi. See also *IMagnesia* 26 l.19, a decree in Thessalian dialect found at Magnesia on the Maiander, where the word *prytaneion* is restored. According to Hdt. 7.197 the *prytaneion* in Achaia Phthiotis was called *λήϊτον*. *AE* (1915) 74–5, which Giannopoulos attributed to Halos and which mentions in lines 6–7 the *prytaneis*, seems to have been issued by another city: Habicht (1972) 122–4 suggests Erythrai in Asia Minor, while Helly (1978) Erythrai at Thermopylai. The *boule* is better attested: Busolt (1920) 1493, 1500; Axenidis (1949) 140ff.

¹⁸³ A. Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1916) 21 no. 274 (Phalanna, second century); Helly (1973b) nos. 81, 85.

¹⁸⁴ Detienne (2003) 65 comments on the closeness of the sacrifices to Hestia, which was proverbial (Zen. 4.44).

¹⁸⁵ On the wider political importance of the cult of Hestia see Gernet (1968) 382–402; Vernant (1983) 127–75; Detienne (2003). See also Hamon (2005) and (2006) for a discussion of how political changes in the Late Hellenistic related to changes in the cults of the *bouleuterion*.

recently been claimed, at least for Classical Thessaly. Fearn, in a discussion of the cult of Hestia in oligarchic Larisa, has put forward the suggestion that there was little difference between dining at the halls of Hestia in the centre of the city and sharing in the proverbial symposia at the private houses of the Larisean notables.¹⁸⁶ Crucial is the testimony of an ode composed by Bacchylides for a Larisean called Aristotle.¹⁸⁷ The ode starts with an invocation to Hestia on her golden throne, who brought wealth and fortune to the family of Aristoteles, the so-called Agathokleadaí: 'Ἑστία χρυσόθρονον εὐδόξων Ἀγαθοκλεαδᾶν ἄτ' ἀφνε[ῶν/ἀδρῶν μέγαν ὄλβον ἀέξεις/ῆμένα μέσαις ἀγνυαῖς The various victories that Aristoteles had won in the Pythian games, and which brought fame and glory to the city of Larisa, are then listed. Nevertheless, the event which the ode celebrated was perhaps not some athletic victory—these seem to have been feats of the past—but the inauguration of Aristoteles as a *hipparch*. The celebration of the ode, it has further been suggested, accordingly took place in some public building of the city. The rhetoric of the ode, which stresses the prosperity that the goddess (Hestia Prytaneia supposedly) has brought to the family of the victor, comes close to making, in Fearn's words, the civic cult of Hestia 'the personal cult of this one family'. While we can hardly imagine such a bold claim being made in a democratic city like Athens (or in a well-ordered and moderate oligarchy), it squares well with standard portraits of Thessalian political life, where the whims of individual aristocrats could override not only the will of the masses, but often also the desires of fellow noblemen.¹⁸⁸

The first obstacle to this theory is that not all scholars would agree that the ode was composed for a magistracy and not an athletic victory.¹⁸⁹ Most importantly, we can question the context of the performance of the ode.¹⁹⁰ Hestia's golden throne is not explicitly invoked in the ode as being located in the *prytaneion*. Surprisingly, to anyone with structuralist sensibilities, we are told that the goddess sits in the middle of the streets (*agyiáis*).¹⁹¹ The poetic word *agvia*, whose primary meaning was city-street or alley, could, however, on some occasions be taken to mean the city as a whole. In all the examples that I am aware of, however, the meaning street remained primary, and it was only metaphorically and secondarily that the term could mean city, or even better, neighbourhood.¹⁹² Even if the phrasing 'in the middle of the *agyiái*'

¹⁸⁶ Fearn (2009).

¹⁸⁷ Maehler (1982) 302–7; Irigoin, Duchemin, and Bardollet (1993) 207–11; Helly (1995) 317 n. 110 for the ode being composed on the occasion of Aristotle becoming a *hipparch*. Contra: Carey (1983) 165–6.

¹⁸⁸ Fearn (2009) 32. ¹⁸⁹ See n. 187.

¹⁹⁰ See also Helly (1995) 111, who, however, believes it was performed in the *oikos* of the Agathokleadaí.

¹⁹¹ Lobel (quoted by Maehler) calls the expression unfortunate and notes 'the *agyiái* were for Hecate'.

¹⁹² Christol (1979) 59, 76 and LSJ give as examples Pind. *Nem.* 7.92; Pind. *Ol.* 9.34, where, however, the translation street makes good sense, and Soph. *OC.* 715, where the translation seems to be neighbourhood, not city. Bacchyl. *Od.* 9.52 is a better example.

would invoke Hestia in her polis-embracing capacity, I am not sure that this is the same as taking the phrase to mean 'Hestia in the middle of the *prytaneion*', but it should continue to be 'Hestia of the alleys or of the city neighbourhoods'.

It is tempting to pursue further this alternative suggestion since there is evidence from Thessaly itself for groups called *ἀγνιάται*, a term which according to Hesychius was equivalent to *γείτονες*, *κωμήται* (neighbours). We know about them from two fourth-century dedicatory inscriptions from Pharsalos.¹⁹³ The first, dated to the first half of the century, records a dedication made by the *ἀγνιάται* when *archons* were Sosandros and Asandros. The second one, which is dated to the second half of the fourth century, records the dedication of a certain Trochilos, *archon* of the *ἀγνιάται*,¹⁹⁴ after his victory at the Pythia. We could speculate that the *ἀγνιάται* were the inhabitants of a particular place, a Pharsalian village, called Agyia. Or we could follow the suggestion that the word had a technical meaning (and thus potentially reveals to us a widespread Thessalian institution) denoting the inhabitants of a street or neighbourhood.¹⁹⁵ The *agyiai* in this case would be something like 'city demes'. In any case, the fact that Trochilos commemorated his Pythian victory¹⁹⁶ in the context of his *ἀγνιάται* suggests to us an alternative context for the Bacchylides ode with its mention of a Hestia in the *agyiai*. It is not too fanciful to suggest that the ode may have been meant for performance in the context of such a group and that it mentions the group's cult.¹⁹⁷

A votive relief from Pharsalos adds some imagery to the problems we have been discussing so far, the relationship of the private domain to the political cult of Hestia. The relief, dated to the early fourth century BC, depicts a group of adorants, three men and two women, possibly a family, approaching a female deity who is seated on a throne and is dressed in a himation and peplos. Her left hand held perhaps a sceptre.¹⁹⁸ Next to her, a young man stands wearing a chiton and chlamys and accompanied by a horse. A fragmentary dedicatory inscription can be discerned on the lower band of the stele. A gap left uninscribed between the part of the inscription engraved under the two

¹⁹³ Decourt (1995) nos. 74, 75. See also Appendix 3.

¹⁹⁴ Decourt (1995) no. 74 argued that the dative *τοῖς Ἀγνιάταις* depends on *ἀνέθηκεν* and, thus, Trochilos might not have been an archon of the group. Contra: B. Helly, *BE* (1996) 1, who connects it with *ἄρχων*.

¹⁹⁵ De Sanctis (1898) 66; Sordi (1958a) 316; Decourt (1995) 96; Kontogiannis (1992) 387 n. 27; Helly (1995) 316 all follow this interpretation.

¹⁹⁶ Decourt (1995) no. 75 argues that the victory was won at some local Pythian games because of the modesty of the dedication. But Trochilos might have offered a larger dedication somewhere else in the city. Local Pythia elsewhere in the Greek world seem to become more common after the third century BC: Krause (1841) 53ff; Fontenrose (1988) 137.

¹⁹⁷ For the cult of Hestia in contexts other than the *oikos* or the public buildings of the city, see *IG* II² 1214 (Piraeus); *SEG* 40 no. 146 (Eleusis); *LSCG* 21 (Halimos); *IG* II² 1229 (cult of the *genos* Krokonidai). Also *IErythrai* 201 a 26 and c 30; Graf (1985) 166, 363 (cult of Hestia Temenia at Erythrai) and *SEG* 54 no. 800 (Hestia Isthmia on the small island of Prepesinthos).

¹⁹⁸ Miller (1973) 167. But see Fougères (1888) 182, who thinks she is holding a spindle.

figures at the left and that on the right indicates, as Miller has pointed out, that we have to restore the name of the two deities on the left in the nominative and that of one dedicant on the right. He suggested the following restoration: [Ἑστία Σύμμαχος [ἥρωσ . . . 11.–13 . . . Θ]ρασυδάειος ἀνέθηκ[ε]].¹⁹⁹ He further argued that the stele was set up in some political building at Pharsalos, where Hestia and the hero Symmachos were worshipped together. Miller's suggestion has been widely accepted,²⁰⁰ without much attention being paid to the fact that the association of such a family relief with the *prytaneion* would be highly unusual.²⁰¹ It was common to pray to Hestia Prytaneia or Boulaia for the welfare of women and children, and of everybody in the city,²⁰² but only at Ephesos, and several centuries later, do we find dedications to Hestia by her female servants, the *prytanides*, in which the family aspect is pronounced.²⁰³ Shall we insist that Thessaly presents an exception to the general patterns in the cult of Hestia? I find it preferable to deal with the issue by suggesting that the dedication from Pharsalos, if it really was made to Hestia,²⁰⁴ was set up in a sanctuary of the goddess somewhere else in the city.

The political aspects of the cult of Hestia were clearly important. Hestia was invoked in the oath sworn by the Thamians and Gomphaians in west Thessaly and was among the twelve gods honoured at Pherai at their altar set up on the acropolis.²⁰⁵ But concerning the broader issue brought up in this section, the question of how the tension between the public good and the private interests of the powerful Thessalian oligarchs was played out, Hestia's cult is almost silent.²⁰⁶ Fearn suggested that the wealth that Hestia brought to the Agathokleadaí refers to the prestige and other tangible gains that accrued to the family through their involvement in the city's political life.²⁰⁷ To Fearn's stark claim we can juxtapose Xenophon's portrait of the rule of Polydamas at Pharsalos, who is described as *megaloprepes*, praised for handling the public money of

¹⁹⁹ This reading is accepted by Fougères (1888) 179–87; Miller (1973) 167–72; Decourt (1995) 84 no. 68. Kern (*IG IX 2* 242) had argued that it was a dedication by three persons to a non-named divinity.

²⁰⁰ See e.g. LIMC s.v. Hestia and Hero Equitans. Also Detienne (2003) 174 n. 64.

²⁰¹ As is confirmed by a look through the corpus of inscriptions to Hestia by Dethloff (2003). See also R. Parker (2005) 37–41, who notes that family reliefs in Athens were set up in sanctuaries which were open to all. Compare also Hestia on the relief dedicated by Xenokrateia in the small sanctuary near Cephissus (*LIMC* s.v. Kephisos, nos. 1 and 2).

²⁰² See e.g. *IG II²*, 1043.

²⁰³ *Ephesos* 1058–60, 1062–74, discussed also by Merkelbach (1980) 80–2.

²⁰⁴ An alternative suggestion could be to restore the name of a heroine. But the size of the figure, larger than that of the hero, would argue against that: see Larson (1995) 43ff for some examples of heroines on reliefs.

²⁰⁵ Oath: Helly (1993) 168. Altar: Miller (1974).

²⁰⁶ The ritual expulsion from the *prytaneion* and the 'sacrifice' of the eldest member of the *genos* of the *Athamantids at Halos, described by Hdt. 7.197, even though it is not strictly speaking connected with the cult of Hestia, is also relevant to this discussion of how the relationship between the noble families of the city and the public good was perceived: section 2.5.

²⁰⁷ Fearn (2009) 27–8.

Pharsalos well, giving regular reports of spending, and subsidizing the treasury from his own pocket.²⁰⁸

3.3.3. Whose Profit? The Cult of Apollo Kerdoos

The cult of Apollo Kerdoos (or Kerdoios) is attested in several Thessalian cities in the north part of Thessaly, namely Scotoussa, Larisa, perhaps Phalanna, and at modern Vlachogianni (ancient Ereikinion?).²⁰⁹ Although the evidence is hardly conclusive, an argument could be made for the sanctuary of the god at Larisa being located in the free agora of the city. We know that all Larisean civic decrees were displayed in the Kerdoion.²¹⁰ A couple of them have been found during rescue excavations at the modern square of Tachydromeio, indicating that the sanctuary of the god may have been somewhere in this area.²¹¹ Several architectural remains dating from the fourth century onwards, including foundations, Doric and Ionic columns, and marble pedestals, have also been found nearby. The area's central location and the fact that it was, at least from the fourth century onwards, monumentalized could indicate that this was the free agora.²¹² Whether it was in the agora or not, however, the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos certainly was the *epiphanestatos topos* of the city.

Apollo was often worshipped in the agoras of Greek cities and it was common for his sanctuaries to serve as places for the display of civic decrees.²¹³ In other respects, too, the Thessalian cult of Apollo Kerdoos seems to conform to wider patterns of Apollo's worship. He seems to have had a close connection with the world of men, a field of interest very much stressed in several recent studies of the god.²¹⁴ All inscribed dedications to Apollo Kerdoos were offered either by men, or in favour of men. A Larisean dedication was offered by two brothers; that found at Vlachogianni by a couple for their son, and one, which may have come from Phalanna, by a man called Sousipatros.

²⁰⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2.

²⁰⁹ Larisa: *IG IX 2 637*. Vlachogianni: Woodward (1910) 154 no. 6 = McDevitt (1970) 139 no. 116. Phalanna: *IG IX 2 1234* (first century); Helly (1987) 141 n. 34 for a date in the third century and for the possibility that it was transferred from Larisa. Scotoussa: Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) A 73–4.

²¹⁰ *IG IX 2 512, 517, 521*, add. 205; Béquignon (1935) 55–64; Tziafalias (1984b) 229–30 no. 121; Gallis (1977); Cabanes and Andreou (1985); *IG VII 4131*.

²¹¹ Verdelis, *PAE* (1955) 146–7 n. 3 = McDevitt (1970) nos. 331, 332.

²¹² Verdelis, *PAE* (1955) 147–50; *AD 31* (1976) *Chron.* 176; *AD 34* (1979) *Chron.* 215–19. See also Axenidis (1949) 166ff; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 20.

²¹³ Graf (1979) 5–6 mentions several Delphinia located in agoras. See also Detienne (1998) 133, who, however, notes that Apollo was not called 'agoraios'.

²¹⁴ Apollo and young men: Burkert (1975) 1–21; Graf (1979); Jameson (1980) 213–36; Versnel (1993) 314ff; R. Parker (2005) 393, 436–7.

These dedications can perhaps be mined to give us a little more information about the cult. We could put forward a case that the rite of *daphnephoria*, a rite well attested in cults of Apollo in the area of central Greece, was celebrated in some Thessalian cities in honour of Apollo Kerdoos.²¹⁵ The dedicant from Phalanna recorded in his dedication that he had served as *dauchnaphoros*, *hieromnemon*, and *thyas*.²¹⁶ Given that the rite elsewhere in the Greek world was performed by young boys, Sousipatros must have dedicated to the god years after he had been a *daphnephoros* and after he had also served as *hieromnemon* and *thyas*. It is still, however, possible that all offices were somehow connected with the cult of Apollo Kerdoos. The dedication from Vlachogianni made for a boy could confirm that young boys had a role in the cult. Further clues may be derived from the other office that Sousipatros held, that of *thyas*. It is obviously related with the word *θύω* (to sacrifice). Sousipatros must, therefore, have been somehow involved in sacrifices. It has been suggested that the term *thyas* in some cases denoted the official responsible for the cutting and distribution of the meat, who might also have been involved in some kind of oracular practice.²¹⁷ Here we are treading on slippery ground, but we should take some account of this suggestion, in view also of a recent argument which claims that the cult of Apollo *daphnephoros* (in Boiotia, but it also speaks of a wider tradition) was connected with oracular practices.²¹⁸

Perhaps the most interesting and perplexing aspect of this cult is the epithet Kerdoos. The word *κέρδος* from which the epithet stems meant profit, often material, acquired through guile and trickery and often to the detriment of the

²¹⁵ For the rite of *daphnephoria* in the cult of Apollo see Farnell (1896–1909) iv. 293–5; Jeanmaire (1939) 387–411; Brelich (1969) 387–438; Schachter (1981) i. 83–5; Burkert (1983) 127–30; Calame (2001) 59–63; Kurke (2007); Kowalzig (2007) 371–82. There are several other dedicatory inscriptions from *dauchnaphoroi* from several Thessalian cities which I discuss in more detail in section 5.5.

²¹⁶ It is not clear what kind of *hieromnemon* Sousipatros was. Apart from the *hieromnemon*-representatives in the Delphic amphictiony there is also evidence for local *hieromnemon*s. See the evidence collected by Axenidis (1949) 129–30, who suggests that they were important officials, responsible for the sacred money and property. Note also the mention of *hieromnemon*s in Helly (1970b) esp. 276–7, 283 (and the reservations of Salviat and Vatin (1971) esp. 34). There is a problem concerning the *hieromnemon*s mentioned as partakers of the oath, together with various other Thessalian federal officials, in the fourth century treaty with Athens (IG II² 116, 175): Hatzopoulos (1996) 288 argues that these were not the representatives at the Delphic amphictiony, but representatives of the local communities vis-à-vis the *ethnos*. What the relationship between all these different levels of *hieromnemon*s might have been is a problem. For the office *thyas* see discussion later in this section.

²¹⁷ Berthiaume (1982) 20–1 and n. 27 for the Thessalian inscription.

²¹⁸ Kowalzig (2007) 371–82, who speaks of a Thessalo-Boiotian tradition, which would include Thessaly and the basin of Kopais in Boiotia, but not Thebes. But she does not discuss the cult of Apollo *Daphnephoros* at Eretria, archaeological evidence for which goes back to the Proto-Geometric times and which would weaken her arguments that the Theban *daphnephoric* rite was a late sixth- or early fifth-century addition to the cult and that the *daphnephoric* rite was specifically Thessalian.

communal interest.²¹⁹ These connotations fit very uncomfortably with the common image of Apollo and with an important state cult. Most commonly we know it as an epithet of Hermes.²²⁰ In most books on Greek religion the epithet Kerdoos is thus considered as an apposite one to describe the god protector of trade, but also of thieves; the god of cunning intelligence par excellence.²²¹ Epigraphically it is attested for Apollo only in Thessaly and in literary sources the epithet is associated once with the Apollo of Delphi.²²²

Scholars have failed to engage with the problem posed by the apparently negative connotations of Kerdoos. We find only occasional remarks on how the epithet might have been understood when associated with Apollo. Some believe that Apollo Kerdoos was also a protector of trade, although there is very little, if any, evidence for Apollo's involvement in it.²²³ It would be peculiar to find the god whose sanctuary was the *epiphanestatos topos* of the city looking after the affairs of a class that was treated with contempt in

²¹⁹ Cozzo (1988). See also Roisman (1990), who argues that all adjectival uses of *-κερδ* words contain the meaning of skill and trickiness; von Reden (1995) 61–7 describes *κέρδος* as the ability to gain power over people by means of trickery, and argues that it did not always have negative connotations.

²²⁰ Alciph. 3.11 [3.47]; Heliod. *Aith.* 6.7; Lucian *Tim.* 41; Plut. *Mor.* 472b. Hermes is also called Kerdeon in Herod. 7.74 and Kerdeporos in *Hymn. Orph.* 28.6. A Hermes called Kerdon was represented twice on a mosaic found at the 'roadside house' at Cilicia dated to the second century AD: J. Russel (1987) 26–8 no. 2; *SEG* 37 (1987) no. 1266. See also Hicks (1887) 409–33, esp. 415, who argues that the *kerdeporoi* at Thasos dedicating in the second century AD had as patron god Hermes Kerdeporos. The dedication, however, was made to Athena and Heracles.

²²¹ See for instance Farnell (1896–1909) v. 23 n. 37.

²²² Lycoph. *Alex.* 207. Peitho Kerdeie is invoked together with Hermes Kerdeon in Herod. 7.74 by the hero shoemaker Kerdon in a context related with trade: Cunningham (1971) 184 n. 74. A Muse Philokertes is mentioned in Pind. *Isthm.* 2.6: Woodbury (1968). An Artemis Kerdoa is attested in an unpublished dedicatory inscription from Larisa, in Thessaly: Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 28 pl. 15. We should seek to understand her cult in the context of the Thessalian cult of Apollo Kerdoos. Finally, Vollmer (1836) 1045 lists Kerdoos as an epithet of Heracles, but does not give any reference and I have not managed to confirm his suggestion.

²²³ Apollo and trade: Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) i. 322 considers it a shared function of Hermes and Apollo, which the latter acquired from a pre-existing cult of Hermes, when his worship spread in Greece. Silver (1992) 161 discusses two pieces of evidence: (a) the use of the sanctuary at Delos as a bank, a function which seems to have been mostly related with this particular sanctuary and not the god in general. For the use of various sanctuaries as banks see Bogaert (1968) 279–304. (b) the tax paid by the *naukleroi* at Athens perhaps to Apollo Delios: *IG* I³ 130. But the name and epithet of the god have been restored: Lewis (1960) 190–4. See the doubts and alternative restoration by Mattingly (1990) 112–13; Matthaiou (2000–3). Perhaps the god was invoked here in his well-known function as a protector of seafaring, for which see Farnell (1896–1909) iv. 145; Detienne (1998) 138ff; Graf (1979) 5. Note also that at Ainos one had to sacrifice to Apollo Epikomaïos after the buying of immovable property (Theophr. fr. *ap. Stob. Flor.* 44. 22). But has Apollo in this case something to do with the material transaction rather than with the integration of the person in the community? For Apollo Epikomaïos and Komaïos being connected with *kome* or *komos* see Graf (1985) 185–8; Detienne (2003) 69. Helly (1987) 157 n. 78 accepts that the epithet Kerdoos is related with trade and attempts to explain it by reference to the supposed function of the city of Larisa as a boundary market in the pre-Archaic period.

Thessaly. Let me recall here the late third-century Larisean decree which we have already discussed, in which it appeared as though the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos and the commercial agora were very different places: the former suitable for the names of those allowed citizenship, the latter for those denied it.²²⁴ Other attempts to understand the epithet are equally unsatisfactory. It has, for instance, been suggested that Apollo Kerdoos was the god to whom the *dekate* (the ten per cent tax) was brought, an interpretation which makes sense of the cult by reference to well-known functions of Apollo but which pays little attention to the important nuances of meaning in the epithet Kerdoos.²²⁵ We could, alternatively, seek to associate the epithet with functions that we have already identified. If Apollo Kerdoos was indeed a god connected with young men then one might be tempted to attribute to his cult, following a fashion which now seems to be waning, an initiatory character. Personal interest and trickery, qualities which we saw were encompassed in the notion of *κέρδος*, could find a place in the mirror world of *ephebes*. But following this line would be to give total priority to only one very hypothetical function of the cult.²²⁶

A more profitable approach might be to turn to the small number of Panhellenic sources that connect Apollo and the concept of *κέρδος*. The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* associates Apollo more prominently with the world of exchange and *κέρδος* than any other source. The hymn deals with the division of *timai* between the two divine brothers and on several instances we are told that Apollo loves his *κέρδος* too and that he is also *πολυμήχανος* (ingenious).²²⁷ But we struggle to describe in neat structuralist terms how the profits of Apollo might have differed from those of Hermes.²²⁸ We should also

²²⁴ Some independent evidence for a connection between the commercial agora, which I argued may have been called *λιμὴν*, and sanctuaries of Apollo might be furnished by the cult title Panlimnios attested for Apollo at Gonnoi: AD 29 (1974) *Chron.* 571; Kontogiannis (2000) 130. Shall we perhaps explain it as Apollo of all *λιμένες*, instead of Apollo of all lakes? A lake seems to have existed nearby and there is some other evidence for a sanctuary of Apollo in that area. On the other hand in other inscriptions, found together with the dedication to Apollo Panlimnios, Apollo is also invoked as Aisonios, who in Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.411 is mentioned in the same breath with Pagasaïos. But even in this case the reference to the port of Aison/Pagasaï has to be taken literally; the cult had nothing to do with the more metaphorical use of the word as agora. Note also García Ramón (2004) 242, who follows a rather different line of argument, taking the *limne* to be among other things also a place of reunion.

²²⁵ Farnell (1896–1909) iv. 104, who is followed by Axenidis (1949) 169. See also Gruppe (1906) 1233 n. 6.

²²⁶ The bibliography on initiatory cults is large and keeps on increasing. For the theme of guile and trickery see the classic discussion by Vidal-Naquet (1986) 106–28. For a critical discussion of the problems of using the category for classifying and understanding Greek rituals see more recently R. Parker (2005) 209–10.

²²⁷ *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 319, 495.

²²⁸ Detienne (1998) 178 describes Apollo as a greedy god, who accumulates things instead of exchanging them. The theme of the ‘avidité apollinienne’ is taken up and explored in relation to Hermes by Jaillard (2007) 95 and 150 n. 78, where he refers to the evidence for Apollo Kerdoos in

mention here some other stories which involve Apollo in the world of exchange. It was sometimes told that the god had acquired his most famous sanctuaries, Delphi and Delos, by exchanging them with Poseidon.²²⁹ It was perhaps for this reason that Poseidon was worshipped at Delphi with the strange title Amoiheus.²³⁰ These 'Panhellenic' stories could perhaps have impacted and helped shape the Thessalians' understanding of their god. There is indeed some evidence that several Thessalian cults of Apollo were connected mythically and ritually with the Delphic cult.²³¹ We should also recall here that in Lycophron's *Alexandra* the epithet Kerdoos is used to describe the god at Delphi.

If Panhellenic myth and the radiant figure of Apollo Pythios helped shape the Thessalians' perception of the local cult of Apollo Kerdoos, we also have to allow that a parallel and more 'local' understanding of the god might also have been at work. In order to understand how the Thessalians might have made sense of the epithet Kerdoos we have to examine how *kerdos* in its various possible connotations (that is personal profit, often material, and trickery) might have been perceived in Thessalian society. The evidence for the cult of Apollo Kerdoos in Thessaly shows that we have to understand the word *kerdos* and the epithet Kerdoos not in the context of the world of trade, but in the context of an aristocratic society. We have discussed numerous times how the powerful individual was at the heart of Thessalian society. The wealth and power of Thessalian aristocrats was proverbial and their ability to act independently and often without any consent from the state has often baffled scholars. Menon, who rode with 200 private *penestai* to Eion, is usually considered the prime example of the ability of powerful individuals to act independently.²³² A century later Xenophon would comment on another Menon, a member perhaps of the same family, who, he tells us, loved κέρδος and thought that the best way to achieve it was through trickery.²³³ Thessalian society has also been characterized as deeply concerned with horses and cattle.

Thessaly but does not comment on the cult. Clay (1989) 85 also comments on the unnatural wealth of Delos and Delphi. Detienne and Vernant (1974) 263, 266–7 do not include Apollo among the gods who possess *metis*. See also Corsano (1988) 111 for Apollo using the *metis* of other gods. But Clay (1989) 135, 140 notes that Apollo too is *polymechanos*.

²²⁹ Strabo 8.6.14; Paus. 2.33.2; 10.5.3; Σ Aesch. *Eum.* 27; Σ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1242; Callimachus fr. 593 (Pfeiffer); Suda α 2371. On the myth Sourvinou-Inwood (1987) esp. 231–2.

²³⁰ Lycoph. *Alex.* 617. Farnell (1896–1909) iv. 27 argues that the title is scarcely to be explained by the legend that he gave up his Delphic inheritance to Apollo. But see Detienne (1998) 166 n. 220, who associates the epithet with this tradition. For ἀμείβω and related words: Scheid-Tissinier (1994) 37–40.

²³¹ See section 5.5.

²³² Dem. 13.23; Dem. 23.199. On this passage and its implications for the existence of so-called 'private armies' see Helly (1995) 303–12, who argues that Menon was acting in an official context, as representative of the Thessalian *ethnos*, and the answer by Ducat (1997) 186–7.

²³³ Xen. *An.* 2.6.21–9.

We should not expect this society of cavalrymen and pastoralists to have the same values as the small-holding hoplite farmers of southern Greece. In both cavalry warfare and pastoralism the use of guile, trickery, and private initiative is very important and, therefore, they become valued by society.²³⁴

With the cult of Apollo Kerdoos we seem to be far from the mischief and profit of traders and merchants. Instead we are in the company of cunning cavalrymen, herdsman, and aristocrats. The dedication to the god by the Larisean brothers Simias and Eukratidas refers explicitly to their wealth. Simias and Eukratidas are aristocratic names (we know of similar names belonging to members of the aristocratic family of the Aleuads) and their dedication, a statue, was certainly not a negligible offering. The other dedicants to Apollo Kerdoos seem also to have belonged to the highest strata of society. The offering of the couple from Vlachogianni was also a statue, while Sousipatros from Phalanna held prestigious offices. To return to the paradox at the beginning of this discussion arising from *κέρδος* as personal profit at the centre of a state cult, it is worth noting that profit when it appears in the context of aristocratic *megaloprepeia* can acquire positive connotations.²³⁵ The blessed happiness of Thessaly is inseparably linked in sources with that of its nobility.²³⁶ It is this image of a fortunate Thessaly relying on the profit of its rich and entrepreneurial noblemen that the cult of Apollo Kerdoos celebrated.

3.4. AROUND THE WALLS

We can conjure up a very hazy picture of the layout of Thessalian cities. The remains of several buildings, usually identified as houses, have been revealed during rescue excavations, but only in a handful of cases can we get a picture of the plan of whole buildings or their arrangement in the city plan. Questions concerning the density of habitation, the identity and status of city-dwellers, and the existence of particular quarters can only be dealt with superficially. Athenian figured pottery of high quality has been found, for instance, in a few of the buildings excavated at Larisa, pointing perhaps to owners of high status, sharing the artistic tastes of the time.²³⁷ Moulds and kilns found among the

²³⁴ For the difference between hoplite and cavalry warfare see Spence (1993) 164–72.

²³⁵ Kurke (1991) 225–39.

²³⁶ Pind. *Pyth.* 10.2–3.

²³⁷ Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1985) 85 for a red-figured cup by the painter of Euergidis and with the inscription Hipparchos Kalos found in what seems to have been a private house at Larisa. See also Tiverios (1989) for a red-figure crater from Larisa, of unknown exact context, with scenes from the Panathenaia which he believes might have been a commission from a Larisean aristocrat.

finds of what seems to have been a series of private dwellings at the south-east part of Pherai might indicate the existence of a potters' quarter.²³⁸

Scattered pieces of architecture, some dating back to the Archaic period, indicate the existence of monumental buildings, perhaps temples.²³⁹ And there were certainly many simple precincts which have left no trace.²⁴⁰ The numerous inscribed dedications, found usually out of precise context, allow us a glimpse of the busy religious life of Thessalian cities, while two important inscriptions, one from Scotoussa and the other from Larisa, both of which describe, for different purposes, a part of the city, and list a number of cults, remind us how much actually eludes us.²⁴¹ The decree from Scotoussa dating to the second century BC regulates which areas, inside and outside the walls of the city, are to be kept available for public use. Among the places used as landmarks are a fountain, a cattle-shed, and, in a few cases, sanctuaries. Some of them we have already mentioned. There was a Kerdoion, a sanctuary in all likelihood of Apollo Kerdoos, a Herakleion, a Heleneion, and the more enigmatic Akerateion, which may also have been a sanctuary.²⁴² At line 73 of face B the so-called Perseian gates are mentioned, named after the hero Perseus and perhaps an indication that he was also worshipped nearby.

The document from Larisa, dated to the third century BC, gives the account of an inspection of sacred property carried out by a board, perhaps that of the *hieromnemones*. The area inspected seems to have been outside but close to the walls of the city and next to the road that led to Krannon. The kind of property that the *hieromnemones* recorded, and the reason why the inventory was made, are not very clear. Plots of land are mentioned in a couple of instances, their size is measured, and the person who uses them named. But the largest part of the inscription refers to *κῖνες* which were sacred to various gods.²⁴³ Their location is often described in relation to sanctuaries, such as the Lykeion, the Pythion, that of Athena Patria, but also in relation to other buildings or landmarks, such as the *hipparcheion*, or a grove. We hear of

²³⁸ See section 3.3.

²³⁹ See e.g. at Atrax a Doric capital of the early fifth century: *AD* 43 (1988) *Chron.* 278; a base of Ionic column: *AD* 39 (1984) *Chron.* 154 no. 43. At Krannon two Doric capitals of the late sixth century: *AM* 75 (1960) 177–8 [Milojčić]. At Larisa drums of Doric columns at Philellenon St.: *AD* 31 (1976) *Chron.* 176; parts of five marble Doric columns reused at Olympou and Vyronos streets and an intact one at Nirvana and Garibalde streets, as well as part of the architrave of a temple at Androutsou St.: *AD* 44 (1989) *Chron.* 234. At Pharsalos reused remains of an Archaic temple at Kourkouli Cami, north of the agora: *PAE* (1910) 181; Stählin (1924) 141.

²⁴⁰ For such small precincts see e.g. Wycherley (1970); Williams (1981). And section 1.4.2 for the varieties of religious space in Thessaly.

²⁴¹ Scotoussa: Missailidou-Despotidou (1993). Larisa: Helly (1970b); Salviat and Vatin (1971).

²⁴² See in general Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) 194–7, 211.

²⁴³ Heinz (1998) 99 n. 1091 argues that the word *κῖον* was used in Thessaly to describe the *stelai* of the type *Schaftstelen* (see section 1.4.1a). This is not clear to me. Helly (1973a) 172 seems to believe it is a Thessalian variation of the word 'stela' in general.

κίονες of Athena Lageitara, Charites, Zeus Hyperdexios, Athena Tharsys, Apollo Techetas, Apollo Promantas and Delphaios, Demeter Ploutia, the hero Ionios Epaphos, Zeus and Hera, and Ennodia Mykaike. What their use was is unclear: Salviat and Vatin have suggested that they were boundary markers of sacred property, while Helly simply calls them dedications.²⁴⁴ Since we do not know what exactly these κίονες were, the location of the cults they attest to remains also uncertain. We can say in general very little about these cults. The presence of the *hipparcheion* in the same area could lead us to wonder whether any of them had any military associations, for instance that of Apollo Lykeios, whose cult in Athens was closely connected with the land forces.²⁴⁵

We will return to discuss some of these cults in more detail in the next chapter. For the moment I will turn my attention to two important cults that seem regularly to turn up on the edges of cities.

3.4.1. The Cult of Asclepius

Sanctuaries of Asclepius seem to have existed, at least in the Hellenistic period, in all large Thessalian cities: his cult is attested at Larisa,²⁴⁶ Pharsalos,²⁴⁷ Pherai,²⁴⁸ Krannon,²⁴⁹ Kierion,²⁵⁰ and of course Trikka.²⁵¹ He was also

²⁴⁴ Shall we imagine the area as the fields of *stelai* known from southern Italy? For the latter see Gaifman (2012) 185ff.

²⁴⁵ There is no reason to doubt the mention of the *hipparcheion* in the inscription (as for instance Salviat and Vatin (1971) 3, who suggest that it was a sanctuary of the hero Hipparchos), or to place it within the city (Helly (1970b) 272, 282, who argues that the description at this point has shifted in the city, the only possible location for an administrative building). *Ath. Pol.* 3.5 mentions that the *polemarchos* had initially his seat at the Lykeion, which was outside the city walls. For the cult of Apollo Lykeios at Athens see Jameson (1980). Recent excavations at Pharsalos have revealed architectural remains of what the excavator thinks was some public building outside the north-west walls of the city: Karapanou (2012) 411–12.

²⁴⁶ Coins: Moustaka (1983) 72 (late fifth to fourth century); see also Herrmann (1925) 30–1. Dedicatory inscriptions: *IG IX 2 570*. A marble relief: Mitropoulou (1994) 489 K30 (Late Roman).

²⁴⁷ Dedicatory inscriptions: *IG IX 2 240* (second century) and possibly *IG IX 2 245* (second century), which does not mention the god but was found, reused though, together with the previous one at the location Varousi (see also Decourt (1995) nos. 70, 71). Votive relief: Mitropoulou (1994) 492 K59 (Hellenistic). Asclepius is also mentioned together with the Nymphs, Cheiron, Apollo, Hermes on an inscription engraved on the rock of the cave on Karaplas mountain close to Pharsalos: Decourt (1995) 90 no. 73 (fourth century).

²⁴⁸ Dedicatory inscriptions: *IG IX 2 416* (Hellenistic); N. I. Giannopoulos, *AE* (1913) 218 no. 2 (fourth or third century). Statuette found at Hagios Charalambos church: *PAE* (1907) 158; Mitropoulou (1994) 489 K35.

²⁴⁹ Dedicatory inscription: *AD 43* (1988) *Chron.* 280 (third century). For decrees set up in the sanctuary of the god see n. 24.

²⁵⁰ Coins: Moustaka (1983) 72 (third century). For the sanctuary at Hagioi Theodoroi see later in this section.

²⁵¹ Coins: Moustaka (1983) 72 (fourth century). For the excavations see later in this section.

worshipped in smaller cities, such as at Atrax²⁵² and at the settlements located at the modern sites Gyrtone (ancient Mopsion),²⁵³ Mikro Kesarli,²⁵⁴ and Evaggelismos,²⁵⁵ all or any of which may have been cities. His cult was also prominent in the perioikic areas, in Perrhaibia,²⁵⁶ Achaia Phthiotis,²⁵⁷ and at Demetrias and Homolion in Magnesia.²⁵⁸ Individuals, we know, often played a prominent role in the foundation of sanctuaries of Asclepius and the spread of his cult. Despite this prominent role of the individual, however, Asclepius also had important public cults.²⁵⁹ In Thessaly the public aspect of his worship is particularly clear. Larisa, Kierion, and Triikka portrayed the god on their coins;²⁶⁰ Krannon and Mopsion set up decrees in his sanctuary;²⁶¹ and the

²⁵² An unpublished dedicatory inscription: Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 30. For coins see n. 260.

²⁵³ Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 63; Tziafalias (2000b) 97; García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 73 nos. 12–13.

²⁵⁴ Woodward (1910) 156 no. 8 (first century) and possibly no. 9.

²⁵⁵ AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 258 no. 62 (second century).

²⁵⁶ Gonnoi: for the excavations at the sanctuary of the god: A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1910) 248; *PAE* (1914) 209; A. Tziafalias, *AD* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 136–7; *AD* 36 (1981) *Chron.* 257. The dedicatory inscriptions from these excavations have been published by Helly (1973b) nos. 197–200 (third to second centuries) and Tziafalias (1984b) nos. 73, 74, 83 (fourth to second centuries). Olosson: an unpublished dedicatory inscription mentioned in Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 69. Azoros or Python: a couple of dedicatory inscriptions: Habicht (1987b) 315 no. 6 (third century); see also Lucas (1992a) 269 no. 10, who attributes it to Azoros. Domeniko (ancient Chyretiai): a dedicatory inscription: *IG IX 2* 348. The priest of Asclepius is mentioned as eponymous in decrees and manumissions from several Perrhaibian cities, such as Gonnoi (Helly (1973b) nos. 40, 43, 69), Phalanna (*IG IX 2*, 1228, 1229, 1231; A. Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1916) 18 no. 272, 21 no. 274), Python (A. Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1924) 166 no. 404), Olosson (Arvanitopoulos (1929d) 119 no. 422) and at Chyretiai (A. Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1917) 1 nos. 301, 304).

²⁵⁷ At Melitaia: Ioannidou (1972) 50 mentions a third-century dedication and remains of buildings. At Thebes there are remains of a sanctuary: *AD* 46 (1991) *Chron.* 210 (Hellenistic).

²⁵⁸ At Demetrias there are dedicatory inscriptions: *IG IX 2* 1124 (Roman); Heinz (1998) K 228 for an unpublished dedicatory stele to the god; Riethmüller (2005) ii. 307 n. 6 mentions an unpublished small altar dedicated to the god and suggests that the unpublished so-called funerary stele of a priest of the god found at Neai Pagasai was actually a votive stele (the stele is mentioned in *AD* 23 (1968) *Chron.* 269 no. 5); *IG IX 2* 1126 (Roman) records offerings to Asclepius Soter and possibly Telesphoros kept at a building. See also L. Robert (1940b) 67 no. 2, who suggests that this was the *kleidophylakion* instead of Kern's *nomophylakion*. Asclepius was also depicted on coins issued by the *koinon* of Magnesians (second century): Moustaka (1983) 72, 138. At Homolion his priest was the eponymous priest of the city: Bosnakis-Hallof (2003) 229 no. 14.

²⁵⁹ For the individual in the cult of Asclepius see E. and L. Edelstein (1998) ii. 119; R. Parker (1996) 175ff; Voutiras (1993).

²⁶⁰ See references earlier. Note also that some of the early fourth-century coins of Atrax depicted on one side a cupping-vase and a pair of pliers, most likely medical instruments. They could be associated with the cult of Asclepius (Head (1911) 92 and more recently Riethmüller (2005) ii. 299–300 with previous bibliography), but not unequivocally.

²⁶¹ For Krannon see n. 24. At Mopsion Tziafalias (2000b) 97 mentions that a series of dedicatory and honorary inscriptions were found in second use in a complex of Late Roman baths. He suggests that they came from a sanctuary of Asclepius and Hygeia, which was located further up the hill (Dexameni Papageorgiou) and was the place of publication of civic decrees.

priest of the god was mentioned as eponymous in the decrees of many Perrhaibian cities and at Magnesian Homolion.²⁶² In most cases, such as at Gonnoi, Phthiotic Thebes, and possibly Pharsalos, the sanctuaries of Asclepius were close to the edge of the city.²⁶³ But there is some slight evidence that on a couple of occasions his sanctuaries were located at prominent and symbolically charged areas. At Chyretiai and Melitaia, for instance, it has been suggested, the sanctuary of Asclepius was on the acropolis;²⁶⁴ while at Triikka, Tziafalias proposed that the famous Asclepieium was in the free agora of the city.²⁶⁵

Asclepius, not surprisingly, was worshipped as a healing god. Future excavations at Triikka, we should expect, will bring to light numerous *stelai* similar to those found at Epidaurus recording the workings of the god.²⁶⁶ At his sanctuary excavated at Phthiotic Thebes, votive limbs, common dedications to healing deities, have been found.²⁶⁷ And a second-century inscription from the modern village of Evaggelismos commemorated the dedication by a priest, who was also cured by the god.²⁶⁸ But, as elsewhere in the Greek world, Asclepius was considered not only as a healer of diseases but also as a giver and preserver of health.²⁶⁹ Children's statues, attesting to his kourotrophic functions, have been found at the sanctuaries of Gonnoi, Phthiotic Thebes, Hagioi Theodoroi, and possibly Pharsalos.²⁷⁰ On the inscription engraved at

²⁶² Note also a Roman decree (*IG IX 2 397*) found at the modern village Kokkine close to the ancient cities Scotoussa and Pherai, which mentions as *eponymus* the priest of Asclepius. Riethmüller (2005) ii. 306–7 suggests it came from an extra-urban sanctuary of the god in the chora of Pherai.

²⁶³ An exception seems to be the sanctuary at Hagioi Theodoroi in western Thessaly which may have been in the *chora* of Kierion: *AD 40* (1985) *Chron.* 196; *AD 42* (1987) *Chron.* 265–6; *AD 43* (1988) *Chron.* 253–4. The attribution of the sanctuary to Asclepius (Riethmüller (2005) ii. 296–7) seems likely: apart from children statues, a common find in sanctuaries of the god (see later in this section), a statuette representing the god (Mitropoulou (1994) 492) was among the finds.

²⁶⁴ At Chyretiai the evidence is weak: A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1914) 171 locates the acropolis on the hill where the church Hagios Georgios is. *IG IX 2 348*, which is a dedication by a priest to Asclepius, was found on the hill, but reused. Doubts are also expressed by Riethmüller (2005) ii. 310. For Melitaia: Ioannidou (1972).

²⁶⁵ Tziafalias (1988) 199. But see later in this section for problems concerning the identification.

²⁶⁶ They are mentioned by Strabo 8.6.15.

²⁶⁷ *AD 46* (1991) *Chron.* 210 mentions parts of hands and feet.

²⁶⁸ *AD 48* (1993) *Chron.* 258 no. 62: *Ἀσκαλαπιοῦ Χαρίξενος Εὐπαλάμενος ἰατρεία καὶ λειτορεύσας*. See also Riethmüller (2005) ii. 300 n. 60, who interprets it as a dedication by doctor, who had also served as a priest of the god. For doctors serving as priests of Asclepius: Nutton (2004) 110–11; Wickkiser (2008) 55–6. But the evidence seems to be later in date than the Thessalian inscription.

²⁶⁹ For the range of Asclepius powers see in general E. and L. Edelstein (1998) ii. 101–8.

²⁷⁰ Gonnoi: *AD 32* (1977) *Chron.* 136; *AD 36* (1981) *Chron.* 259 (statues of boys). See also Arvanitou-Metallinou (1982). Phthiotic Thebes: *AD 46* (1991) *Chron.* 210 (head of an ephebe and a little girl). Hagioi Theodoroi: *AD 43* (1988) *Chron.* 254 (little girl and other children statues). Pharsalos: at the location Varousi, where two dedicatory inscriptions to the god were

the cave of Mount Karaplas close to Pharsalos the god is mentioned together with his father Apollo and Hermes as the deities who bring health and prosperous living to their worshippers.²⁷¹ It was as a god who guaranteed health and safety that the cities as a whole worshipped him, and at Demetrias, at least in the Roman period, he was worshipped with the title Soter.²⁷²

The evidence I have been discussing does not date earlier than the second half of the fifth century BC; most evidence for the cult of Asclepius in Thessaly actually dates from the fourth century onwards. Several scholars, however, believe that the cult of the god originated in the area.²⁷³ The connections between Asclepius and Thessaly date back to Homer. His sons, Machaon and Podaleirios, in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships led the contingents from Triikka, Ithome, and Oichaleia. Moreover, Hesiod and Pindar placed the birth of the god from Koronis in Thessaly, at the Dotian plain and the lake Boibe in east Thessaly. In the Hellenistic period, when several famous Asclepieia contested for the title of the oldest centre of worship, Triikka also voiced its claims. Excavations at the city conducted with the aim of revealing the famous sanctuary have failed to provide incontrovertible evidence. Remains of a large complex dated to the Late Hellenistic and Roman times have been unearthed in the area delineated by the streets Stournara, Sarafi, and Tzortzopoulou. There was possibly a stoa, a large building decorated with mosaics, a Roman bath building and other structures. But nothing was found that could be dated earlier than the Hellenistic era, and no evidence to connect the complex with the Asclepieium.²⁷⁴ Even if the cult at Triikka dates back to much earlier times, it seems certain that during the fourth century, following parallel developments elsewhere in the Greek world, many Thessalian cities founded local Asclepieia. Whatever we think, then, of claims of origin, the spread of the cult happened in Thessaly at the same time as it happened

found (see n. 247), a marble statue of a child was also collected (A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1910) 182). It may have been a dedication to a sanctuary of Asclepius in the area.

²⁷¹ Decourt (1995) 90 no. 73 ll.15–16 (Larson (2001) 17 wrongly translates the relevant line as ‘Apollo and his son Hermes’).

²⁷² See n. 258. For the cult of gods called Soter see Mikalson (1998) 294–6.

²⁷³ The opposite opinion is more clearly formulated by E. and L. Edelstein (1998) ii. 1–138, who argue that the first temple of the god was the one at Epidaurus. Before that Asclepius was mainly worshipped as a hero by itinerant physicians. The suggestion that the Asclepius cult originated in Thessaly has been recently defended by Aston (2004); Riethmüller (2005) i. 91 ff. All suggested earlier evidence, however, is contestable: Riethmüller (2005) ii. 304 identifies the god with the male figure on Larisean coins of the first quarter of the fifth century. But the figure has none of Asclepius’ characteristic attributes. Note that Herrmann (1925) 9 pls. 7–10, 11 had identified him with Zeus Larisaios. Riethmüller (p. 293) also argues that Asclepius was worshipped at the cave on Mount Karaplas (Pharsalos) already in the early fifth century. But the fifth-century inscription mentions only the Nymphs; it is in the fourth-century inscription that Asclepius is first mentioned.

²⁷⁴ *AM* 17 (1892) 195–7; Papasotiriou (1964) 20–7; *AD* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 283–4; Tziafalias (1988) 171–218; Tziafalias (2000a) 87–8.

everywhere else. Three Asclepieia have, up to now, been excavated, at Gonnoi, Phthiotic Thebes, and Hagioi Theodoroi (and possibly a fourth one on the acropolis of Melitaia); in all of them the cult seems to start in the fourth century.²⁷⁵

The spread of the cult of Asclepius within Thessaly at that time raises interesting questions. To whom had the Thessalians turned beforehand when faced with disease and affliction? Several possibilities can be entertained. We can think of sanctuaries of other healing gods and heroes. Of these in Thessaly unfortunately we know very little. At Triikka, Isyllos informs us, one had to sacrifice first to Apollo Maleatas before descending into the *adyton* of the god.²⁷⁶ In Magnesia Apollo Koropaios was worshipped as a giver of health.²⁷⁷ Pantalkes, the pious worshipper of the Nymphs at a cave close to Pharsalos, owed his physical well-being to Apollo, his son (Asclepius we may assume), and Hermes.²⁷⁸ Arneklos at Atrax thanked the Nymphs for restoring his health.²⁷⁹ Artemis²⁸⁰ and Ennodia²⁸¹, we may surmise, could also have been approached at such times, perhaps about female matters. A hero Aineas worshipped in the second century by the *phrouroi* at Mikro Kaserli was portrayed in the guise of Asclepius, as a bearded figure seated on a throne and accompanied by a snake.²⁸² The inhabitants of Demetrias prayed for health to the local heroes of the old communities.²⁸³ And there was, of course, Chiron, the wise centaur who taught, according to a tradition, the art of

²⁷⁵ The newly discovered sanctuary of Asclepius at Daphnous in the area of ancient Doris is bound to rekindle the debate concerning the origins and spread of the cult of Asclepius. The excavator argues that the cult goes back to the sixth century. Asclepius' presence, though, is first attested, thanks to epigraphic evidence, in the end of the fourth century BC: Papakonstantinou (2012).

²⁷⁶ IG IV I² 128. Tziafalias (2000a) 91 and Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 78 argue that Asclepius was worshipped together with Apollo and Poseidon at Pythion.

²⁷⁷ IG IX 2 1109 ll.11–12.

²⁷⁸ Decourt (1995) no. 73.

²⁷⁹ Peek (1974b).

²⁸⁰ The evidence is scant and indirect: Mitropolou (1992) 327 no. 3 mentions a marble statuette of Artemis found at the sanctuary at Hagioi Theodoroi (it is not clear whether it is the same statuette, which in the reports has been identified as Aphrodite: AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 254). Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 63 mention dedicatory inscriptions from Mopsion to Asclepius, Apollo Lykeios, Artemis Phosphoros, and Ourania. He does not give details but the material may come from the excavations at Dexameni Papageorgiou, where the Asclepieium supposedly was located: Tziafalias (2000b) 97.

²⁸¹ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 233 for a relief depicting a vulva found, according to him, at the large sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai. It is first mentioned in Kirsten, *RE* vii (1940) suppl. 1009. There is a confusion concerning the finds from the large sanctuary of Ennodia (see Appendix 2). Y. Béquignon, *BCH* 53 (1929) 507 and Forsén (1996) 87 no. 17.1 mention a similar relief as coming from the Pefkakia area close to Demetrias. Are they the same? For the possible interpretations of representations of vulvae or breasts (and their relation to healing, or to reproduction and lactation) see Forsén (1996) 178. In *BCH* 49 (1925) 460 hands and feet are mentioned among the finds of Ennodia's temple, but I have not found them mentioned elsewhere.

²⁸² IG IX 2 1064; Franke (1956) 183–91, esp. 183; (1958) 336–8. Despinis (2009) tentatively argues that the tradition about a healer-hero Aineas goes back in time and was known outside Thessaly, bringing as evidence a Late Archaic Attic epitaph for a doctor called Aineas.

²⁸³ Stählin (1929) 207–8.

healing to Asclepius. His cave was to be found on Mount Pelion, close to the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios.²⁸⁴ Apart from turning to the various gods and heroes, people also asked for help from public doctors, itinerant physicians, and other specialists, such as root-cutters, diviners, and purifiers. How the spread of the cult of Asclepius affected all these other practices and traditions, we can only speculate.²⁸⁵

3.4.2. On the Road: the Cult of Ennodia

Ennodia is one of the most distinctive Thessalian deities. She is usually considered to have been an old local Thessalian, or even specifically Pheraean, goddess. In Classical and Hellenistic times she was worshipped as Ennodia in Macedonia.²⁸⁶ But when we meet her in Athens, Argos, Sicyon, Epidaurus, possibly Nemea and Sicily, Ennodia has been assimilated with Artemis.²⁸⁷ Even in Thessaly we find in Late Hellenistic times in the area of Demetrias a dedication made to Artemis-Ennodia.²⁸⁸ In literary sources the name Ennodia, which literally means the one on the road, is sometimes used as an epithet of Artemis, sometimes as an epithet of Hecate.²⁸⁹ In the few literary sources where she is mentioned as a goddess on her own, this seems to be in contexts where we would most readily relate her with Hecate.²⁹⁰ From the 'original' Ennodia, to the spread of her cult inside and outside Thessaly, through her assimilations with other cults in various places in the Greek world, to the literary image of the goddess, various scholars have struggled to form a coherent portrait of Ennodia. The ancients' common association of Ennodia with Artemis has fallen out of grace. Most scholars prefer to see her as a local chthonian goddess, the Thessalian version of Hecate, sharing an interest in childbirth and child nurturing, but most importantly in poisons, ghosts, malevolent spirits, and witchcraft. Others see her as the local Persephone,

²⁸⁴ Pfister (1951) ii. 8. For the excavations at the sanctuary: A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1911) 305–12.

²⁸⁵ We will discuss the reputation of Thessaly for drugs and herbalists in Chapter 6.

²⁸⁶ For a review of the evidence: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 70–84, 120–5. The association, however, of the funerary stele of Adea Kassandrou with the cult of the goddess is uncertain: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 135–8. See also Allamani-Souri (2000) 489–93.

²⁸⁷ In general see P. Chrysostomou (1998) 87–8, 194–6, 200–5. Athens: Callim. *Dian.* 259; Hesych. *φ* 293. Sicyon: Paus. 2.10.7. Argos: Paus. 2.23.5. Epidaurus: *IG* IV 1, 1191, 1192, 1542 (*IG* IV 2, 273, 274, 500). Nemea: Jeffery (1990) 149 no. 7 (restored early fifth-century inscription). Syracousae: Voza (1968–9) 363–4; Palaiothodoros (2012).

²⁸⁸ A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1920) 22; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 191–2. See also Chrysostomou (1998) 190–1 for a fourth-century stele from Pherai dedicated to Artemis E[nnodiai]. But his restoration is far from certain.

²⁸⁹ Artemis Ennodia: Hes. fr. 23a (M/W). Einodia Hecate: Soph. fr. 535 (Radt).

²⁹⁰ Eur. *Ion* 1048 and Eur. *Hel.* 570. In Soph. *Ant.* 1199 Ennodia comes closer to Persephone as she is mentioned together with Pluto. In general P. Chrysostomou (1998) 112–33.

mistress of the dead and the underworld.²⁹¹ Casting Ennodia as the terrible goddess of ghosts, the dead, and magic has important ramifications for our understanding of Thessalian religion. But Ennodia's portrait, I will argue, needs to be redrawn. The traditional interpretation privileges only a few aspects of her cult, some of which, such as her connection with cemeteries, rely on contentious evidence, while others, such as her connection with ghosts and poisons, are better attested outside Thessaly, mostly in Athenian literary sources. Moreover, Ennodia had important polis cults, which we cannot make sense of, if we prioritize in interpretation her connections with the dead and 'witchcraft'.²⁹²

Ennodia seems to have been an important polis divinity in Thessaly.²⁹³ Her most renowned cult was that of Pherai. Thanks to the popularity of this cult Ennodia was known either as Pheraia Ennodia in Thessaly,²⁹⁴ or as the Pheraia goddess, or Artemis Pheraia elsewhere in the Greek world.²⁹⁵ The city took pride in depicting the goddess on its coins during the fourth century,²⁹⁶ and already in the fifth century, to which period the earliest decrees are dated, set up civic documents in her sanctuary.²⁹⁷ Ennodia may have had more than one sanctuary at Pherai. Chrysostomou has tentatively identified four: one on the acropolis, a second one in the north of the city, a third in the southern part, and a fourth one inside the north cemetery.²⁹⁸ Not all these identifications are secure. The name of Ennodia was inscribed on the so-called

²⁹¹ Ennodia in relation with Hecate is discussed by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1931) i. 170–3; Farnell (1896–1909) ii. 504–5; Clement (1932) 40–1; Philippson (1944) 65–106; Kraus (1960) 77–83; Papachatzis (1985) 53–5; P. Chrysostomou (1998); Johnston (1999) 208–9, 213–15; C. Morgan (2003) 135–42. Sacco (1980) 31 n. 1 and Voutiras (1998) 103 n. 239 see her as more like Persephone. E. Simon (1969) 155 is exceptional in connecting Ennodia with Artemis Hegemone.

²⁹² And our understanding of Ennodia is bound to change as our understanding of Hecate, and Hecate's relationship with Artemis, changes. See the works of Clay (1984); Johnston (1990) and Zografou (2010), who try to paint a more complex portrait of Hecate than the 'minor foreign deity connected with witchcraft'. Note also that the common identification of Ennodia as a 'local Hecate' rests on the presupposition that Hecate herself was not worshipped in Thessaly. But the fact that Hecate does not appear in the Thessalian epigraphic record does not necessarily mean lack of worship: see section 1.4. In any case numerous Hellenistic *hekataia* have been found all over Thessaly. For the problem of which goddess they depict see later in this section.

²⁹³ The suggestion, however, that she was worshipped as Polias does not seem convincing. Helly (1993) 168 restored the epithet next to Ennodia's name in a fragmentary inscription from west Thessaly, which concerns the sympolity between Gomphoi and Thamiiai. But we could equally well read Ilias instead. A cult of Ennodia Ilias is attested by a fourth-century dedicatory inscription from Perrhaibian Azoros (Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 45, 88; Chrysostomou (2008) 247 no. 2), while the epithet Polias is to my knowledge never attested for any deities other than Athena and Zeus: Cole (1995) 301–5.

²⁹⁴ AD 10 (1926) *Chron.* 52 no. 4 (Phalanna).

²⁹⁵ See references in n. 287.

²⁹⁶ Moustaka (1983) 32.

²⁹⁷ Béquignon (1964) 395–412, esp. 400–12.

²⁹⁸ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 25–50.

fourth-century 'altar of the six goddesses' already discussed, which was found on the acropolis of the city. We should not follow Chrysostomou all the way to seeing the mention on the 'altar' as evidence for actual cult of Ennodia at that spot. But it does point, together with other evidence, to the fact that Ennodia was one of the main gods that the city recognized. We should also be hesitant about the sanctuary which supposedly existed somewhere inside the north cemetery; the evidence, consisting of a dedicatory inscription to the goddess (and a second one to the Moirai Patroai) was collected from the area, but they were found out of context. The third sanctuary, located to the south of the city, immediately outside the walls and on the road that led towards Pharsalos, is a better bet. It was briefly excavated some fifteen years ago;²⁹⁹ a simple small rectangular building was recovered, a few humble terracotta votives were found, but also a more monumental amphiglyph marble relief and a fragmentary dedicatory inscription, where the name of Ennodia can be safely read (that of Zeus Meilichios is more uncertain). What was the status of this small sanctuary, a public or a private precinct, we can hardly tell. The inscriptions from Larisa and Scotoussa referring to the area close to the city walls showed that the polis exercised a certain control over this area, the cults and the sacred property within it. But we have also seen that private property could be found in such areas, too.

Nevertheless, what we should all but certainly count as the major sanctuary of Ennodia, the centre of her worship, and the place of publication of civic decrees, has fortunately been excavated, even if partially, at the beginning of the last century.³⁰⁰ The sanctuary was situated in the northern part of the city, outside the walls, and close to the river Makalorema and the road that led northward to Larisa and southward to the port of Pagasai. Cult is attested from the Late Geometric until the Late Hellenistic period. Finds include rich votive material, mainly of the Geometric and Archaic periods, but also of later periods; and a monumental peripteral temple first built from local limestone in the Late Archaic period and restored in the Late Classical period.³⁰¹ Remains of several other buildings have also been found. The excavators reported several civic decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries. We should mention here the dedication by the polis of a bronze statue of a man called Bacchios, who, as we can gather from the fragmentary inscription, had acted beneficently both towards the city and the goddess.³⁰²

²⁹⁹ Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990).

³⁰⁰ The temple was originally attributed to Zeus Thaulios: see section 3.2.2. For the excavations and the finds see in general Appendix 2; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 25ff, who, however, tends to attribute to the sanctuary finds which in the reports have often a different site of provenance.

³⁰¹ Østby (1990) 101–8 suggests that works on the classical temple started in the late fifth century, and finished in the Early Hellenistic period.

³⁰² P. Chrysostomou (1998) 25 no. 1.

Ennodia's cult is attested in several other Thessalian and perioikic cities: Gomphoi (or Ithome),³⁰³ Krannon,³⁰⁴ Larisa³⁰⁵, and possibly Phakion³⁰⁶ and Pagasai³⁰⁷ in Thessaly proper; Azoros,³⁰⁸ Gonnoi,³⁰⁹ Pythion,³¹⁰ Phalanna³¹¹ in Perrhaibia; Melitaia³¹² and Thebes³¹³ in Achaia Phthiotis; and Demetrias³¹⁴ in Magnesia. We do not know the structures of her worship in all cases. In Larisa, Pythion, and Pagasai (?), Ennodia received cult as Patroa, which could indicate cult by kinship groups.³¹⁵ But there is also, in a few instances, evidence for the polis' interest and involvement in her cult. Ennodia figures in a Hellenistic act of sympolity between the cities of Gomphoi and Thamia (Ithome) in western Thessaly; she was possibly invoked in the oath taken by the parties involved. At Larisa, a stele sacred to Ennodia Mykaïke figures among the sacred property of various divinities in an area outside the city walls, inspected perhaps by the *hieromnemes* of the city. Finally, an unknown polis, possibly Pherai or Gonnoi, offered a silver *phiale*, recorded in what seems to have been a Late Hellenistic inventory of offerings made to the goddess.³¹⁶

Let us come back to the sphere of action of Ennodia. The power that we can most easily discern in the evidence is her child-nurturing and child-protecting capacity. Two of the earliest inscribed dedications made to the goddess, both from Larisa and both dated to the fifth century, were made by women in favour of a child. One was offered to Ennodia Astike, the other to Ennodia

³⁰³ Helly (1993).

³⁰⁴ Votive relief: Biesantz (1965) 120–1 L55, pl. 49; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 152.

³⁰⁵ Dedicatory inscriptions: *IG IX* 2, 575, 576, 577, 578; *AD* 51 (1996) *Chron.* 382 no. 1; P. Chrysostomou (2008) 251 no. 8. A stele of Ennodia Mykaïke is mentioned in Helly (1970b) 218; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 53–8. A sacrifice to Ennodia and Zeus is mentioned in an unpublished third-century inscription mentioned by J. L. García Ramón (2007) 62 n. 102; P. Chrysostomou (2008) 250 no. 7. See also *IG IX* 2 592 republished by Helly (2010a).

³⁰⁶ *IG XII* 9 1193: a dedication by Lysanias from Phakion found at Euboea (P. Chrysostomou (1998) 85).

³⁰⁷ Inscribed dedication: *IG IX* 2 358 (first quarter of fourth century); P. Chrysostomou (1998) 51.

³⁰⁸ Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 45, 88 for a fourth-century dedicatory inscription to Ennodia Ilias. See also P. Chrysostomou (2008) 247 no. 2, and 248 no. 3 for another unpublished dedication to the goddess from the same city.

³⁰⁹ Inscribed dedication: Helly (1973b) no. 201; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 65–7.

³¹⁰ Inscribed dedication: *IG IX* 2 1286; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 67. See also P. Chrysostomou (2008) 248 no. 4 for an unpublished late third-century dedication.

³¹¹ Inscribed dedication: *AD* 10 (1926) 52 no. 4; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 65.

³¹² Sanctuary: Dakoronia (2001).

³¹³ Inscribed dedications: *AD* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 128; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 64 no. 3.

³¹⁴ A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1920) 22; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 191–2 for a dedication to Artemis-Ennodia found at the sanctuary of Pasikrata.

³¹⁵ *IG IX* 2 358, 1286; *AD* 51 (1996) *Chron.* 382 no. 1. For the gods called Patrooi and kinship groups see section 2.5.

³¹⁶ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 28–33 no. 2 believes that the inscription came from Pherai, but in p. 28, n. 11 he mentions that according to Giannopoulos it came from the excavations of Arvanitopoulos at Gonnoi.

Stathmia.³¹⁷ Ennodia, this and other evidence shows, had a strong connection with the family world. She was worshipped in Larisa together with Zeus Meilichios, a god often approached by families.³¹⁸ Moreover, a third-century relief portraying a family in an act of worship was found at her large sanctuary at Pherai. We can discern on it a woman approaching an altar, accompanied by two small children, and leading a pig. Behind the altar two women are depicted. Part of the head and the right hand of one of them are visible, holding a *phiale*, or so it has been suggested, and pouring, we may assume, a libation over the altar. The second figure holds a round object, almost certainly a *tympanon*.³¹⁹ She is usually identified as Kybele, but she could equally well be a priestess.

It is harder for us to gauge what other spheres of life Ennodia's powers extended to.³²⁰ We can for instance only speculate about whether she also offered protection over childbirth and marriage.³²¹ Epigraphic evidence shows that Artemis was often approached in Thessaly, as elsewhere in the Greek world, at these crucial moments of a woman's life. Her most common epithet in dedicatory inscriptions is Eileithyia. In that and in other epithets, such as Locheia, Eulocheia, and Geneteira, we can unmistakably identify the goddess who assisted women during childbirth.³²² Another prominent function of Artemis, the preparation of young women for marriage and adulthood, can possibly be glimpsed, following Hatzopoulos' interpretation, in a group of dedications made to Artemis Throsia, Akraia, and Pagasetis by women who describe themselves as *νεβέυσασαι*, *ἐπινεβέυσασαι*, and *ἀρχινεβέυσασαι*.³²³ Given that Ennodia and Artemis were assimilated outside Thessaly, it is worth wondering how they might have shared functions and complemented each other in Thessaly. Is it likely for instance that Ennodia took over many of the functions of Artemis in the places where her cult struck deep roots, such as at Pherai? It has already been said that Ennodia, and not Artemis, was mentioned on the 'altar of the six goddesses'. Artemis' cult was nevertheless known at Pherai, at least in the fourth century.³²⁴ There is only slight evidence which could indicate that Ennodia's powers extended more widely within the

³¹⁷ IG IX 2 575, 577.

³¹⁸ IG IX 2 578. Note also the sacrifice offered to Ennodia and Zeus (see n. 305). For Zeus Meilichios see discussion in section 3.2.2.

³¹⁹ Mitropoulou (1990) 74; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 37 n. 67.

³²⁰ For a possible healing role see n. 281.

³²¹ Her cult titles Korillos and Koroutarra show some connection with the female world, but in what way is not clear: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 47, 110 and (2001); García Ramón and Helly (2007) see them as kourotophic.

³²² Helly (1973b) nos. 168–96. There is also an Artemis Eileithyia and an Artemis Lochia at Larisa: Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 28; Habicht (1987b) 314 no. 5; an Artemis Eileithyia at Pythion: Tziafalias (1985a) no. 27; and an Artemis Locheia at Phthiotic Thebes: IG IX 2 141, 142.

³²³ Hatzopoulos (1994a) 25–40. See discussion in section 4.3.

³²⁴ IG IX 2 417; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 190.

female sphere. Two reliefs, one depicting an abduction scene, which might be connected with marriage, and another depicting a vulva, came according to Chrysostomou from the monumental northern sanctuary at Pherai.³²⁵

Ennodia and Artemis shared many iconographic features, such as the dog, the torches, and the horse, making it sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. Nevertheless, it seems that the image of the torch-bearing horse-riding divinity was characteristic of Ennodia's portrait in Thessaly.³²⁶ Meanwhile, a series of votive reliefs depicting the Apollonian triad show Artemis in a quite different way. Once she is portrayed in the Bendis type wearing a short chiton and boots. Often she holds a bow and is in the company of a dog or a horse.³²⁷ On a relief from Gonnoi the goddess is dressed in a long peplos; she holds a torch and is accompanied by a deer.³²⁸ It is therefore possibly safe to identify Artemis on a number of marble and terracotta statuettes from all over Thessaly which represent a deity moving swiftly to the left or the right, most commonly dressed in a short chiton, often covered with an animal skin and a himation, sometimes holding a bow and in some cases a torch.³²⁹ But when Ennodia steps down from her horse, or when Artemis sheds her bow and her short chiton, telling the difference between the two is largely guesswork.³³⁰ It is also difficult to surmise how the various symbols might have changed meaning depending on their combinations and their association with one or the other deity.

³²⁵ They are both mentioned by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 37 n. 64, 233. For the problem concerning the original findspot see Appendix 2.

³²⁶ L. Robert (1960) 588–95; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 147 nos. 1–6, 151 no. 1. Exceptional is a coin from Phalanna which shows a torch bearing divinity seated on a lion: Head (1911) 305. Note also that several *hekataia* dated to the Hellenistic period have been found in various places in Thessaly and beg the question whether they were perceived as representations of Ennodia, who as far as we know had a different iconography, or of Hecate herself, or some other divine figure: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 169–73, who identifies them as Ennodia. See also Axenidis (1949) 176, who mentions an unpublished stele in Larisa, which represents on high relief a triple-goddess up to her waist. For *hekataia* in general Kraus (1960) 119–65; E. B. Harrison (1965) 86–98. A triple representation was used in Thessaly possibly for the Nymphs/Charites, who, however, seem to have been represented as three female heads set on a base (*AD* 16 (1960) *Chron.* 183–4; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 172 n. 612). *Hekataia* with dancing figures are interpreted as Charites, but none of those found in Thessaly is depicted in that pose.

³²⁷ They are all discussed by von Graeve (1979) 143–55.

³²⁸ A. Arvanitopoulos, *AE* (1914) 19; Helly (1973b) no. 167.

³²⁹ Mitropoulou (1992) 326–32. See also P. Chrysostomou (1998) 192, who identifies the type as that of Artemis-Ennodia. I do not understand why.

³³⁰ Note the *amphiglyph* relief found at the small sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai and which portrays on one side a goddess wearing a peplos and holding a sceptre (or a torch?) and on the other a standing female holding a *phiale*. Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990) 60–1; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 165–9 identify the one with the peplos with Demeter and the one holding the *phiale* with Ennodia. But Parisinou (2000) 85 suggests that both sides depict Ennodia. I find also uncertain the identifications by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 154 no. 4, 158 no. 4. For Artemis Phosphoros or Ennodia on second-century coins see n. 343.

Let us dwell a bit longer on the image of the horse, one of the most characteristic attributes of Ennodia's iconography. Although it is not a well-known iconographic attribute of Artemis, it has been noted that horse figurines were actually common dedications in sanctuaries of Artemis. And the image of the female riding divinity, a rare depiction, once believed to have been mostly connected with Ennodia, has appeared in some quantity in the sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia and Limnaia at Sparta.³³¹ We also know of a few horse-related epithets of Artemis, such as Hipposoa.³³² We could possibly search here for a connection with the power of the goddess to protect young girls, but also yoke them and lead them to marital, civilized life.³³³ A common theme in literary sources is the image of the young girl as a mare that needs to be broken and tamed.³³⁴ Shall we seek similar explanations behind the horse in Ennodia's portrait? We have seen that the animal did play an important role in Thessalian marriage ceremonies.³³⁵ But the horse, an animal beloved in the area, certainly enjoyed a complex symbolism.³³⁶ We should, finally, also consider the possibility that, all possible metaphorical associations aside, Ennodia's kourotrophic and protective powers extended over the animal world and over this important Thessalian product. We could mention here that her epithet Mykaike, under which she was worshipped at Larisa, might, according to one interpretation, have also been related to the animal world, as could the epithet Stathmia, one of the many meanings of the word *stathmos* being stable.³³⁷ An interesting relief from Krannon shows Ennodia tenderly placing a garland on a horse. It has been suggested that the monument represents a victory in an athletic competition, though it would be unusual, but perhaps not unthinkable, for the goddess to crown the horse but not the human victor.³³⁸ Another alternative would be to see it as a sacrifice scene, the goddess ornamenting the victim, but this is too far-fetched; we have no evidence that horses were offered to the goddess. Yet another suggestion would be to see it as a monument commemorating military victory. Thessalians often dedicated horses as war memorials, and Ennodia's gesture reminds us of that of Nike.

³³¹ Bevan (1986) 198, 200, 202, and 206–9; Voyatzis (1992) 259–79.

³³² Pind. *Ol.* 3.26.

³³³ But both Bevan (1986) and Voyatzis (1992) link the figurines with Artemis' role as mistress of the animals.

³³⁴ Calame (2001) 238ff. ³³⁵ Ael. *NA.* 12.34.

³³⁶ See section 3.2.3 for horses and fertility.

³³⁷ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 107 associates the epithet with the supposed ability of Ennodia to cause earthquakes. But see Casevitz (1989) 185–92, who discusses the similar-sounding epithet Mykesia of Athena at Thasos and argues it was related to the animal world. For yet another explanation of the epithet see n. 355. Vigneron (1968) 20 for the meaning of the word *stathmos* not necessarily being only connected with horses.

³³⁸ We may think in terms of competitions only between animals, or competitions like the chariot race, in which the animal (and its owner) mattered more than the rider.

Be that as it may, Ennodia did offer protection and success during war. A few weapon dedications, and a bronze statuette depicting a warrior, have been found in her sanctuary at Makalorema, and although we cannot be certain concerning the circumstances of these dedications, an inscribed offering found on Euboia records a dedication by a man from Phakion of war spoils to the goddess.³³⁹ Polyaeus retails a story of how the Ionians managed to colonize Erythrai thanks to the help of the Thessalian priestess of Ennodia, Chrysame. It is interesting to note how this success was achieved. The priestess, we are told, an expert in the use of drugs, administered poison to a bull adorned for sacrifice, and then led him on purpose to escape to the camp of the enemies, who took it as a good omen, sacrificed the bull, ate it, and went mad.³⁴⁰ The story might play on the theme of Thessaly as a land of drugs and sorceresses, common already in the Classical sources, but another story retailed by Polyaeus, if I am correct to associate it with Ennodia, also indicates that it was through the fear and panic that she spread to enemies that Ennodia helped save the city. The story refers to the Thessalian invasion and the ensuing battles between the Thessalians and Boiotians in the area of Arne. It was told that on a dark moonless night Thessalos, the leader of the Thessalians, managed to beat the Boiotians by means of a trick. He ordered his soldiers to spread over the mountains and to wave the torches and lamps they were carrying up and down. The Boiotians thought that the fires were surrounding lightning and immediately sued the Thessalians for peace.³⁴¹ Similar stories, which relate how a city was saved in time of crisis with the help of torches, F. Graf has argued, were often connected with the cult of torch-bearing divinities, mainly Artemis Phosphoros.³⁴² But we can easily imagine a story being related to Ennodia, the Thessalian torch-bearing divinity par excellence.³⁴³

Both stories, it should be noted, concern newcomers to a foreign land, either migrant tribes of Thessalians or colonizers, and it is appropriate that the goddess who assists them is a wanderer herself, always 'on the road'.³⁴⁴ We

³³⁹ Weapons: Kilian (1975) 213–14 publishes thirty pieces, but Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 205 suggest that they may have been even more, given that early excavators were biased against recording iron finds. Statuette: Béquignon (1929) 101–16. Inscribed dedication: *IG XII 9* 1193.

³⁴⁰ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.43.

³⁴¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.12.1.

³⁴² Graf (1985) 228–35.

³⁴³ The cult of Artemis Phosphoros is attested in Thessaly during the Hellenistic period. She received a dedication by a woman at Pythion (Tziafalias (1985a) no. 38) and another one at Mopsion (Garcia Ramon, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 74 no.15), while four dedications by the *phrouroi* at Mikro Keserli (*IG IX 2* 1058, 1061–3; Franke (1958) 338 no. 3) were offered to a goddess called only Phosphoros. If Moustaka (1983) 34, 109 no. 65 is correct to identify Artemis Phosphoros with the walking torch-bearing figure on second-century federal coins, then this would indicate that the deity had a Panthessalian importance. But it is more likely to identify her with Ennodia, who was depicted as a torchbearing horse-riding figure on other issues of the *koinon* at that time, for which Helly (1966) 8 no. 4.

³⁴⁴ Note also Ennodia's characteristic dress with crossed straps, which is shown on two reliefs from Krannon and Ptolemaida (P. Chrysostomou (1998) 151–2). A parallel for that is Demeter's

should consider further the possibility that Ennodia, the goddess of roads, safeguarded those who travelled them. Pastoralists would here be an interesting and plausible option, but for want of evidence let us stick with travellers in general.³⁴⁵ Her large sanctuary at Pherai, located on the road that led from the port of Pagasai to Larisa, was also close to a lodge for travellers. The *πανδοχείον* (lodge) of Pherai is mentioned by Demosthenes as the place where the oaths of the peace of Philokrates were exchanged between Philip II and the Athenian embassy.³⁴⁶ Several architectural remains found in the area north of Pherai, at Magoula Agrokepiou, but also at Hagios Georgios, have been associated with this building.³⁴⁷ Demosthenes does not mention the temple of Ennodia, but does mention that of the Dioskouroi as being nearby. The twin brothers are well-known protectors of sea travellers.³⁴⁸ Perhaps Ennodia took over their functions on land, and looked after those who left the port of Pagasai behind them and marched inland. Among the finds from her sanctuary, Kilian-Dirlmeier published a number of foreign objects, many of which, she suggests, were dedications made by travellers and visitors.³⁴⁹

Let us finally turn to those aspects of Ennodia's power which have received a lot of attention in discussions of the goddess: her ability to avert evil, normally by control over the ghosts of the dead, and her connection with drugs and purifications. Both have been considered as lying at the core of Ennodia's persona, bringing her in this respect very close to Hecate. Ennodia seems indeed to have had some of these less agreeable qualities. In the story recounted by Polyaeus about the colonization of Erythrai, the priestess of the goddess is described as an expert on drugs. Her connection with crossroads, the other marginal place par excellence, rests on some late scholia which compare Hecate with Ennodia, but which we could, for the sake of argument, accept as a local myth. Ennodia, we are told, was abandoned at a crossroad, where she was recovered by some shepherds of Pheres.³⁵⁰ The story seems to be part of a group of stories which tell of how the abandoned baby which managed to survive acquired extraordinary status;³⁵¹ the detail of the crossroad could have become part of this story because of Ennodia's obvious associations with roads. We cannot assume that practices like the 'meals of

depiction on the Regina Vasorum in St. Petersburg, which Clinton (1992) 80 associates with the wanderings of the goddess while in search of Kore.

³⁴⁵ But for a myth which associates Ennodia and *boukoloi* see later in this section.

³⁴⁶ Dem. 19.158.

³⁴⁷ P. Chrysostomou (1983). See also AD 53 (1998) *Chron.* 433 for fourth-century and Hellenistic remains at Hagios Georgios, associated with the *pandocheion*, or a farmhouse.

³⁴⁸ Farnell (1921) 183.

³⁴⁹ Kilian-Dirlmeier (1985) 216–25.

³⁵⁰ Σ Lycoph. *Alex.* 1180; Σ Theoc. *Id.* 2.36. See also Steph. Byz. s.v. *τρίοδος*, for Hecate being found by Inachos on the road and becoming thus known as Ennodia.

³⁵¹ For similar stories about the abandonment of a child (usually male) at a liminal space (usually a mountain) to be found by shepherds see Delcourt (1944) 1–65; Buxton (1994) 89.

Hecate' were also part of Ennodia's cultic nexus.³⁵² Nevertheless, some connection with purification could be postulated because of her association in cult with Zeus Meilichios. And her peculiar epithet Osia, with which she was worshipped in Macedonia, might have a connection with purifications.³⁵³

The question is how important these aspects were in shaping the Thessalians' understanding of their goddess. Was Ennodia imagined as the goddess of drugs, ghosts, and the angry dead, who if treated nicely could also be of some help, or was Ennodia perceived as the goddess of something else, who occasionally dipped her hand into dirty business? The first would receive strong support were it true, as several scholars have argued, that the most characteristic location of Ennodia's Thessalian sanctuaries was the cemetery.³⁵⁴ In no case, however, can a location within a cemetery be proved, only a proximity to them, since both Thessalian graves and sanctuaries of Ennodia were often located outside the city and close to the main road arteries.³⁵⁵ It is the road, as her name makes explicit, that is at the core of Ennodia.³⁵⁶ And it would be a mistake to reduce the concept of the road with its multifarious symbolism to just an association with ghosts, drugs, and the dead.³⁵⁷

Let me return to the main concern of this chapter, the question of participation and symbolic importance of a cult. We have reviewed the evidence for the polis' interest in Ennodia's cult and her likely spheres of action, which seem to have been quite extensive. Although this might provide us with some clues that the cult was actually quite popular, not of interest only to a political elite, we still need to define who the worshippers of Ennodia might have been.

³⁵² P. Chrysostomou (2008) 250 no. 7 also suggests that dogs were sacrificed to Ennodia, as to Hecate. But there is no evidence for this. Dogs are associated with Ennodia in iconography (see P. Chrysostomou (1998) 178ff), but this does not mean that they were also offered to her as sacrificial victims. An unpublished inscription from Larisa refers to the sacrifice of an unshorn goat: García Ramón (2007) 62 n. 102; P. Chrysostomou (2008) 250 no. 7.

³⁵³ Osia: Pantos (1981) 104; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 105.

³⁵⁴ For the supposed existence of 'funerary sanctuaries' in Thessaly: Papachatzis (1958); P. Chrysostomou (1998) *passim*. For Hecate's pollution see Σ Theoc. *Id.* 2.11; Plut. *Mor.* 170b, but there is little evidence that any of her sanctuaries were inside cemeteries: for the Roman precinct of Hecate in Kerameikos see Knigge (1991) 129–30. Note also R. Parker's (2005) 57 n. 27 doubts for the identification.

³⁵⁵ See in more detail section 6.2. Helly (2010a) has recently connected the epithet Mykaike with the word *μύκη*, which in Suda μ 1391 means *θήκη* (cist) and argued that Ennodia Mykaike is Ennodia 'of the graves'. But the word *θήκη*, if indeed the epithet is to be associated with it, had many other meanings apart from grave.

³⁵⁶ A supposed connection of Ennodia's sanctuaries and gates is also not very clear in the evidence. Her epithet Stathmia has been considered as an equivalent of the better-known Propylaia born by Artemis and Hecate, the two alter egos of Ennodia: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 109. But we have seen that there are other options for the meaning of the epithet. Perhaps the strongest argument is the name of the goddess itself, since *enodos* in Thessalian dialect seems to have meant entrance: Helly (1970b) 251 ll.14, 265.

³⁵⁷ For the 'road' in ancient Greek thought see Curtius (1854); Becker (1937). For the concept of wandering: Montiglio (2005).

The family group, we saw, was definitely an important component of her worship. We should certainly imagine whole families, women with small children, flocking to her sanctuaries.³⁵⁸ But did they belong to the higher strata of society or did the cult bring together a wider population, as it would indeed seem appropriate for a goddess of roads, the places where all sorts of people met?³⁵⁹ Although the evidence does not allow a straightforward answer, there are ways to approach it. We could for instance note that there is some evidence that Ennodia was not only worshipped in cities, but also in smaller communities, and that the cult in these smaller communities was related to that of the cities. In a dedication from Larisa Ennodia is called *Astike*, of the city. The existence of this epithet, which makes a polarization between the city and the countryside, actually serves to suggest that the goddess appealed to both, since one cannot mention an Ennodia *Astike* without bringing to mind an Ennodia who was not of the *asty*.³⁶⁰ Another, albeit later in date, dedication found in the city of Larisa was offered to Ennodia *Alexeatis*, whose epithet might connect her to a *kome* called *Alexea*.³⁶¹ If this was so, this would show an Ennodia of a dependent settlement being brought into the polis of Larisa. Most importantly, a second-century inscription, of unknown exact provenance, which is an inventory of dedications to Ennodia by her priestesses, includes what seems to be a dedication by *demarchs*.³⁶²

How exactly should we picture her celebrations? Were they most like the *Panathenaia* or, to make the metaphor more suitable, like the *Brauronia*? Should we, that is, fill in the picture with public processions, centrally organized rituals, choruses, sacrifices, and competitions? Or were they more like the *Anthesteria*, or even better the *Diasia* (Ennodia after all was worshipped with Zeus *Meilichios*), small gatherings of family and friends, with few impressive spectacles worthy of the visitor's admiration? A few pieces of evidence, if we are right to associate them with the cult of Ennodia, might allow us a glimpse of these occasions. A relief from *Krannon*, discussed earlier in this section,

³⁵⁸ Despite Johnston (1999) 208–9, 213–15, there is, however, no evidence that Ennodia, like Hecate elsewhere, was worshipped in Thessalian houses. *IG IX 2 577* from Larisa to Ennodia *Stathmia* was not found in an ancient house, as Johnston seems to assume, but was reused in a modern one. Moreover, the item found in a hole in the pillar-like base offered to Ennodia *Astike* from the same city and interpreted as a key (of the house presumably) is called a key only by Kern. It seems that it was a piece of iron with lead found in one of the four holes on the top surface of the base, where the offering was adjusted: *IG IX 2 575*. Lolling (1886) 450 says that the holes are at the lower part. But see P. Chrysostomou (1998) 53 and Löhr (2000) 58.

³⁵⁹ Relevant are here R. Osborne's (1987) 168 remarks about how the location of sanctuaries could reflect different perceptions of the community.

³⁶⁰ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 104 prefers to see here an opposition between 'city-sanctuary' and 'sanctuary outside the city, in a cemetery'.

³⁶¹ *IG IX 2 576*; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 57 no. 5 (third century AD).

³⁶² P. Chrysostomou (1998) 28–33.

shows a goddess, probably Ennodia, placing a garland on the head of a horse. One interpretation was that it commemorated a competition involving horses that was part of her cult.³⁶³ Meanwhile, the story retailed by Polyaeus concerning the trick of the Thessalians during their wars with the Boiotians might have served as the aetiological myth for a ritual of the goddess, taking place at night, one could imagine, and involving the swinging of torches. Focusing on her large sanctuary at Pherai, we can confidently argue that a public festival took place there. First, we should think about her monumental Doric temple and the other buildings of her sanctuary: an exaggerated setting for small private parties. And then there are the votives: lots of fibulae and bronze jewellery, some of rather impressive size and technique. Small private dedications of women in times of stress, many would argue. But we have also found them in the most public of the cults: on the acropolis of Gonnoi and Phthiotic Thebes, and most importantly they are the most numerous kind of votive in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia. Kilian has also noted a number of orientalia and foreign items among the votives of the sanctuary. Were they dedicated by Pheraians who had returned safe home? Or by travellers and visitors, who popped in for a look during the festivities? For the cult to have acquired the fame it did, it must have had a wider public appeal. And of course the honours and decrees found in her sanctuary are most likely to have been announced on splendid public occasions.

3.5. CONCLUSIONS: POLIS CULTS OF THE 'THESSALIAN POLIS'

Our survey of the 'public religion' of Thessalian cities has taken us through various cults. We have seen armed men parading in festivals of Athena Polias, young boys carrying the laurel in honour of Apollo, women gathering together in solemn celebrations for Demeter, offering robes and jewellery to Athena and Ennodia, singing and dancing for Dionysus, priests dedicating to Asclepius: all familiar themes to students of Greek religion. Protection for the polis, victory in war, good counsel in politics, health and deliverance from the pains of childbirth, prosperity for one's family, wealth and success, all these were within the powers of the gods of the Thessalian poleis. We could turn the evidence into a general statement of the sort: a Thessalian, very much like an Athenian, could turn to the gods of the city for almost all matters in his public and private life. But we should attempt to set the evidence, familiar though it

³⁶³ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 58, 152–3; Biesantz (1965) Taf. 49 L55.

seems, in its local Thessalian setting, placing more emphasis on some details, highlighting possible differences, lending an ear to dissonant notes.

Two issues relevant to such an exploration have been singled out at the beginning of this chapter, and have formed the thread through which the discussion of the various cults was organized. The first is the question of participation in, and function of, a cult. By focusing on the question of who took part in the various cults, how and why they did so, we can explore how through the different modes of participation in, and exclusion from, worship religious identities were formed; and how these religious identities might have been related to the political and social divisions of the Thessalian population. The second theme was the question of the symbolic importance that these cults had in people's lives, an issue, which although related, is, at the same time, independent of the question of participation and function.

I argued that there might have been wide participation in several of the cults discussed. The married women of the city might have performed the rites of Demeter. We should count those who gathered to gaze at Dionysus' spectacles in the thousands. Perhaps the *perioikoi*, and even the *penestai*, had a role in his cult. The evidence for the cult of Ennodia also encourages us to form an image of large popular celebrations, including competitions, honorific announcements, and other formalities, but also family gatherings, and perhaps local/village celebrations. The numerous city sanctuaries of Asclepius, which dotted the Thessalian landscape (it seems that there was one in every city), brought the friendly god within reach of those in need. But not all was happy harvests and convivial merry-making. The hierarchies of society were brought up in these cults: we have detected possible differences between those who worshipped Demeter in the city and those in the *chora*, and we can only guess at how *perioikoi* or *penestai* might have been portrayed in the cult of Dionysus.

In other cults it is mostly the specific narrow participant group that we can see. The lens seems to fall on particular worshippers and ritual roles. In the cult of Athena Polias, although there might have been wide participation from various groups of the population, the focus seems to be on men in political and military offices, as if underlining the idea that the protection which the goddess offered also rested in the hands of those entrusted with power. The presence of the cult of Zeus Thaulios and his kinsmen-worshippers on the acropolis stresses the important role of small groups in the politics of the polis and gives us some clues concerning the nature of the competing groups. Participation in cults situated in the other major focus of the city, the free agora, seems to have been exclusive or at least highly stratified. Only magistrates and those awarded the honour dined around the common hearth. While in a democracy anyone could imagine himself dining one day in the tholos of the city, in the Thessalian oligarchies few had the luxury of such fantasies. It was still, however, in one's capacity as a magistrate of the city, or because one had offered to the city, and not simply because of wealth or

pedigree, that one could share in the sacrifices to civic Hestia. The initially disturbing cult of Apollo Kerdoos reworked private ambitions and gains in a public context, tying up personal profit and wealth with the general good.

Questions abound: were these images of polis cults shared by everybody? How deep down the social strata did they reach? How does the evidence for polis cults relate to the rest of the evidence for cult activity? And just as important are questions about change through time and variation according to place. The picture we have drawn brought together evidence from various cities. We reconstructed an image of the cults of what we might call the ideal Thessalian polis. But this is a palimpsest which may not have existed at any one time or at any one place. Problems of chronology require our attention. Thessalian poleis, several scholars have argued, became true poleis only in the Hellenistic period. At several points in the foregoing discussion we have casually noticed possible changes taking place through time. To mention just a couple: in Hellenistic times more cults may have been housed in the agora and the cult of Asclepius took a firm hold only after the middle of the fifth century. We should also be sensitive to local differences. Much of what we could say about the public cult of Ennodia centred on the cult at Pherai. But Pherai is for some scholars exceptional, never subjected to the strict exclusive oligarchies which ruled for a long period over other Thessalian cities. The importance of these variations is not always easy to appreciate. How much did it really matter that Zeus Thaulios or Apollo Kerdoos were worshipped in some cities close to the edge of the city, while elsewhere they were worshipped on the acropolis or in the agora?

The point of keeping an eye on place and time is not only a methodological one. It also has a theoretical bearing. We seek to understand the structures of social and religious life in Thessaly, by focusing on the question of whether the polis should be the primary unit of analysis. Collapsing the numerous Thessalian poleis into a single one runs against this aim: to put the matter simply, one fails to grasp the importance of being a Krannonian, if being a Krannonian is conceived as being little different from a Larisean, Pheraian, or Kierian. We have to search for the importance of the polis (and of polis religion) not only in its structures, but also in what would have made it unique, its specific landscape, its local history and myths. We should keep the image we have constructed as a model to think with, but we should also try to grasp something of the idiosyncrasies that made a city feel like home.

Thessaly through the Kaleidoscope

4.1. THE THESSALIAN SPACE-TIME

This chapter aims to deconstruct and complicate the image of religion in the ideal Thessalian polis constructed in the previous two chapters, by looking more closely at issues of time and place, and by bringing to the fore the differences between Thessalian communities.

The two Thessalian plains, which constituted the territory of Classical Thessaly, had an extent of around 4,000 square kilometres and were densely inhabited. According to the Copenhagen Polis Centre inventory there were twenty-five settlements which would have been regarded as poleis in the Archaic and Classical periods.¹ A quick perusal of this list, or a glance at maps of the area showing the various Thessalian settlements with their neat circular territories of 5–7 kilometres radius, can lead the casual observer astray, in suggesting a monotonous landscape with relatively small and homogenous communities.² Although Thessaly's plains form a distinct geographical region, there is still a lot of interregional variation. The communities of south-

¹ Decourt et al. (2004). This study is part of a Copenhagen Polis Centre (CPC) project, whose main aim has been to study how the Greeks themselves perceived their settlement pattern. The twenty-five settlements are, therefore, classified as poleis following its criteria, which are: every settlement characterized as polis by Archaic or Classical authors should be counted as a polis; the sending and receiving of *theoroi*, the minting of coins, the use of *ethnika* are also, following the CPC, trustworthy indicators of polis status.

² Stählin's (1924) indispensable work on Thessalian topography is now being reviewed by the 'équipe de Lyon'. The team aims not only to update the identification of the various settlements known from literary sources with remains on the ground, but also to trace their territories, so that various archaeological and epigraphical finds can be (re)attributed. To reach its objectives the team employs geographical models such as nearest neighbour analysis and central place theory, as well as some archaeological criteria supposedly indicative of polis status. See e.g. the following studies: Decourt (1990a); Darmezin (1992); Decourt (1992); Helly (1992); Lucas (1992b); Lucas (1997); Helly (1999). The methodology of these, in many respects, enlightening works is compromised by the fact that they are mixing an *emic* and an *etic* approach, by drawing a false equation between 'polis', an ancient Greek category, and 'central places', a term used in modern geographic modelling. For central place theory see Haggett (1965) 119–25; 304–5; Hodder and Orton (1976) 55; D. L. Clarke (1977) 27.

eastern Thessaly were dominated by the Pagasetic Gulf; those to the north-east were situated between two lakes framed by the great massifs of Olympus and Ossa and by the Peneus river, which rolled its way through Tempe Pass. Those in the west sat in the midst of the largest of the Thessalian plains, isolated by a string of low hills to the east and the towering Pindus range to the west. Thessalian communities show significant variations in size. Pherai, it has been calculated, covered an area of 50 hectares; Pharsalos was double in size. Larisa might have been even bigger. But others were significantly smaller, around 11–23 hectares, and the settlement at Soros, identified with Pagasai or Amphanai, was only 5–6 hectares. Their population would have ranged accordingly from close to 30,000 down to only a couple of thousand people.³ One should bear in mind that the population of each community was not necessarily homogenous: only a few cities, we may imagine, were home to very powerful and wealthy aristocratic families whose reach and influence extended over all of Thessaly and beyond. The balance of slaves, tradesmen, craftsmen, foreigners, and wealthy versus poor farmers might not have been the same everywhere, and the make-up of the population certainly changed through time. Finally, the theoretical territory of 5–7 kilometres radius becomes problematic when one starts asking questions about the nature of contacts and interrelationships between these communities. When looking at the map of Classical Thessaly we have, thus, to imagine a more dynamic picture, with various communities of different sizes and means existing alongside one another in complex, often hierarchical, relationships.⁴

The picture becomes even more complicated when one adds the parameter of time, or tries to think of Thessaly within the context of broader developments. It has become clear that the various Thessalian communities emerged from very different prehistoric backgrounds.⁵ To give a broad-brush view of the evidence, substantial Bronze Age settlements have been excavated around the Pagasetic Gulf, at Palia Volou and at Dimini, both at times identified with

³ These numbers are taken from Corvisier (1991) 238ff and should not be taken literally. They are just indicative of the wide range of Thessalian communities. For a criticism of Corvisier's method see Helly (1995) 285–6.

⁴ C. Morgan (2003) chapter 4 suggests a more flexible approach in deciding what constituted a city's territory, which takes into consideration a number of parameters: economic and political territories, for instance, might not have coincided. For the problem of territory see also Leveau (1984). A fourth-century inscription from Pherai, which prescribes that the honours bestowed on an individual should be valid in all the land over which the Pheraians rule, is very telling, as it implies that Pherai had control over lands outside its 'traditional' territory: *SEG* 23 (1968) no. 418; Decourt et al. (2004) 704 no. 414; Graninger (2011a).

⁵ C. Morgan (2003) 85ff. For what follows see also for the Bronze Age evidence: Andreou, Fotiadis and Kotsakis (2001) 261–82; Adrimi-Sismani (2007); Papadimitriou (2008). For the Proto-Geometric and Geometric material: Tziafalias and Zaouri (1999); Lemos (2002) 205–7; C. Morgan (2003) 85ff. Note also that the division followed here between coastal, inland-western, and north-eastern Thessaly is schematic. In fact every scholar makes his own interregional divisions.

Homeric Iolkos, and there is evidence for extensive habitation at several other sites, such as Peukakia, Pherai, Petra, and Pteleos. The presence of Mycenaean pottery, Linear B inscriptions, and tholos tombs shows that this part of Thessaly was heavily mycenaeanized. At the end of the Bronze Age there is evidence for destructions. The settlements at Dimini and Peukakia were abandoned, but habitation continued at Palia Volou and Pherai, which might even grow in size. Tholos tombs continue to be used, and contacts and influences from the south are very prominent in the material of this period, too. By the Late Geometric period the sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai is established. With its numerous bronze finds the sanctuary is often listed in handbooks of early Greece together with other sanctuaries typical of Greek culture of the time, such as the Heraia at Argos and Perachora, or the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos.⁶ Sculptures of kouroi, the art product par excellence of Archaic Greek culture, adorned a sanctuary which is currently being excavated at the locality of Latomeio on the road leading from Pherai to the sea.⁷ Another sanctuary of the area, that of Apollo Pagasaios, made it into Panhellenic poetry of the time, serving as the background to the fight between Kyknos and Heracles in [Hesiod]'s *Aspis*. Inland Thessaly, by contrast, seems to have followed its own trajectory. There is much evidence which shows strong north/north-western influences and, although we do not know the settlement pattern very well, there is as yet no parallel for the cluster of Mycenaean centres around the Pagasetic Gulf, or for the substantial Geometric communities of Pherai and Palia Volou. But the area, it should be stressed, was not a world apart. Elements of Mycenaean, Proto-Geometric Euboean, and southern Greek culture more generally penetrated far to the north and the west. Mycenaean tholos tombs, for instance, have been found all over the area, as far as Paliouri and Georgiko in western Thessaly, and Marmarine to the north-east. The Geometric and Archaic finds from the sanctuary at Philia in western Thessaly are very similar to those found at the sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai, and the recently excavated temple of Apollo at Metropolis is the oldest peripteral structure known from Thessaly.

To return to the main time-focus of this book, the historical events of the Classical and Hellenistic periods often impacted differently on different Thessalian communities. To give here just some examples, when Leotychidas invaded the region in the 460s, aiming to punish it for its medism, he seems to have interfered in the affairs of only a couple of communities.⁸ Athens'

⁶ Coldstream (1977) 333; R. Osborne (1996) 56.

⁷ *PAE* (1911) 300–1; *PAE* (1915) 157; di Salvatore (1994) 106–7; *AD* 54 (1999) *Chron.* 405; *AR* (2007–8) 59.

⁸ *Hdt.* 6.72; *Paus.* 3.7.9; *Plut. Mor.* 859d. See discussion in Sordi (1958a) 101ff, followed by Gehrke (1985) 186 n. 17.

intervention in the area during the same decade seems to have focused on Pharsalos.⁹ The takeover by Philip II benefited some communities and harmed others.¹⁰ The rivalry between Kassander and Demetrios Poliorketes left its mark more visibly on the topography of south-eastern Thessaly, while the Aitolians' expansion affected most directly the communities of southern and, perhaps, western Thessaly.¹¹

The landscape, its place within a network of relationships, its past, its involvement in current affairs, all these factors shape a place and give it an identity in people's minds. This chapter attempts to do that: to look at how the various factors that have shaped a place interacted with its religion through time. Writing about all these matters concurrently presents a great challenge. In its emphases the organization of this chapter has kept to the traditional divides between geography and history, and between myth and history.¹² The next section will focus on geography and take the reader on an imaginary tour of Thessaly. A lot of the discussion will revolve around myths, the stories that people told about supposedly important events of the past.¹³ What gave to a place its character was to a large degree, or so it will be argued here, memories of its involvement in important events of the past and the protagonists of those events, heroes, and gods. These stories, it will also be shown, form an important background against which we can better understand the many cults of the Thessalian communities we will be visiting.¹⁴

⁹ Thuc. 1.111.

¹⁰ Hammond and Griffith (1979) 538–40.

¹¹ Helly (2009).

¹² While experimenting with various structures for this chapter I found Clarke's discussion on the relationship between geography and history very helpful: K. Clarke (1999) 1–76.

¹³ A brief note on the problem of how we can assess the importance of these various stories for the local population, and in the periods studied in this work, is in place. In some cases we simply cannot. We cannot be certain that the pseudo-Hesiodic account of the fight of Kyknos and Apollo at Pagasai had any relevance to the cult there. In other cases, such as the involvement of Pagasai and Apollo Pagasaïos in the Argonautic expedition, or Admetus' close relationship with Apollo, the story seems to have been so well known that suggesting its importance for local audiences too does not seem extravagant. Yet in other cases the iconography of Thessalian coins provides the safest access to the Thessalian space-time, as in the case of the coins from Mopsion, Gyrtone, Larisa, or those of Kierion: Price (2005) for the importance of coinage in the study of local mythologies. Popular stories were depicted in other mediums, on pots, for instance, as we shall see at Pharsalos (note also a recently found skyphos from Halos with depictions from the myth of Athamas: *AD* 56–9 (2001–4) *Chron.* 468), or in sculpture, as is the case with the nymph Larisa. Last, but by no means least, there are the cults themselves, which acquire meaning in the context of these stories.

¹⁴ The idea that myths often have nothing to do with religion lurks behind several regional studies of religion, which define their topic as 'religion as practised' or as 'cults and sanctuaries' and which have thus chosen not to discuss mythology. I have opted for a more general definition of the subject and for an approach which puts the worshipper at its centre (see section 1.1). From the perspective of a worshipper any strict division between myth and cults would have seemed absurd. For the relationship between myth and cult see now Kowalzig (2007); R. Parker (2011a) 22–9.

4.2. MYTHICAL STRUCTURES OF THESSALIAN GEOGRAPHY

We start our tour at the coast, where most ancient geographers entered Thessaly. Skylax in his *Periplus* lists Amphanai and Pagasai as the first Thessalian settlements one encountered on the Pagasetic Gulf coming from the south.¹⁵ Neither has been convincingly identified; though most scholars agree that the small walled settlement excavated at Soros must have been one or the other.¹⁶ Of Amphanai we hear little else until the third century, when an Amphaneus figures as a citizen of Demetrias.¹⁷ According to some mythographers, Amphanai's most (in)famous inhabitant, buried close to the Anauros river, was Kyknos, the son of Ares.¹⁸ Pagasai, on the other hand, had a more glorious past to look back to and, together with it, a more important role to play in the historical period. Here in myth was the traditional departure point and final landfall of the Argonauts.¹⁹ From the Archaic period to the late fourth century Pagasai was the most important port of Thessaly.²⁰ But Pagasai, its mythological and geographical importance notwithstanding, was a 'fragile polis', closely connected by at least the Classical period with the major city of Pherai.²¹

The god of Pagasai par excellence was Apollo. He was invoked as Pagasaïos or Pagasites and was depicted on fourth-century coins of the city.²² In stories about the Argonautic expedition Apollo of Pagasai safeguarded, as Embasios and Aktios, the sailing and return of the Argonauts;²³ we can only assume that the god would have also watched over the comings and goings of all traders and travellers of Pagasai. The worshippers of a god-protector of sailors must have come from all sorts of places;²⁴ but we may wonder whether the participation of foreigners, i.e. non-Pagasaïans, in the cult was ever formalized.

¹⁵ Ps-Skylax 64.

¹⁶ For Soros being Pagasai: Miložič (1974); di Salvatore (1994) 115–16. Stählin (1924) locates Pagasai at Ligaroremma south-west of Demetrias, while Intzesiloglou (1994) prefers to locate it at Bourboulithra at the north edge of Demetrias.

¹⁷ Arvanitopoulos (1929d) 126–8.

¹⁸ Eur. *HF* 389.

¹⁹ A vexing problem is how old this tradition was. It is first attested by Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.238, 318, 524; 4. 1781; Callim. fr. 18 (Pfeiffer). According to Pind. *Pyth.* 4.188; Strabo 9.5.15; Diod. 4.42.1 the Argo sailed from Iolkos. There was also a tradition, likewise attested from the Hellenistic period onwards, that derived the name of Pagasai from the building of the Argo, or the construction of the temple of Apollo: Meyer, *RE* XVIII 2 (1942) 2298.

²⁰ Thereafter, Demetrias took over the small coastal settlement, its strategic role, and finally its reputation: Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.37 mentions Demetrias as the place where the Argo was built.

²¹ Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 53 calls Pagasai the *epineion* of Pherai, but some scholars believe that Pagasai was under Pheraian control already from much earlier: Meyer, *RE* XVIII 2 (1942) 2305; Stählin, Meyer, and Heidner (1934) 169.

²² [Hes] *Scut.* 70; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.411; Hesych. π 8; *Etym. Magn.* 646.39. Coins: Liampi (2005) 30–5.

²³ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.403–4.

²⁴ In the third and second centuries BC the cult of Apollo Aisonios, who in Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.411 is mentioned in the same breath with Pagasaïos, is attested at Kalamaki and Gonnoi in northern Thessaly: Kontogiannis (2000), who, however, thinks he was a protector of fishermen.

The question deserves at least to be raised as the sanctuary figures, in the pseudo-Hesiodic poem *Aspis*, and perhaps in some other versions of the myth, as the background of the fight between Heracles and Kyknos, and the reason behind this momentous clash is Kyknos' *κακοξενία* (inhospitality).²⁵ Guillon has aired the idea that the story reflects tensions between the various population groups of central Greece which frequented the sanctuary.²⁶ A modern version of the theory argues against the tendency to read history straight from myths, but maintains that similar stories of conflict over access to a sanctuary could serve as aetiologies behind amphictionic cults.²⁷

I leave this tantalizing question open and move to the evidence of archaeology, which is equally frustrating. A sanctuary of Apollo, visited from the sixth to the early third century BC, has been excavated at Soros.²⁸ The early date of the temple, its general location, and some impressive finds, such as the fragments of a Panathenaic amphora,²⁹ could support an identification with the famous sanctuary of poetry, but a closer look at its architectural layout and the rest of the finds runs against common expectations of what a cult to a god of traders and travellers should look like. There were no orientalia or foreign objects, similar to those found, for instance, at Perachora.³⁰ The sanctuary, which was located outside the wall of the settlement and opposite the main gate, did not have the typical form of a peripteral temple. It consisted of a series of medium-sized or relatively small adjacent rooms, built in various phases, around a main rectangular room with an axial colonnade and a bench constructed in the Late Archaic period running along its sides. The presence of a hearth at the west side of the room, bones on and around the benches, as well as of several cooking-pots in various parts of the building, indicates that the space was used for dining by a not very sizeable group. Other finds, such as female figurines and child statues, are hard to associate with the image of a cult connected with seafaring. Given that the identification of Soros with ancient Pagasai is still in the air, it is not clear whether we should modify our perception of the cult, or dismiss the identification. Equally mysterious, and difficult to reconcile with the rest of the evidence, is the statement by

²⁵ For the various versions of the Heracles and Kyknos story see Janko (1986) 48ff.

²⁶ Guillon (1963) 42ff. Other scholars, however, regard the setting at Pagasai as irrelevant: Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1905) 119; Janko (1986) 47–8 suggest other contexts for the performance of the *Aspis*, while Sordi (1958a) 32–51; Ducat (1973) 64 focus only on the identification of mythical with historical opponents without considering the possible relationships between these myths and particular cults.

²⁷ Kowalzig (2007) 133–49, who refers to the cult of Apollo at Asine (Argolid).

²⁸ Milojčić (1974); Leventi (2009); Mazarakis-Ainian (2009); Vitos and Panagou (2009).

²⁹ Tiverios (2000) 22–34 offers an overview of the sanctuaries where Panathenaic amphorae were dedicated.

³⁰ For the finds from Perachora see C. Morgan (1994) 129–35.

Herakleides Pontikos that the sanctuary of Apollo Pagasaïos housed an oracle founded by Trophonios.³¹

Pagasai was for much of its history a 'dependent polis'. In the early third century it became a deme of Demetrias, but already by the early fourth century at the latest it was controlled by Pherai.³² That Pheraïans had some involvement in the cults of Pagasai is beyond doubt, but we would wish to know more details about the nature of this involvement and how it was received. The 'tyrant' Alexander, we learn from Theopompos, was a fervent devotee of a Dionysus worshipped at Pagasai with the title Pelekos (Double axe).³³ But was this only a personal religious interest of Alexander, or did other Pheraïans participate in the cult? And how did the Pagasaïans feel about it? Pherai's expansionistic policy in the first half of the fourth century could become very violent: we hear of cities being destroyed and their populations slaughtered.³⁴ In these cases any kind of involvement in a city's life could be negatively perceived. But it seems that we should differentiate between the various Pheraïan rulers: Jason's authority is described as mild and legitimate; and even an individual ruler could treat different places differently.³⁵

Pagasai, for instance, may actually have flourished during the time of Alexander. The evidence is not very clear, but were we to just accept it, then it would seem that Pagasai became much more than a shabby port at his time. Its fortification walls were built, a source of pride for every city, and culture was brought onto the dockyards. Alexander, as one would expect from a pious Dionysus worshipper, was also a theatre-lover. Some of the performances which the tyrant was said to have passionately observed might have been staged at Pagasai.³⁶ In gratitude for his contribution to city life, some scholars believe, the tyrant was worshipped after his death as a founder-hero of Pagasai.

³¹ Herakleid. Pont. fr. 137a–b (Wehrli). Arvanitopoulos (1928) 76ff believes that Apollo Pagasaïos was the same as Apollo Koropaïos and that the oracle was transferred in the Late Archaic period from Pagasai to Korope.

³² For Pagasai's incorporation in Demetrias see section 4.3. For its relationship with Pherai see n. 21.

³³ Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 352. There is a problem with the epithet of the god which in the manuscripts reads as 'Pelekos'. Several scholars prefer to change it to 'Pelagios', meaning 'of the sea', in view of the location of the sanctuary at Pagasai: Maass (1888); Farnell (1896–1909) v. 124; Nilsson (1967) 582; Shrimpton (1991) 265 F 352. Contra: P. Chrysostomou (1994b) 124–5; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 44 n. 250; Georgoudi (2011) 57. We know nothing else about the cult, although most of the works cited above discuss it alongside other sea-related cults of Dionysus, for which see also Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 190–207, or focus on Dionysus' relationship with the double axe.

³⁴ Diod. 15.75.1; Paus. 6.5.2; Plut. *Pel.* 29.

³⁵ See e.g. Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 95 for the Melitaïans being friendly to the Pheraïan tyrants. Sprawski (2006) argues that Alexander might have had more supporters than the sources imply.

³⁶ Plut. *Pel.* 29 for Alexander watching Euripides' *Troads*; Plut. *Pel.* 31 for Alexander fortifying various sites. Part of the fortification walls at Soros might date to the fourth century: Marzollff (1996a) 48.

Alexander's death was tragic and unheroic. He was murdered by his wife who then gave him to the angry mob of Pherai. His dead body was trampled and thrown into the sea, but a rumour went around that Dionysus Pelekos paid back Alexander's deep devotion, collected his bones from the sea, and gave them to his intimates at Krannon for proper burial.³⁷ The immersion in the sea, the recovery of the bones, and the final burial fit into a set of stories which describe how something usually valuable is thrown into, and then returned by, the sea.³⁸ It casts Alexander's post-mortem fate into a positive light and could indeed be taken to imply that Alexander received hero cult, although it is unclear by whom, where, and what kind of hero he was imagined to have been.³⁹

All the uncertainties notwithstanding, we end up with some flavour of Pagasai. The sea unites Apollo Pagasaios, Dionysus Pelekos, and Alexander. The openness of a port town could be detected in cults like that of the 'amphictionic' Apollo. But this openness might also be the key to the atmosphere of religious life in a subordinate polis. Several of the themes that have emerged in the discussion so far fit well with a weak community in thrall to outsiders: the openness of the cult of Apollo to foreign pilgrims, the close relationships one of its gods develops with a foreign ruler, and, just possibly, the adoption of a neighbouring tyrant as a hero—this latter particularly hard to imagine in a vigorous independent polis. Nevertheless, we must balance this sense of outside dilution against the vibrancy of Pagasai's position within the mythological geography of the Greek world to arrive at a well-rounded

³⁷ Theopompos *FGH* 115 F 352. Plut. *Pel.* 28ff describes the murder, the violation and discard of the body in detail, but omits that it was thrown into the sea, recovered by fishermen and finally buried. Was Plutarch following some other source? Or was he using Theopompos (as Westlake (1939) 14–15 argues) but diverged from it in order to exalt Pelopidas' life and death by opposition to that of Alexander. The death and fate of Alexander seems to have acquired some popularity; it might have also been the theme of the Moschion's lost play *Pheraioi*: Ribbeck (1875) 156–9.

³⁸ See Pfister (1909) 211–18; Burkert (1983) 196–204 and n. 40 for the theme of the dead man's return as a sign of Dionysus' favour; Buxton (1994) 101 for the motif of the fisherman-finder; Ekroth (2009) 121–2 for some examples of hero cults to abhorrent figures who died a violent death and were deprived of burial.

³⁹ The mention of Krannon in the story is confusing, and the suggestion that Alexander was a founder hero of Pagasai, and not some other kind of hero, relies heavily on the testimony of a later third-century BC funerary stele from Demetrias for the warrior Antigenes, who, according to the epigram, fell while striving to defend Zeus, the pipes of Enyalios, and the Chthonian grave of Alexander: Peek (1955) no. 943. It is not obvious to me that this Alexander was the Pheraean tyrant, who had become, so the argument would go, one of the *archegetai-ktistai* of Demetrias after its incorporation of Pagasai: E. Meyer, *RE* XVIII 2 (1942) 2307, who has been followed by Leschhorn (1984) 267; Furtwängler and Kron (1978) 153. Scepticism is expressed by Arvanitopoulos (1909) 128 no. 10, who preferred to identify the Alexander of the epitaph with Alexander the Great; von Gaertringen (1926) 45 no. 104, who suggests some otherwise unknown local hero and by Moretti (1976) no. 107.

impression of the community's vision of itself and the ambience of its religious life.

It is time to leave the port of Pagasai and travel up the road to Pherai itself. In modern accounts Pherai is often described as an exceptional Thessalian city.⁴⁰ Located in the south-east part of Thessaly it had always been exposed to influences from the south. Already in Geometric times Pherai, unlike other Thessalian settlements, seems to have been a sizeable community with a wealthy sanctuary. The settlement was fortified in the Late Archaic period; at the same time a peripteral temple was constructed in the sanctuary of Ennodia, marble statues of Athena and other gods were set up on the acropolis, and the agora acquired a round building.⁴¹ Albeit at a sluggish pace, the city seems to have followed closely cultural developments taking place further south. Eventually, by the end of the fifth century, Pherai's ambivalent relationship with the rest of Thessaly came fully to the fore. The city took what some see as a step towards democracy by establishing a tyranny and waged wars against other Thessalian cities. Pherai thus makes a good case study to address the problem of the homogeneity of religion across Thessaly, as well as its role in structuring relationships between various settlements. The ideas that some Pheraian cults were quite distinctive, that they became 'thessalianized' as Pherai's role in Thessalian affairs became more prominent, and that the tyrants popularized various cults have all been entertained at times.

There has been considerable discussion of these issues, especially as concerns the cult of Ennodia. So let me first summarize and comment on some of the main arguments. Morgan has recently suggested that Ennodia was originally worshipped only at Pherai, and that her cult spread elsewhere in Thessaly only from the late sixth century onwards. This reconstruction fits with Morgan's view of the Thessalian *ethnos* as originally being only a very loose union of various groupings, which became more closely unified politically and religiously from the Late Archaic period onwards.⁴² Chrysostomou also sees Ennodia as originally a Pheraian goddess, but stresses more the role of Pheraian imperialism in the spread of her cult during the Classical period.⁴³ Graninger, too, stresses the role of Pheraian tyrants in the development of the cult, but argues that it was only now that the tradition that Ennodia was a

⁴⁰ Most tellingly by Sordi (1992), who distinguishes between Larisa ruled by a dynastic landowning aristocracy; Pharsalos, a moderate oligarchy and Pherai, a family tyranny verging on demagogy. See also Axenidis (1947a) 125ff; Gehrke (1985) 189; Hornblower (2002) 98. Whether these supposed differences between the various cities' constitutions accurately reflected reality is far from certain: see e.g. Berve (1967) 283–95, who includes in her examples of Thessalian tyrannies the dynasty of the Aleuads and the rule of Polydamas at Pharsalos. Nevertheless, it is still important that there was a belief that there were differences between them.

⁴¹ Dougeri-Intzesiloglou (1990); Dougeri-Intzesiloglou (1994) 78–82; Østby (1990).

⁴² C. Morgan (2003) 135–42.

⁴³ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 100.

distinctive Pheraian deity was constructed, as her cult, originally an elite affair, was opened to the wider populace.⁴⁴ Morgan's reconstruction of the mechanism behind the spread of the cult (as part of increased interaction) is more likely than that of Chrysostomou's (Pheraian propaganda), not least because the cult titles under which Ennodia was worshipped elsewhere in Thessaly do not betray the influence of Pheraian politics. In fifth-century Larisean inscriptions she is invoked as Astike (of the city) and Patroa (ancestral), epithets which bypass any connection with Pherai and stress Larisa's close links with the goddess. But the main problem with any discussion concerning the origin and spread of Ennodia's cult is that it relies on a comparison of the archaeological evidence for the cult at Pherai, which goes back to the Geometric period, with inscribed dedications, which are mostly stray finds and which appear only in the fifth century. Without knowing more about the archaeological context of these finds it is impossible to chart the cult's trajectory.

Graninger is right to draw attention away from the origin of the cult to perceptions of it and to pose the question of how a cult might have changed through time. Yet, his account of the development of the cult needs to be modified and rephrased. He argues that Ennodia, a goddess previously worshipped by the elite, 'gained civic orientation' and was propagated as an originally Pheraian deity during the late fifth and early fourth century. In his view, two phenomena, the display of civic decrees in the sanctuary from the mid-fifth century onwards and, even more importantly, the portrayal of Ennodia on civic coinage from the fourth century onwards, signalled a turning point for perceptions of the cult. Nevertheless, the statement that the iconography of fourth-century coinage marked a strong departure from the city's earlier tradition is flawed, as it does not take into consideration the limitations of the evidence. It sidelines the fact that during the fifth century Pherai participated in the various coinage unions of the area, as did most of the Thessalian cities, and her coins therefore shared this common iconography. Many Thessalian cities started minting coins decorated with local themes at that time. The change in the iconography of Pheraian coins, then, follows broader trends and may well have nothing to do with the cult of Ennodia.⁴⁵ More importantly, to make his point, Graninger understates the pre-fifth-century evidence for the cult: the exceptionally abundant Geometric finds from the sanctuary, as well as the construction of a temple already in the Archaic period, may well indicate that the cult was very important for Pherai from early on, and there is no reason to see it as an elite affair.⁴⁶

The discussion over the role of Pheraian politics in the spread and development of the cult of Ennodia has diverted attention from the phenomenon itself: the close connection between city and goddess. Pherai, when compared

⁴⁴ Graninger (2009) 114ff.

⁴⁵ For these coins unions see section 5.4.

⁴⁶ For a discussion of who might have participated in the cult of Ennodia see section 3.4.2.

with many other Thessalian cities, is distinctive in the close relationships it claimed to have had with some gods, Ennodia notwithstanding. Admetus, for instance, got on exceptionally well with Heracles and Apollo. He received Apollo as befitted a god, when Zeus sentenced him to servitude under a mortal as punishment for the killing of Cyclops. He also welcomed Heracles in very difficult times when still in mourning for Alcestis' untimely death. Admetus' obliging hospitality to Heracles is first mentioned by Euripides, but his complex relationship with Apollo inspired generations of writers, starting with Pherekydes, and is found reflected in cults of Apollo elsewhere in the Greek world, at Sparta, Thera, and Eretria.⁴⁷ Although there is no clear evidence that the story of Admetus and Apollo was celebrated in a particular Pheraian cult,⁴⁸ the story may well have validated the close link between the city and the god. Pherai's close relationship with Ennodia was, according to tradition, even older. The goddess, myth told, was brought to Pherai as a baby at the time of Pheres, when the city was itself in its nascence. She had been found by Pheres' shepherds abandoned in the wild.⁴⁹ Ennodia and Pherai in a sense grew up together. No other Thessalian city claimed such a close, almost exclusive, connection with a single deity, who was prominent in its myths, decorated its coins, and whose sanctuary served as the *epiphanestatos topos* of the city. Ennodia seems to have been Pherai's 'patron divinity', or 'special god', a phenomenon which, although familiar from Athens or Argos, was not that common everywhere.⁵⁰ In this sense, that the cult became more and more emblematic for the city, there might indeed have been change in the course of the fifth and fourth centuries: what better god to stand for Pherai's outward-looking politics than Ennodia, the 'One on the Road'. But to move from this to the suggestion that the cult only now spread outside Thessaly, or that it only now acquired wider civic importance for Pherai, is too big a step.

Let us look at the cult in the context of broader developments, passing to the more general question of the impact of tyranny and imperialism on Pherai's religious life. Did the Pheraian tyrants promote popular gods or, in the more elaborate version of the argument, popular forms of worship?⁵¹ Alexander, the

⁴⁷ For the myth of Apollo and Admetus see Gantz (1993) i. 92, 195–6. Sparta: Eur. *Alc.* 447–51 for the myth of Alcestis being sung during the Karneia. Thera: *IG XII 3* nos. 512–15, 519, 869 refer to priests of Apollo whose name alternated between Theiokleidas and Admetus and claim descent partly from Thessaly. Eretria: Strabo 10.1.10 about Admetus founding the sanctuary of Apollo at Tamynai. Bakhuizen and Kreulen (1976) 84 suggest that this is a case of 'Strabonian short-circuit' and that the Admetus story refers to the sanctuary of Apollo in Thessalian Eretria.

⁴⁸ Note, however, that a heroon of Alcestis somewhere on the road that passed outside Pherai seems to be alluded in Eur. *Alc.* 995–1005. Cults of both Heracles and Apollo are epigraphically attested at Pherai: Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ Σ Lycoph. *Alex.* 1180; Σ Theoc. *Id.* 2.36.

⁵⁰ Cole (1995), who discusses the problem of how to identify a 'patron divinity'; R. Parker (2005) 396–7, 443–5 and (2011a) 86–7 put the emphasis on the special god's functions and his relationships with the other deities of the pantheon.

⁵¹ For a review of the argument in the case of Athens: R. Parker (1996) 67–89.

most long-lived of the Pheraean rulers, was, as mentioned earlier, a fervent worshipper of Dionysus, and on his coinage he depicted Ennodia and the famous Hypereia fountain.⁵² Dionysus and fountains fit well into the package of the 'good tyrant' and they could drag Ennodia with them. Nevertheless, Alexander's 'personal' relationship with Dionysus of Pagasai opens up various questions concerning the role of other Pheraians in the cult, while the depiction of nymphs is generally a popular theme of Thessalian coinage at the time.⁵³ Be that as it may, one Pheraean-inspired festive celebration, Jason's organization of the Pythia of 371, did become notorious and could be taken to suggest that the Pheraean tyrants (or Jason, at least) had, just as their Archaic predecessors, a soft spot for spectacles. According to Xenophon's description, Jason wanted the whole Thessalian army to parade to Delphi bringing sacrifices of the most beautiful animals, which would have been selected after intercity competition. More than 10,000 cows and 1,000 goats were gathered.⁵⁴ Large-scale sacrifices seem, however, to have been considered the Thessalian way of doing things, hardly the deed of a revolutionary Pheraean tyrant.⁵⁵ Indeed Xenophon notes that it was because of the cities' eager response that all these animals were collected. What must have caused alarm at Delphi was not the great number of cows parading but the army that was accompanying them. The military overtone, to which I will return, may well have been an addition to the festival.

We stay for the moment with Jason's request to the Thessalian cities to send contributions to the festival. We have already touched on some of the possible ways through which Pherai could have interfered in the religious life of other subordinate settlements, such as by implanting its own cults, or by appropriating and interfering in the cults of the subordinate community. A hegemonic city could also demand from its subordinates offerings or tithes. Jason obviously had the power to ask for sacrificial animals from the Thessalian cities, but Xenophon is careful to note that Jason only asked for modest offerings and, in any case, these were sent not to Pherai itself but to Delphi.⁵⁶ Other than this piece of evidence there is only some slight and uncertain evidence which could indicate that Pherai might have been promoting the sanctuary of Ennodia as a Panthessalian centre of worship. It consists of a fourth-century

⁵² Coins: Wartenberg (1994).

⁵³ Nymphs on coins: Imhoof-Blumer (1908) 57ff; Moustaka (1983) 47ff. There is some obscure evidence for building works at the famous fountain: Béquignon (1937) 24 mentions a circular wall of uncertain date.

⁵⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.29.

⁵⁵ At least by as late a source as Porph. *Abst.* 2.15, who comments on how Apollo might prefer the simple offerings of a poor man to the hecatombs of the Thessalians. But other earlier sources also comment on the Thessalians' gluttonous appetite, compulsive meat-eating, and special way of dividing the meat: see section 6.1.

⁵⁶ For Thessaly's relationship to Delphi see section 5.5.

inscription, discussed at some length in Chapter 2, which records the bestowal of *proxenia* to a Euboian by the Thessalians when the office of *prostasia* was held by the groups of Sorsikidai and Kotilidai.⁵⁷ If the inscription was indeed set up in the sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai, then we could build around it a narrative linking the sanctuary of the goddess to Pherai's imperial plans. Since the evidence is very uncertain I leave the matter at that.

Even though we cannot be precise and talk about the 'tyrants' religious policy' or 'the religious aspects of Pheraian imperialism', still we can vaguely trace the marks that Pherai's increasingly outward-looking and warlike politics left on its landscape. By the mid-fourth century a famous *pandocheion* (lodge) existed outside the city on the road that linked Pagasai with inland Thessaly.⁵⁸ If the various architectural members collected at the Magoula Agrokepiou are indeed to be associated with it, then the lodge was either built during the fourth century, or at least seriously renovated then.⁵⁹ A new kind of monument, proxeny decrees inscribed on bronze, started being displayed in the main sanctuary of Ennodia in the same broad area. Elsewhere in Thessaly this kind of document appears from the third century onwards.⁶⁰ And, according to Euripides, Admetus' most exceptional quality was his hospitality.⁶¹ The Pheraian rulers, it could be argued, were promoting an image of Pherai as the ever hospitable city. But the string of forts established at the same time around Pherai should remind us how fragile this hospitable haven was.⁶² Moreover, Jason reputedly employed large numbers of mercenaries in his army and the presence of foreign men-at-arms must have been a common, perhaps not always pleasant, sight at fourth-century Pherai.

Sanctuaries like those of the Dioskouroi and Ennodia, both located on the main road linking Pherai with the outside world, may from Jason's time have been more often visited by foreigners, mercenaries included.⁶³ And a military overtone might have been added to various festivals. An anecdote of Polyaeus tells the story of Jason offering a *xenia* celebration to the Dioskouroi after a battle during which the twin brothers had suddenly appeared at his side.⁶⁴ Ennodia too, we saw in a previous chapter, was worshipped in

⁵⁷ Section 2.1. ⁵⁸ Dem. 19.158.

⁵⁹ PAE (1910) 231; P. Chrysostomou (1983). According to another suggestion (AD 53 (1998) Chron. 433) a recently excavated fourth-century/Hellenistic building complex at Hagios Georgios could be either a farmstead or the *pandocheion*.

⁶⁰ See section 2.3.2.

⁶¹ Other versions of the story seem to have existed: Callim. *Ap.* 49–50 refers to Apollo being in love with Admetus. For Euripides' possible connection with Thessaly see section 6.1.

⁶² For the various forts around Pherai: di Salvatore (1994).

⁶³ Since the Dioskoureion is not excavated and the Classical finds from the sanctuary of Ennodia are very few, it is hard to substantiate this suggestion. But there is clear evidence that by the fourth century the Dioskoureion was known outside Thessaly: Dem. 19.158; as was the Pheraian cult of Ennodia: see the evidence discussed by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 85–8, 200–7.

⁶⁴ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.1.3.

relationship with military achievements and we may wonder whether this was a new element in her persona.

As we move away from the north part of Pherai, where the city put on its public face, the drums of victory song fade away. A small humble shrine to Ennodia was established in the course of the fifth century at the locality Alepotrypes on the south edge of the city.⁶⁵ Another small Classical shrine has been discovered at the fort on the Malouka hill. The finds make no reference to war, victory, and power. The terracotta female figurines rather evoke a world with 'female values' and the kourotrophic figures express a longing for security.⁶⁶ Faction, murder, and siege befell Pherai after the death of Jason, until the city finally surrendered to Philip. Around the middle of the fourth century a marble altar was set up on the acropolis. The monument already had on it the marks of history: it seems to have been broken and restored in antiquity and the inscriptions engraved on its long front side were twice erased and rewritten. The inscriptions, three in a row, gave in differential order the names of six goddesses: Ennodia, Athena, Hestia, Themis, Demeter, and Aphrodite. Another similar monument, we may assume, with the names of six male gods must have stood nearby, the whole forming an altar to the twelve gods of the city: a symbol of unity and familial peace in a long-divided city.⁶⁷

Continuing our tour of Thessaly westward, our next stop is Pharsalos. Pharsalos comes out of Aristotle's *Politics* as an island of political consensus and moderation in the midst of a sea of factional, dynastical, and tyrannical Thessalian cities. Aristotle treats Pharsalos as an example of a stable oligarchy, in that the ruling classes had a good understanding among themselves.⁶⁸ We know of several noble Pharsalian families, such as the so-called Echekratids, Daochids, and the Menonids; perhaps at Pharsalos, unlike Larisa and Kranon, where we only hear of the Aleuads and Scopads, more people got to have their voice heard: the political culture of the city may well have encouraged deliberation and consensus.⁶⁹ It is remarkable in this respect that one of the earliest inscriptions from Pharsalos records a dedication to Aphrodite Peitho, of Persuasion, by a man called DaFon.⁷⁰ Aphrodite's persuasive skills could be

⁶⁵ Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990).

⁶⁶ AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 228; AD 45 (1990) *Chron.* 210; Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990) 58; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 111.

⁶⁷ For the monument see Miller (1974), whose reconstruction, though, is rather fanciful. Long (1987) 205–6 discusses the possible historical context of the monument. Georgoudi (1998b) for the twelve gods as a symbol of unity.

⁶⁸ Arist. *Pol.* 1306^a calls Pharsalos an ὁμονοῦσα ὀλιγαρχία.

⁶⁹ For Pharsalos as a moderate oligarchy see n. 40.

⁷⁰ IG IX 2 236; Decourt (1995) no. 67, who, however, also raises the possibility that DaFon could have been a woman.

invoked anywhere, from the bedroom to the council-room.⁷¹ In the light, however, of the fact that several other Thessalian fifth-century inscribed dedications were offered in some official context, it seems that DaFon had the latter in mind.⁷²

Theopompos presents us with a rather different, and perhaps more popular, image of the Pharsalians. For him they were like the rest of the Thessalians, and actually worse than all of them put together: lazy, heavy drinkers, and extravagant.⁷³ Theopompos' own agenda notwithstanding, Anacreon, the poet who sung the blessings of wine more than anyone else, had found Pharsalos an inspiring place in which to work. Appropriately, an epigram he composed to accompany a public dedication by his patron Echekratidas celebrated the god of wine. It read as follows: 'to your pleasure Dionysus and to be a fine ornament for the city I was set up by Echekratidas, ruler of Thessaly'.⁷⁴

There was undoubtedly yet another, more romantic, picture of Pharsalos going around: this was once the heart of Phthia, Achilles' homeland. For centuries the inhabitants of Pharsalos seem to have grown up with stories of Achilles.⁷⁵ The earliest evidence, two Attic black-figure vases decorated with scenes related to the life story of Achilles, the funeral games in honour of Patroklos and the fight over the dead body of Patroklos, goes back to the first half of the sixth century. The makers of the pots were masters of the art: Sophilos and the workshop of Exekias respectively. The precise context of Sophilos' vase is not known and there is some confusion concerning the general area where it was collected.⁷⁶ The pot made in the manner of Exekias ended its lifecycle as a cherished private possession of some powerful

⁷¹ For Aphrodite Peitho: Pirenne-Delforge (1991); R. Parker (1996) 234; Wallensten (2003) 141, who also notes that it is not clear whether Peitho is used as an epithet of Aphrodite, or is mentioned as a separate deity, in the dedication from Pharsalos.

⁷² Patterns in Thessalian inscribed dedications and their importance as votive offerings are discussed in section 1.4.1a.

⁷³ Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 49 = Ath. 527a. And for Theopompos' 'agenda': Flower (1994) 121ff.

⁷⁴ *Anth. Pal.* 6.142 (= fr. 107 Diehl). For the possible association between Echekratidas and Pharsalos see section 2.2.

⁷⁵ For centuries: other scholars argue that Achilles and his circle received 'special emphasis' during the fourth century, because of Alexander the Great's preference for the hero. Philostr. *Her.* 52.3–54.1 mentions that the Thessalians reinstituted an old *theoria* to Achilles' tomb at Sigeion during Alexander's reign, but he also mentions that individual cities (Pharsalos included?) had never stopped sending offerings. There are, of course, problems with the historical value of this source: Radet (1925); Rutherford (2009b). To the pre-fourth century evidence for Achilles' importance to the Pharsalians cited below one could tentatively add the evidence of the 'New Simonides', if fr. 22W² is part of the Plataea poem: see the essays in Boedeker and Sider (2001) and the review by Huxley (2001).

⁷⁶ Béguignon (1932) 98 mentions that it was found at Palaiokastro-Derengli (modern Ambelia), a site 9 kilometres east of Pharsalos which was inhabited from the Submycenaean (?) to the Archaic period (for Ambelia see also J. D. Morgan (1983) 33–5; Decourt (1990a) 210–14). It has become, though, common to mention as site of provenance Ktouri, a village to the west of Pharsalos.

Pharsalian, deposited in an Archaic tholos tomb at the west edge of the city.⁷⁷ Somewhere to the north-east of Pharsalos was a well-known sanctuary of Themis, first mentioned by Euripides in the *Andromache*, and used often as a landmark in various historical narratives.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, nothing is known about the cult.⁷⁹ The Pharsalians advertised their special relationship to Achilles by dedicating at Delphi at some point, perhaps during the fourth century, statues of Achilles and Patroklos.⁸⁰ At around the same time the city decided to honour Homer with a statue set up somewhere in the city itself,⁸¹ and an inscription engraved at the cave on Mount Karaplas, a few kilometres to the south of the city, informed its visitors that, thanks to the wise Centaur Chiron, Pantalkes, the old 'overseer' of the cult, had found wisdom.⁸² Memories of Achilles and his circle of friends and family seem then to have accompanied rich and poor, in a variety of contexts, in the city and in the countryside, in the market place, at the grave, and in the sanctuary.

Pharsalos is indeed exceptional in that we have information both from the city and the countryside, and it is noteworthy that, as with Achilles and his circle, there is generally a close correlation in the cults observed. The finds from the acropolis votive deposits 1 and 2, which could be connected with a cult of Demeter, are very similar to those from the rural locality Ambelia. Zeus Thaulios was worshipped both on the hill of Hagia Paraskevi in the city and at the small fortified settlement at Xylades to the west.⁸³

In exploring this pattern we should dwell a little longer on the evidence from the cave of the Nymphs on Mount Karaplas. Excavations at the cave, conducted by an Italian team, yielded a number of small terracotta and bronze

⁷⁷ PAE (1951) 157–63; PAE (1952) 185–203; PAE (1953) 127–82; PAE (1954) 153–6; PAE (1955) 140–6; Marzollf (1994b) 267; Antonaccio (1995) 137. I am sceptical about the suggestion that the tomb was used for hero-cult, let alone that it was an actual heroon of Achilles. The fact that the tholos tomb was constructed over a destroyed Mycenaean chamber tomb hardly proves hero-cult.

⁷⁸ See also Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 1. For various suggestions concerning the localization of the Thetideion see Stählin (1924) 141–2; Pritchett (1969) ii. 114–17, 141; Decourt (1990a) 112, 208.

⁷⁹ There were various Themis cults all over the Greek world: Graf (1985) 351–3. Paus. 2.1.8 mentions altars and *temene* on the seashores where the Nereids, so presumably Themis too, were worshipped with Achilles, perhaps as sea-protecting deities. Whether this was her sole function is uncertain: for a more complex picture of Themis, which attributes to the goddess cosmological significance see Detienne and Vernant (1974) 129–66. Could Themis cult in inland Pharsalos have resonated with the tradition that Thessaly was once a sea? For the possible importance of the sea in the Thessalian world view see section 1.4.2 n. 130.

⁸⁰ Paus. 10.13.5. The date is suggested by the identification of the two warriors shown on some fourth-century Pharsalian coins with the statue group described by Pausanias: Head (1911) 306; Pomtow (1921) 195; Lavva (2001) 46.

⁸¹ IG IX 2 246 = Decourt (1995) no. 56.

⁸² Decourt (1995) no. 73.

⁸³ I have discussed the acropolis votive deposits and Zeus Thaulios in sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3.

finds, as well as two inscriptions engraved on the rock.⁸⁴ The text of the earliest, dated to the fifth century, is not very clear. According to one interpretation it refers to the dedication to the goddesses of something not specified by somebody called Pantalkes, as well as to the dedication of a laurel plant (?) by another person.⁸⁵ Almost a century later a second, much longer inscription was engraved. It welcomes everybody, men and women, boys and girls, to the place sacred to the Nymphs, Pan, Hermes, Apollo, and Heracles and to the cave of Chiron, Asclepius, and Hygeia. It goes on to mention how Pantalkes took care of the cave and how the Nymphs made him overseer of the cult. Heracles gave him strength in return; Apollo, his son—Asclepius we may assume—, and Hermes gave health and long life; Pan gave joy, laughter, and something described as *hybris dikaia*, while Chiron made him wise and a poet. Good fortune and joy, we read at last, should be the blessings for anyone who comes to the cave to pray and sacrifice, as well as forgetfulness of all evils and respite from wars. The openness of the cult, its relaxed and jovial character, the simplicity of the offerings, and Pantalkes' prominent role—he has been called a nympholept—distance the cult from 'official' religion.⁸⁶ Some scholars have entertained the idea that the clientele of the cave were peasants and shepherds living in the surrounding countryside.⁸⁷ It is noteworthy that a Late Hellenistic inscription, which recorded the award of citizenship and a plot of land to a group of individuals, described as co-citizens and co-warriors from the beginning, also came from the general area. These seem to have been hitherto excluded from citizenship; according to one interpretation, they might have been residents of a village community only loosely tied to Pharsalos.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, we should pay attention to the fact that several of the gods worshipped in the cave received cult also in the city. Chiron evokes the world of Achilles, which we have already seen had a longstanding popularity in the area. The earliest evidence we have for the cult of Hermes in Thessaly is a fifth-century stele from a location to the south of Pharsalos.⁸⁹ The stele does not mention the name of the god, only the epithets Brychaleios and Eriounios, but the epithet Eriounios is used in poetry for Hermes, and is attested as an epithet for Hermes in a later Hellenistic funerary inscription from Atrax.⁹⁰ The meaning of the epithet is obscure but, among the several interpretations

⁸⁴ Levi (1923–4) and for the inscriptions Comparetti (1921–2); Peek (1938) 18–27; Decourt (1995) nos. 72–3.

⁸⁵ See discussion in Decourt (1995) no. 72.

⁸⁶ For nympholepsy in general (with reference to Pantalkes) see Connor 1988.

⁸⁷ Decourt (1995) no. 73.

⁸⁸ Decourt (1995) no. 50. This inscription is discussed further in section 2.3.2.

⁸⁹ Decourt (1995) no. 69. ⁹⁰ Tziafalias (1984a) no. 76.

suggested for it, the one which explains it as ‘giver of blessings’ resonates with the gifts of Hermes to Pantalkes, health and longevity.⁹¹ Moreover, Pharsalos had an Asclepieium, perhaps also to be located somewhere on the south edge of the city.⁹² Last, but not least, it is important that the various votive finds from the cave, different kinds of terracotta together with small bronze objects, find a close parallel in the votive deposits on the slopes of the acropolis.⁹³ If the inscription from Rizi marks the new citizens of Pharsalos as long-time associates in war and politics, the evidence from the cave shows that they had long shared the same gods.

Pharsalos did not make the headlines as often as Larisa or Pherai, but it was still a powerful city in the region. Xenophon records that Jason of Pherai once told Polydamas, Pharsalos’ leading citizen, that if Pharsalos and her dependent poleis did not object he could easily become a *tagos* of the Thessalians.⁹⁴ In this passage Pharsalos’ control over the foreign policy of a number of other cities seems to be taken for granted. Some of them, we may assume, were Pharsalos’ closest neighbours, such as the settlements at Ktouri (identified with Euhydrion), Stavros-Gephyra (identified with Thetonion), or at Mega Monasteri (identified with Proerna). But there is evidence showing that Pharsalos’ control extended, at least at times, also further away, all over Achaia Phthiotis, but also perhaps over western Thessaly.⁹⁵ Did this ‘greater Pharsalos’ have a religious dimension? The evidence is not enough to allow any concrete discussion of the issue, but looking for patterns in the evidence, it is worth pointing out that Pharsalos’ ‘religious landscape’ seems to extend into the broader region. A cult of Demeter similar to that on the acropolis of Pharsalos and the rural community at Ambelia, was also practised at Mega Monasteri (Proerna) and the small community at Karpochori to the west. The figure of Athena depicted on Pharsalos’ first coinage, dated to around the middle of the fifth century, is also found on the contemporary coins of the western Thessalian city Kierion, and Athena in general was depicted on the coins of several western

⁹¹ Avagianou (1997) argues, though, that the Pharsalos stele was funerary and sees it as a precursor of the Hellenistic *stelai* to Hermes Chthonios. For this matter see section 6.2.

⁹² Section 3.4.1.

⁹³ Appendix 2. It is not clear whether all deposits were connected with the same cult. A cult of Demeter existed in the area, but the presence of other divine figures in the area should not be excluded. Deposit 3 contained figurines depicting a woman seated on a rock, in a stance which is usually characteristic of Demeter. But it has been argued that it could also be used for representations of heroines/nymphs: Langlotz (1951) 162–70 associates the motif with heroines and personifications of places and suggests that this was the posture of the statue of Larisa made by Telephanes. Contra: Biesantz (1965) 114–16.

⁹⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.8.

⁹⁵ Achaia Phthiotis and Pharsalos: Stählin (1924) 137. Halos: Dem. 11.1; 19.36; Pelinna: Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.2.19.

Thessalian cities.⁹⁶ And echoes of Phthia reverberated through Achaia Phthiotis in the south.⁹⁷

South-western Thessaly lacked the rich mythological associations of Pherai and Pharsalos. Strabo placed somewhere here the Homeric kingdom of the little-known Eurypylos, the son of Euaimon, who led, in the Catalogue of Ships, the inhabitants of Asterion and white-peaked Titanos.⁹⁸ Other late sources seem to identify Asterion, or to connect a hero called Asterion, with the settlement Peirasia, whose exact location is not certain but must have been close to the western edge of the Revenia hills, the mount Titanos of ancient traditions.⁹⁹ It may be that the identification of the kingdom of Eurypylos with south-western Thessaly was current in the Classical period. Methyilion, an ancient site which may have been located at Myrine in western Thessaly, may have depicted the hero Eurypylos on some of its fourth-century issues, if Heyman is right to read the letters *EYP* as the initials of his name, and not of some mint official, as seems to me more likely.¹⁰⁰

There is little, if any, evidence that the other settlements of the area, such as Kierion, Orthos, Thetonion, Kelaitha, Kallithera, Ichnai, and Phyllos, took pains to associate themselves with Eurypylos and his kingdom. Another major event, the invasion of the Thessalians, which had supposedly taken place a few years after the Trojan War, left a much stronger mark on the region. In the historical period south-western Thessaly formed the tetrad of Thessaliotis, which we should translate as 'the land where the Thessalians had lived'. The name alluded to a well-attested tradition which had the Thessalians first entering Thessaly here. According to one version of the story the area had previously been inhabited by the Boiotians, and the decisive battle between the Thessalians and the old population was fought at Arne.¹⁰¹ Arne was identified at least by the early fourth century with the city of Kierion, which depicted the nymph Arne on some of its issues.¹⁰² A few kilometres distant from Kierion, at

⁹⁶ See later in this section. Note also that the characteristic monuments with small round projections interpreted as imitations of *omphaloi*, or of cakes, have been found at Pharsalos, and other cities of Achaia Phthiotis and western Thessaly section 2.5.

⁹⁷ Stählin (1924) 152ff.

⁹⁸ Hom. *Il.* 2.734–6; Strabo 9.5.14.

⁹⁹ See in general Decourt (1990a) 162ff, who finally suggests the identification of Peirasia with the remains at Sykia.

¹⁰⁰ Coins: Heyman (1970) 123. Note however that the letters are inscribed not on the side on which the warrior is depicted, but on the other side next to the figure of a Nike. For the identification of Methyilion with the village Myrine and the finds from the area, which indicate the existence of a substantial settlement going back to the Archaic period: Decourt et al. (2004) 697 no. 402. Helly (1992) 85–7 locates Methyilion more generally between Kierion and Metropolis, close to Prodomos.

¹⁰¹ This and other traditions concerning the Thessalians are discussed further in section 5.2.

¹⁰² Rogers (1932) nos. 173, 173a, 176, and 177; Moustaka (1983) 48–9. The identification is secure because the inscription Arne can be read on some specimens next to the kneeling figure: see e.g. Biesantz (1965) pl. 72.10.

the modern locality of Philia, was the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, one of the most important landmarks of the area. The goddess was intertwined in the traditions of the Thessalo-Boiotian migrations, as it was told, already in the Late Archaic period, that the Boiotians had transferred her cult to Boiotia when they were expelled from Arne.¹⁰³ The first coins of the city of Kierion, minted around the middle of the fifth century, depicted the goddess Athena.¹⁰⁴ As very similar issues were minted at the same time by Pharsalos, it seems likely that the depiction aimed to evoke an Athena shared by both, rather than the local Athena Polias. Indeed, it might well have been the presence of the famous sanctuary that stimulated the common depiction of the goddess, otherwise rarely depicted on Thessalian civic coinage, on the coins of several other cities of south-western Thessaly, such as Methyilion, Orthos, Phaloreaia, and Peirasia, as well as of the north-western cities of Triikka and Pharkadon.¹⁰⁵

Several kilometres to the west of Kierion, at the locality Georgiko, there might be evidence for yet another cult connected with the traditions of the 'Thessalian invasion'. At the dromos of a Mycenaean tholos tomb, excavations revealed numerous Archaic finds, consisting mostly of terracotta figurines of riders and iron knives. Among the finds was a tile with the inscriptions *AIATHION*, which the excavator connected with the hero Aiatos, who according to a story reported by Polyaeus was the first Thessalian king to enter Thessaly.¹⁰⁶ The tomb lies just a short distance from the city of Metropolis. But this may have only been founded much later, perhaps during the fourth century, by the synoecism of several small communities. This raises several questions about who visited the tholos tomb. Did the cult attract worshippers from the wider area of western Thessaly, or perhaps from all over Thessaly? Or was it the cult of a small village community or even a kinship group?

A sensational recent discovery from the area has been the temple of Apollo recently excavated 2 kilometres to the west of Metropolis, at the locality Lianokokkala. The temple, according to the excavator, was built in

¹⁰³ For the cult of Athena Itonia and the sanctuary at Philia see more in section 5.3.

¹⁰⁴ These issues are not mentioned by Decourt et al. (2004) 693 no. 398, who have Kierion minting coins only from 400 BC onwards. They are, however, mentioned by Moustaka (1983) 104 no. 40 and Lavva (2001) 22.

¹⁰⁵ For the iconography of Athena on Thessalian coins: Moustaka (1983) 25–30; Lavva (2001) 34. I do not find convincing Lavva's suggestion that when Athena is shown with arms we should take her as Itonia, while unarmed as Polias. Note that the city of Orthos chose for the other side of its coins another 'Panthessalian' motif: the birth of Skyphios (see section 5.4).

¹⁰⁶ For the story of Aiatos: Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.44. For the excavations at Georgiko: AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 478–80; AD 53 (1998) *Chron.* 439; Intzesiloglou (2002b). R. Parker (2011a) 291 expresses some justified reservations concerning the reading of the inscription. Moreover, it is not clear from the reports what the function of inscribed tile was, since there is no evidence for any construction at the dromos of the tomb.

the middle of the sixth century and had the form of a Doric peripteral building (5 x 11).¹⁰⁷ The bronze statue of a hoplite, also dated to the mid-sixth century, found in the cella has been identified by the excavator as a cult statue of Apollo.¹⁰⁸ The military equipment of the statue, be it a cult statue or not, may indicate that memories of old wars were somehow elaborated in the cult, although we cannot tell whether these referred to the 'Thessalian invasion', or some other memorable event.¹⁰⁹ Tiles used in later repairs bear the inscription 'Metropoliton', and an honorary inscription was recently collected from the area, but since at the moment the *terminus post quem* for the synoecism of Metropolis remains the early fourth century, the questions about who was responsible for the building of the Archaic temple, and who visited the sanctuary remain, as in the case of the tholos tomb at Georgiko, open.¹¹⁰

A few other sanctuaries, less impressive than the one at Metropolis, have been unearthed in south-western Thessaly. At Prodomos, 3 kilometres west of Kierion, where a small settlement seems to have existed, four simple structures which contained various Late Archaic/Early Classical terracotta figurines of riders and seated females as well as kernoi have been excavated, while a votive deposit with several terracottas of the same date has been found at Karpochori, presumably the site of another small community.¹¹¹ The area has also yielded a few scattered inscribed dedications, some as early as the fifth century, such as one offered to Aphrodite by a certain Eudikos found on the hill Choirinokastro, south of Paliouri;¹¹² another found at Vlochos was offered to Poseidon by a man called Kinon.¹¹³ Both Choirinokastro and Vlochos might have been small fortified settlements.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ AD 49 (1994) *Chron.* 331–3; AD 50 (1995) *Chron.* 375–6; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 347–8; AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 475–6; Intzesiloglou (2002a).

¹⁰⁸ Intzesiloglou (2000) who draws parallels with the armed statue of Apollo at Amyklai.

¹⁰⁹ I also wonder about the name of the city: whose 'mother city' did Metropolis claim to have been? Note also that Metropolis is exceptional among Thessalian cities in portraying on its coins a river-god: Moustaka (1983) 53, 127 no. 138. Could it be a reference to the river Acheloos, which marked, in the story of Aiatos mentioned earlier, the entrance point to Thessaly?

¹¹⁰ Honorary decree: AD 54 (1999) *Chron.* 410. In Decourt et al. (2004) 697 no. 403 the temple seems to be identified as that of Apollo Hekatombios, whose cult is attested at Metropolis by the Basaidai inscription (at length discussed in section 2.2). The reason for this identification is not clear to me.

¹¹¹ Prodomos: AD 39 (1984) *Chron.* 148; AD 40 (1985) *Chron.* 196; AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 269. Karpochori: AD 30 (1975) *Chron.* 197–8.

¹¹² IG IX 2 271.

¹¹³ Unpublished, mentioned by Decourt (1995) 1 no. 1.

¹¹⁴ For Choirinokastro: Stählin (1924) 147; PAE (1911) 348; Helly (1992) 72. The identification and status of Vlochos is uncertain: Stählin (1924) 134 and Decourt (1990a) 120–1, 160–2 identify it as a city, Peirasia and Limnaion respectively; but there is no hard evidence that Limnaion was considered a polis: it is not included in Decourt et al. (2004). Vlochos has yielded Archaic inscriptions, but most urban remains are Hellenistic and later.

Two further sanctuaries known from literary sources were dedicated to Themis Ichnaia and Apollo (or perhaps Zeus?) Phyllios.¹¹⁵ Attempts to identify them with remains on the ground (somewhere to the east of Kierion and close to the foot of the Revenia mountains) remain speculative.¹¹⁶ Both epithets might be topographical, but it is uncertain whether Ichnai and Phyllos were cities and not general toponyms, which just designated the area around the sanctuary. The epithet Phyllios could be connected with a mountain called Phylleion, and a city called Ichnai is well attested in Macedonia, but not in Thessaly.¹¹⁷ Stephanus Byzantius combines a topographic with a functional explanation of the epithet Ichnaia linking it with the word *ἵχνος* (trace); he tells us that it was at Ichnai that Themis was tracked down by Zeus.¹¹⁸ Hesychius further mentions that Apollo had an oracle there.¹¹⁹ It is uncertain whether Stephanus Byzantius and Hesychius refer to the Thessalian cult and whether the oracular Apollo worshipped at Ichnai is the same as Apollo (?) Phyllios.¹²⁰ We are left simply with the fact that the two cults seem to have been important, as indicated by Strabo's mention, by their both being called by topographic epithets (which usually indicate cults that had become renowned and attracted worshippers beyond their immediate locality), and, finally, by the fact that the cult of Apollo(?) Phyllios seems to have given its name to the month Phyllikos in the Thessalian second-century calendar.¹²¹ But it is impossible to be more specific about their catchment area or associate them with a specific community.

South-western Thessaly, then, has given us evidence, on the one hand, for several cults which we cannot associate with particular communities and for which we have reasons, in some cases more convincing than in others, to think

¹¹⁵ Strabo 9.5.14. Apollo (?): the name of the god is missing from the manuscript. Zeus could be another option: he, too, was associated in myth and cult with Themis and, specifically with Themis Ichnaia, and the epithet Phyllios could refer to the Phylleion Mountain: see later in this section.

¹¹⁶ Ichnai: Stählin (1924) 135 and Decourt (1990a) 177 avoid the matter cautiously. Helly (1992) 90 places Ichnai further to the south close to Dolopia at Ekkara. Phyllos: see n. 117.

¹¹⁷ Neither Ichnai nor Phyllos fulfil the Copenhagen Polis Centre criteria for polis status, so they have not been included as poleis in Decourt et al. (2004). But Helly (1992) 90 believes Ichnai was a city and identifies it with Ekkara, so does Decourt for Phyllos, which he locates at Magoula Paliambela close to Kato Orphana: Decourt (1990a) 148–52, 174–80. For the Macedonian city called Ichnai see Hatzopoulos and Paschidis (2004) 802 no. 538.

¹¹⁸ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἰχναία*. The epithet Ichnaia for Themis is first attested in *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 94. See Clay (1989) 40; Stafford (2000) 70 n. 43. Later writers explained it by reference to the ability of Themis to watch and know everything (*Σ' Lycoph. Alex.* 129), and as such it is also attested as an epithet of Nemesis (*Anth. Pal.* 9.405).

¹¹⁹ Hesych. *ι* 1153.

¹²⁰ Strabo's passage, which admittedly is nowhere as precise as we would wish, seems to associate the two sanctuaries with two different places. Decourt (1995) no. 30 tenuously suggests that a second-century AD funerary stele of a woman described as *hieromantis* (sacred prophetess) might be related to the presence of an oracular sanctuary in the area, that of Apollo Phyllios.

¹²¹ Graninger (2011c) 105.

might have been of wide renown and have attracted a wide clientele; and, on the other, for various cults dispersed in small settlements. If the pattern is correct, then we should try to think of some explanation for it. The tradition that western Thessaly had been the first Thessalian territory conquered by the Thessalians could explain some of the 'famous' cults but certainly not all. The theory that the western plain of Thessaly had different social structures from the eastern could also be relevant.¹²² While in the east large settlements existed from early times and/or the process of urbanization quickened during the Classical period, in the west small village-like communities might have existed for longer periods. Such an explanation could account for both patterns. We could imagine a dispersed settlement pattern, where the difference between secondary and primary settlements was not marked and where these small village-like communities periodically gathered for cult and other business in communal sanctuaries.

Perhaps we can also discern a more specific local colouring expressed in some of the cults. It could, for instance, be suggested that the inhabitants had a more militaristic ethos, reinforced by the traditions concerning the invasions and expressed in the cult of Apollo at Metropolis and that of Athena Itonia.¹²³ As a counter, Aphrodite's cult might also have been exceptionally prominent in the area. In the synoecized city of Metropolis, Aphrodite's sanctuary was one of the most prominent locations where city decrees were displayed. Metropolis' cult was at least partly shaped on a pre-existing cult of Aphrodite at the small community of Onthyron. The early fifth-century dedication to the goddess from Choirinokastro also points to her general popularity in the area, as does a gold ring in the Benaki Museum which bears the inscription in the nominative 'Aphrodite of the Kierians', a hint perhaps at competition with their Metropolitan neighbours.¹²⁴ We know very little about how Aphrodite was imagined in the area. The fact that the goddess, both at Onthyron and then at Metropolis, found the smell of pig thighs appetizing marked her out from her other, more difficult to please, avatars.¹²⁵ Such ritual impurities, however, even if of a different kind, seem to have characterized Aphrodite's cult elsewhere in Thessaly, as her title Aphrodite Anosia, with which she was worshipped at Larisa, shows.¹²⁶ The scene depicted on the gold ring in the

¹²² So thought e.g. Westlake (1935) 14. This assumption is often found in the works of other scholars.

¹²³ C. Morgan (2003) 141 notices how 'the limited cult evidence available from western Thessaly shows such military interests.'

¹²⁴ Segall (1938) 73–4 no. 88; Moustaka (1983) 40; Decourt (1995) no. 27, who, however, thinks it might have been a fake.

¹²⁵ Strabo 9.5.17.

¹²⁶ Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 235–6, 301 n. 11, 442, who also expresses the opinion that Aphrodite Anosia had something to do with death. This death-related aspect of Aphrodite was, for Pirenne-Delforge, a characteristic of her Thessalian cults. The argument relies heavily on

Benaki Museum, which portrays a naked figure standing in front of a temple while a shield and a helmet rested on the ground, could indicate that Aphrodite's engagement with the sphere of war was more prominent in the area than say at Pharsalos, where her persuasive skills in politics prevailed.¹²⁷

This suggestion can be made to resonate with the story of Aiatos, reputedly the first Thessalian king to enter Thessaly and a figure who may have been worshipped very close to Metropolis, at the tholos tomb at Georgiko. When Aiatos' army arrived on the banks of the river Acheloos, so the story went, his sister Polykleia asked to be carried ashore. Like a gentle brother, Aiatos left his arms on the ground and lifted Polykleia up. As the couple approached the opposite shore Polykleia suddenly jumped from her brother's arms and landed first on the ground, therefore fulfilling Apollo's oracle that the first to step foot on the opposite land of Acheloos would rule the area. Aiatos did not waste time getting angry. He marvelled, instead, at the shrewdness of his sister and exhibited quite some shrewdness himself, as he decided to marry her at once, lest the kingdom should pass to another man. In the story of Aiatos, then, the culmination of the Thessalian invasion is not some momentous battle leading to a treaty signed with the previous inhabitants. Remarkably, weapons are laid down and the kingdom is won through a marriage, an agreement reached between man and wife.

Unfortunately, there is very little pre-Hellenistic evidence from north-west Thessaly, where the important settlements of Triikka, Gomphoi, Pelinna, and Atrax were, although poets told that Asclepius' two sons Machaon and Podaleirios had once lived here,¹²⁸ as had Doros and his Dorians, Heracles' descendants,¹²⁹ and finally Perrhaibians and Euboians from Histiaia, thanks to whom the region's name changed from Doris to Hestiaioitis.¹³⁰ The most exceptional pre-Hellenistic find from this little-excavated area is a votive relief of fourth-century date found at Gomphoi that depicted the washing of the feet

the funerary interpretation of the cult of Pasikrata at Demetrias (see section 6.2 for fuller discussion).

¹²⁷ Pironti (2007) esp. 209ff explores the complex relationship of Aphrodite with war. In the case at hand I am not thinking in terms of a 'violent militaristic Aphrodite', hence the expression 'as a counter', but more in terms of the interconnections between war and marriage as formulated by Vernant (1968) 12ff.

¹²⁸ Hom. *Il.* 2.729–31. All evidence for the cult of Asclepius at Triikka dates from the Hellenistic period onwards (see section 3.4.1).

¹²⁹ Hdt. 1.56; Andron of Halikarnassos *FGrH* 10 F 16; Diod. 4.37.3; 4.58.6; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7. A few Hellenistic dedications to Apollo Doreios come from the Perrhaibian cities Pythion and Azoros: Tziafalias (1985a) no. 37 (end of second/beginning of first century); Lucas (1992a) 267 no. 9 (end of third/beginning of second century) might come from Perrhaibian Azoros; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 76 mention two more unpublished dedications from Pythion. Their assertion that the epithet first appears in the late fourth century is not supported by the published material at least, all of which dates from later.

¹³⁰ Strabo 9.5.17; Steph. Byz. s.v. Δώριον.

of Odysseus.¹³¹ Unfortunately, with no dedicatory inscription or archaeological context, we can hardly tell in whose sanctuary this unique relief was set up. The choice of theme is puzzling and difficult to associate with any of the traditions mentioned earlier. Odysseus has no obvious connections with the area. Perhaps his presence in Thessaly is to be explained via Thesprotia where several of his *nostoi* have him travel after his return from Troy. Thesprotia after all was the Thessalians' country of origin, and landmarks of this imaginary fatherland were to be found in Thessaly.¹³² But there are other interpretations that avoid this twisted road: the theme could simply have been chosen by a dedicant yearning the return of a long-gone loved one.¹³³

As we search for a trace of the Thessalians' distant homeland the road takes us away from Thessaly's western borders, back to its heart, up on the Revenia hills running across its middle separating the two plains. Here we find two cities: Krannon, the more famous of the two, largely because of the ridiculously wealthy family of the Scopads, and the less well-known Scotoussa. The city of Krannon was believed to have once been ancient Ephyra, a place located in Thesprotia in western Greece. We first hear about it from Kineas, a fourth-century local historian.¹³⁴ Ephyra was not just any place. It boasted an oracle of the dead and a profusion of herbs that made Medea want to visit it.¹³⁵ We may wonder whether Krannon boosted its reputation as ancient Ephyra by maintaining the mythical claims to an oracle of the dead and to being a land rich in herbs. Thessaly was associated with necromantic rites in Roman literature, but there is no earlier evidence.¹³⁶ Its reputation as a land rich in herbs goes back to the Classical period, although when a particular locality is singled out it is usually Mount Pelion and the Pindus mountain range, not Krannon. Nevertheless, various medical associations seem to have developed around Krannon, which might not have been irrelevant to her claimed past as Ephyra. It is worth noting, for instance, that Krannon is often cited in Hippocratic treatises as one of the places where doctors practised;¹³⁷ and the local sanctuary of Asclepius was considered somehow central to the identity of

¹³¹ C. Robert (1900); Biesantz (1965) 32 L57.

¹³² Malkin (1998) 126–34.

¹³³ For the possible increase in dedications made to god-protectors of sea travelling see section 4.3.

¹³⁴ Kineas *FGrH* 603 F 1; Apollodoros *FGrH* 244 F 179. But the tradition may have been older: Ephyra's connection with Thessaly, even if not with Krannon specifically, went back to at least the early fifth century, as Pindar in his *Pythian* 10th refers to a chorus of Ephyraioi performing the ode (for which group see section 2.5).

¹³⁵ Hom. *Od.* 1.259–61; 2.328; Strabo 8.3.5; Ogden (2001) 46.

¹³⁶ Despite a supposed long-standing connection between Thessalians and necromancy, for which see Eitrem (1941) 61 n. 1; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 133; Avagianou (2002a) 101–2, all relevant evidence dates to Roman times: see Ogden (2001) 23, 143–7.

¹³⁷ Chang (2005).

the city, since it was one of its *epiphanestatoi topoi* serving as a repository of civic decrees.¹³⁸ Helly has further argued that some agricultural installations on the road from Larisa to Krannon were known to contemporaries as the 'sheds of Hippocrates', perhaps due to memories of the famous doctor working in the area.¹³⁹

Another local highlight of Krannon was a picturesque weather ritual. Antigonos Karystios mentions that the city had as an emblem a bronze cart on which two crows were seated, and in time of drought they shook this cart and prayed to the god for rain.¹⁴⁰ The ritual is depicted on fourth-century coins which show the cart with one or two crows perched on them. A vessel, an amphora or a lebes, is also resting on it. This detail, which was omitted from Antigonos Karystios' description, is central in modern interpretations of how the ritual might have worked: as the cart was shaken the water would spill from the vessel and act as a rain charm.¹⁴¹ A stele offered to Zeus Notios of fourth-century date might well express similar weather control interests.¹⁴² Although weather prediction and control would be important in any agriculturally based society, similar rites were usually associated with mountain cults. In any case, we may wonder why the weather acquired such prominence in Krannon's world view. While one cannot exclude that historical factors might have been in play—one could, for instance, speculate that the ritual might have been introduced after a drought that hit the place especially hard—this sort of explanation is not incompatible with other types of interpretation that emphasize more long-term causation. It is worth pointing out that both of Krannon's idiosyncrasies, the proliferation of herbs and the picturesque weather ritual, bring mountains into mind. Krannon is indeed exceptional among the Thessalian cities in not being built on a hill in the middle of the plain, as many of them were, but on a series of hills, the so-called Revenia that separated the eastern and western plains of Thessaly.¹⁴³ Viewed from the

¹³⁸ IG IX 2 461; PAE (1915) 172; Béquignon (1935) 71–3 no. 4.

¹³⁹ Helly (1970b) 251 ll. 21, 267–9. But Salviat and Vatin (1971) 34 reject this restoration and prefer to read the word *hipparcheion*, which is also mentioned a few lines later.

¹⁴⁰ Antig. Car. Hist. Mir. 15; Callim. fr. 408 (Pfeiffer); Mir. Ausc. 126.

¹⁴¹ Cook (1914–40) ii. 831–3, who adds, quoting Frazer, that the rattling of the car was probably meant to imitate thunder; Rogers (1932) 68; Moustaka (1983) 19–20.

¹⁴² Zeus Notios: AD 16 (1960) Chron. 182 found 60 metres south of the acropolis; Heinz (1998) 178 no. 17 dates it to the fourth century. See also P. Chrysostomou (1989–91) 24–5. Note that Zeus cult is in general well attested at Krannon: AD 29 (1973–4) Chron. 572; Heinz (1998) 169 no. 1 for another fourth-century votive relief from Krannon showing Zeus seated on a throne and holding a bird; AD 43 (1988) Chron. 280 for a stele with the inscription Zeus Megas and a relief depiction, of which only the thunder survives; Heinz (1998) 176 no. 14 suggests a Late Hellenistic date.

¹⁴³ Farnell (1896–1909) i. 302 for the epithet Kранаia meaning 'the one on the head of the hill'. But this association may not have been made in antiquity: Kineas FGrH 603 F 1 refers to an eponymous hero called Krannon, while Plin. HN. 31.17; Ath. 42c could indicate a belief that the city owed its name to warm springs.

flatness of the plain, Krannon's hilly landscape, it could be argued, made it a surrogate mountain-city, ideal, thus, for weather rituals and herbal growth.

Close to Krannon and almost midway between Pherai and Pharsalos was Scotoussa, its fate often linked with that of these more powerful cities. We do not hear of any influential local family, of the likes of the Aleuads, Scopads, or Daochids. Back then, as today, the most famous Scotoussian was Polydamas, the wrestler and Olympic victor of 408 BC.¹⁴⁴ His statue by Lysippos was set up at Olympia at some point in the second half of the fourth century. Its base, which was found during excavations, showed Polydamas achieving various deeds other than strictly speaking athletic ones, such as killing a lion with his bare hands, and slaying three of the 'Immortals' at the Persian court.¹⁴⁵

While being the hometown of Polydamas might have been pivotal to Scotoussa's self-esteem, the city had other things to boast of. As we learn from two fourth-century Thessalian historians, this was once the original location of the sanctuary of Zeus Dodonaïos.¹⁴⁶ The claim, if taken seriously and to its full extent, would make Scotoussa some kind of holy of holies, since the sanctuary of Dodona was considered the oldest sanctuary of Zeus and indeed the oldest sanctuary on Greek soil, founded by the Pelasgians.¹⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it does not seem to have been taken this seriously: we have no reason to assume that the tradition gave the city any kind of special aura, or that pilgrims flocked to the place. We cannot even be sure whether the tradition was supported by a ritual link between the two sanctuaries, in the form of the dispatch of a regular *theoria*, although this may be a case of our documentation falling short.¹⁴⁸

The tradition concerning Dodona gave Scotoussa a place in Thessalian space-time. It tied the place to the north, west, and south, connecting it with the domain of Phthia through Homer who made Achilles pray to Zeus Dodonaïos; it also linked it with western Greece, the putative homeland of

¹⁴⁴ Moretti (1957) no. 348. Polydamas is mentioned by various authors, such as Dio Chrys. *Or.* 78.20; Lucian *Pro imag.* 19; Paus. 6.5.1; Philostr. *Gym.* 134, 14; 150, 18; 168, 23 (Jüthner); Pl. *Resp.* 1.338c.

¹⁴⁵ Paus. 6.5.1. describes the statue and the base. For the base found during excavations at Olympia see Lippold (1950) 278, 284. It is uncertain who set it up: Tauber (1997) 240–3 suggests it was dedicated by the Thessalian *koinon* at the time of Daochos.

¹⁴⁶ Kineas *FGrH* 603 F 2; Soudas *FGrH* 602 F 11; Strabo 7.7.12. Kowalzig (2007) 343–9 for the Thessalo-Dodonian connections going back to the time of Pindar.

¹⁴⁷ Dodona as a Pelasgian foundation: Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 119, 142; Hes. fr. 319 (M/W); Strabo 9.2.4. See also Briquel (1984) 427–38, 510–13.

¹⁴⁸ Our only evidence for Thessalians (in the broadest sense) at Dodona is a consultation by the city of Mondaia, which seems to have been considered a Perrhaibian city. The consultation concerned the money of the sanctuary of Themis, which was Mondaia's *epiphanestatos topos*, where decrees were customarily set up. Consultation: Parke (1967) no. 4. *Epiphanestatos topos*: Helly (1973b) no. 69. Given that Themis was important at Dodona, perhaps there was more behind the choice to consult this particular oracle.

the Thessalians, if by alluding to an opposite movement this time from Thessaly to the west rather than the other way round; and finally with the Pelasgians who were supposed to have lived once all over Thessaly, and especially in the north-eastern district of the region, which was called Pelasgiotis thanks to them. Other sanctuaries of Scotoussa seem to presuppose this complex mythical background. From a Hellenistic inscription we learn of a sanctuary called Heleneion. Parker seems to be right to connect the sanctuary with the Trojan hero-seer Helenos, rather than with Helen, pointing out that, although no tradition brings Helenos to Thessaly, his connections on the one hand with Achilles' son Neoptolemos and on the other with Molossia resonate with Scotoussa's claims to Dodona.¹⁴⁹ The same inscription also refers to a gate call Perseia, and the publisher's suggestion that it was named after the Argive hero Perseus is very attractive.¹⁵⁰ As we shall see later, through Pelasgos, who was genealogically strongly linked to Argos, Pelasgian traditions blended with Argive in Thessaly.

Anyone familiar with Homer would know that all roads to Larisa passed through Perrhaibian/Lapith territory.¹⁵¹ Lapiths and Perrhaibians were different people, but their supposed geographical distribution brought them close to one another. There was more storytelling about the Lapiths, an old race of men, who were, in some accounts, the offspring of Apollo and the nymph Stilbe. They were particularly adept warriors, and their most famous deed was their battle against the Centaurs.¹⁵² According to Homer's influential testimony, north-eastern Thessaly and part of Perrhaibia had once been inhabited by Lapiths.¹⁵³ The Homeric kingdom of the Lapiths Leonteus and Polypoites included places like Argissa and Gyrtone, both identified in later periods with settlements close to Larisa, as well as Olosson which was later considered a Perrhaibian city. Thanks to its Lapith past, Argissa, we learn from late sources, was also known as Leontinoi.¹⁵⁴ Late sources also associate the Lapith Koronos, son of the famous Kaineus, with Gyrtone.¹⁵⁵ Other settlements of

¹⁴⁹ Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) 190 B ll. 47 and 197, where she associates it with Helen of Sparta. Parker (forthcoming) appendix no. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) 191 B ll. 73, 190: the name after the adjective *Περσεῖαν* is omitted. The editor suggests *γᾶν* (land) or *κράναν* (fountain) as other possibilities.

¹⁵¹ The myths I am dealing with here, and their importance for the area, have been discussed by various other scholars, albeit from a different perspective. Sakellariou (2009) believes that the stories can be used to reconstruct the history of the area and that they closely correspond with the population changes in the area during prehistoric times. Sordi (1958a) 25–8; Helly (1973a) 59–60; Decourt (1998) make a distinction between mythical and real population groups and argue that the first were just mythical projections of the real ones (i.e. the Pelasgians of the Perrhaibians and Ainians; the Lapiths of the Thessalians). I do not espouse any of these approaches. From the point of view of ancient Thessalians all these groups were 'real', while different settlements tended to stress to different degrees their connection with one or the other.

¹⁵² Sakellariou (2009) 605–50.

¹⁵³ Hom. *Il.* 2.738–47.

¹⁵⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀργούρα*.

¹⁵⁵ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1. 57–65; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.45.

north-eastern Thessaly had connections with a Lapith past via eponymous heroes. The city Mopsion, on the banks of the river Titaresios, was named after Mopsos, a Lapith seer and an Argonaut, and Elateia might well have been named after Elatos, the father of Kaineus.¹⁵⁶ Echoes of Lapith traditions travelled along the Peneus river and reached western Thessaly, perhaps as far as Triikka.¹⁵⁷ We can certainly trace them at Atrax, which tradition connected with Kaineus himself, the invincible Lapith who had to be buried alive to be overcome.¹⁵⁸ As for the Perrhaibians they had purportedly once inhabited a vast territory, stretching all along the north of Thessaly, covering the Dotian plain and reaching as far as Dodona, wherever the latter was imagined to have been.¹⁵⁹

Two other population groups had also at times supposedly lived in parts of north-eastern Thessaly and were connected with the Lapiths and the Perrhaibians. The Phlegyans, like the Lapiths, with whom in some accounts they had kinship ties, were also famous for their martial valour, although they had a tendency towards unprovoked violence, often directed against sanctuaries of Apollo.¹⁶⁰ They were particularly connected with the city of Gyrtone through its eponymous hero and its eponymous nymph, or through the famous nymph Koronis, daughter of Phlegyas and mother of Asclepius.¹⁶¹ And there were also the Ainians whose original homeland was believed to have been the Dotian plain and who in various sources, not least Homer, are mentioned in the same breath as the Perrhaibians.¹⁶²

Several second- and first-century BC inscriptions found at Mikro Kesarli, a small settlement at the heart of the Dotian plain identified by some with ancient Elateia, were dedicated to gods or heroes related with the local traditions of the area, such as Asclepius, Dionysus Karpios, who was

¹⁵⁶ For Mopsos, Titaresios, and Mopsion: [Hes.] *Scut.* 181; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.191; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.65; Strabo 9.5.22. See also Stählin (1924) 89; Sakellariou (1980) 216–22. Elatos and Kaineus: Hes. fr. 87 (M/W); Akusilaos *FGrH* 2 F 22. Although a Lapith called Elatos is often associated with Arcadia, in Soph. fr. 380 (Radt) he is associated with the Dotion.

¹⁵⁷ Pind. *Pyth.* 9.15–16 says that Hypseus was born at the foot of Pindus mountain. Eust., *Il.* 2.729 mentions as his wife Trikke. See in general Sakellariou (2009) 628. Note also Diod. 4.37.3, who mentions a war between Lapiths and Dorians in Hestiaiotis (but in this case the Lapiths live in Olympus). For this war see also Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7.

¹⁵⁸ Σ Pl. *Leg.* 12.944d.

¹⁵⁹ Hom. *Il.* 2.748–55.

¹⁶⁰ For Phlegyans and sanctuaries of Apollo: Fontenrose (1959) 36–41; Kowalzig (2007) 133–49. For the Phlegyans in general: Sakellariou (2009) 605–50.

¹⁶¹ Phlegyans and Asclepius: Pind. *Pyth.* 3; *Hymn. Hom. Asc.* 2–3; Callim. fr. 260, 60 (Pfeiffer). Phlegyans and Gyrtone: Soudas *FGrH* 602 F 10; Strabo 9.5.21; Steph. Byz. s.v. Γυρτών; Σ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.57.

¹⁶² Hom. *Il.* 2. 748–55; Strabo 9.5.22 for Ainians, Perrhaibians, and the Dotion; Plut. *Mor.* 293f, 297b about the Lapiths expelling the Ainians from the Dotion. See also *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 217–18 for Apollo coming from Pieria passing from Perrhaibians and Ainians before reaching Iolkos.

associated with the Ainians and Magnesians, and a hero called Aineas.¹⁶³ These dedications, as I have discussed in more detail elsewhere, are part of a larger group of dedications most of which were offered by a group of *phrouroi* stationed in the area, and testify to a revival of local traditions with a view to forging links with the new Roman rulers.¹⁶⁴ The pertinence of the various traditions I have been discussing, however, for the identity of the inhabitants of the area in earlier times is occasionally reflected on coins. The fourth-century coins of Mopsion, for instance, depicted the fight between the Lapith Mopsos and one of the Centaurs.¹⁶⁵ And the suggestion that the helmeted head on the coins of Gyrtone is to be identified with Ares, the progenitor of the Phlegyans, is plausible.¹⁶⁶ The most telling evidence, however, comes from Atrax, where the personal name Kaineus is twice attested in Hellenistic inscriptions of the city.¹⁶⁷ In one case a Kaineus ironically, in view of the fate of his mythical namesake, offers a dedication to Ge.¹⁶⁸ Even more interesting, if puzzling, is a funerary epigram from the same city in which the deceased recalls his friends the Lapiths and the pleasant sacrifices which he can no longer enjoy.¹⁶⁹ The term Lapiths seems to be used in this case to describe his contemporary companions.¹⁷⁰

Before moving on, I should also mention here the sanctuary of Apollo at Tempe (the so-called Dotian Gates), perhaps the most important cult place in north-western Thessaly. We hear about it thanks to its role in the Delphic Stepteria festival, which included a procession from Delphi all the way up to the foot of Mount Olympus where a young boy cut the sacred laurel that grew there and brought it back to his city. Unfortunately, we know little else about Apollo's cult at Tempe; it is a reasonable guess that a sanctuary which was the stage of such an important ritual would be a pole of attraction for worshippers living in the broader area.¹⁷¹ But who precisely these worshippers were and

¹⁶³ Dionysus Karpios: Mastrokostas (1964) 318 no. 2 (first century BC). Asclepius: Woodward (1910) 156 no. 8 and perhaps no. 9 (first century). Aineas: *IG IX 2* 1064; Franke (1956) 183; Franke (1958) 337 no. 2. They have been dated to the second and first century BC.

¹⁶⁴ Mili (2011). ¹⁶⁵ Moustaka (1983) 73.

¹⁶⁶ Head (1911) 295; Moustaka (1983) 46.

¹⁶⁷ *IG IX 2* 491; Helly (1983a) 157–61. It is not clear whether we are dealing with a single person, or with two individuals from the same family: see also Sekunda (2010) 348. Note also that other names connected with the Lapiths such as Στίλβων and Φόρβας are known at Atrax: Decourt and Tziafalias (2007a) 15.

¹⁶⁸ *IG IX 2* 491. ¹⁶⁹ Funerary stele: Tziafalias (1984a) no. 53.

¹⁷⁰ Back in the sixth century Simonides (quoted by Strabo 9.5.20) called the inhabitants of the district of Pelasgiotis, i.e. of eastern Thessaly, a mixture of Lapiths and Perrhaebians. Voutiras (1985) 291 identifies the Lapiths of the epigram with the deceased fellow citizens.

¹⁷¹ There might be some evidence that various communities of Thessaly, and not just those of north-eastern Thessaly participated in this big *daphnephoria*: the evidence is discussed in section 5.5. A more intriguing, if puzzling, local aspect of the cult, in which women played a role, might be revealed by a few Hellenistic dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo Pythios found at Tempe (*AD* 16 (1960) *Chron.* 175), as well as by a few dedications to Apollo Tempeites found at Krannon,

how the sanctuary might have been intertwined with the mythological traditions of the area—Lapiths, Phlegyans, and Perrhaibians all had their connections with Apollo—we can only speculate.

On the banks of the Peneus river, amidst this landscape saturated with Perrhaibian, Ainian, and Lapith traditions, but itself devoid of them, is Larisa, our final destination. Homer did not include Larisa in the kingdom of the Lapiths Leonteus and Polypoites, and no future poet seems to have taken issue with the matter. Only Apollonius Rhodius included in his list of Argonauts a Lapith from Larisa, the otherwise little-known Polyphemos.¹⁷²

Following in the steps of the young Delphian *theoros*, let us stop first, as we approach the city, at the village of Deipnias. The name of this small community survived the ravages of time because every nine years the young Delphian *theoros* stopped here on his way back from Tempe and broke his fast. The Stepteria seems to have been a composite and old festival which must have changed significantly through time; we have therefore to ask the question when, and why, the stop at Deipnias might have been included. A mid-fifth-century inscription found in the area of the villages Glauke-Platykambos 8 kilometres east of Larisa recorded the dedication by Aristion and his *syn-dauchnophoroi* (co-carriers of the laurel) to Apollo Leschiaios. There is good evidence that the inscription was found *in situ*, and the suggestion that this was the location of the *kome* Deipnias is both plausible and attractive.¹⁷³ While the inscription would give the mid-fifth century as a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the Deipnias rite, Helly, puzzled by the fact that the famous procession stopped at this seemingly unimportant community, argued that Deipnias' role in the festival went back to the Geometric or early Archaic period, when it was supposedly an independent and much more important settlement.¹⁷⁴ No Geometric or Archaic evidence has, however, been recorded from the site to substantiate this claim, encouraging us to think of alternative explanations. The rite at Deipnias marks a definite change of mood, the passing from a period of abnormality to that of normal order: we

Larisa, and Phalanna. The latter were all made by women who described their offering as *eleutheria*: see section 1.4.1a, n. 62.

¹⁷² Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.40–1. The lapith Polyphemos is mentioned in Hom. *Il.* 1.264 but is not associated with Larisa.

¹⁷³ *IG IX 2 1027*. Numerous sherds, a funerary stele, part of a female torso, and a Hellenistic dedication to Ge were also found in the area: AD 17 (1961–2) *Chron.* 178; AD 29 (1974) *Chron.* 582. Another fifth-century dedication to Apollo Mousagetes has been found at the nearby village Melissochori. Excavations have noted some Hellenistic graves, but nothing earlier that we could associate with the dedication: AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 371; AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 508, 523 no. 19. Rite at Deipnias: Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δειπνιάς* referring back to Callim. fr. 87 (Pfeiffer): *Δειπνιάς ἐνθεν μιν δειδέχεται* (from there Deipnias welcomes him).

¹⁷⁴ Helly (1984) 229; Helly (1987) 139–42, 147–9.

may wonder whether the small community which hosted the rite was associated with some kind of boundary, natural or otherwise. If Deipnias is indeed to be identified with Glauke-Platykambos then nothing—no river or mountain range—sticks out in the surrounding landscape. Lacking such eye-catching natural boundaries, we are left with little alternative than to think of man-made ones. Perhaps the border that Deipnias marked was a political one, the entrance to the territory of Larisa.¹⁷⁵ If this were the case, the rite would mark both Larisa's ties with the great procession and her special position within the area. The reception of the young Delphian boy, who in the ritual followed the road taken by the god, also contributed to Larisa covertly claiming close hospitality ties with Apollo, which, in mainstream tradition, the god had with Pheraean Admetus.

Other fifth-century inscriptions and coins also reveal an identity built on interaction with outsiders. Asclepius, whose life story tied him with the Dotian plain and Lake Boibe to the east, or with Triikka to the west, received a home at Larisa by the end of the fifth century, and maybe even earlier, if we are right to identify the hero with the bearded seated figure depicted on mid-fifth-century coins of the city.¹⁷⁶ The three earliest inscribed dedications from the city, dated around the mid-fifth century, were offered to gods not traditionally considered Larisean: Dionysus Karpios, who we saw was closely connected with the Dotian plain, and Ennodia, the 'Pheraean goddess'.¹⁷⁷ The dedications to Ennodia call her Astike and Patroa, emphasizing thus the close and supposedly ancestral connection between goddess and city (or, in the case of Patroa, the dedicant). But at the same time the epithet Astike cannot but bring to mind an Ennodia who was not of the *asty*.¹⁷⁸ And the epithet Patroa bypasses the tradition concerning the Pheraean origins of the cult of Ennodia, by emphasizing the ancestry of the Larisean cult. Pheraean or not, the Lariseans too had worshipped the goddess from olden times.¹⁷⁹

Through cults, then, Larisa's imagined territory spread north, south, east, and west. This imaginary territory had some grounding in reality, as is indicated by the so-called *taurokathapsia* coinage minted at around the

¹⁷⁵ I cannot follow Helly (1987) who argues that at the time of Aristion's dedication the settlement at Glauke-Platykambos was still not part of the territory of Larisa.

¹⁷⁶ Riethmüller (2005) i. 98–103, who associates the introduction of the cult with Larisa's expansionistic politics. For the evidence concerning the cult of Asclepius at Larisa see section 3.4.1.

¹⁷⁷ AD 16 (1960) *Chron.* 185; IG IX 2 575; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 382 no. 1.

¹⁷⁸ One could think of various possibilities: an Ennodia outside the city, close to the gates, an Ennodia of rural communities, or an Ennodia 'Xenike'. P. Chrysostomou (1998) 104 prefers to see here an opposition between a city sanctuary and one outside the city located in the cemetery. For the supposed association between Ennodia and cemeteries see section 6.2.

¹⁷⁹ On these two dedications and the possibility that they relate to a different discourse concerning the origin of the goddess see Graninger (2009) 118–19. For the Patrooi 'as the gods whose cult one has inherited' see in general R. Parker (2008). There is of course the possibility that the dedicant of AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 382 no. 1 was a Pheraean immigrant.

middle of the fifth century. A number of cities from all over Thessaly, including Triikka, Pelinna, Pharkadon, Krannon, Scotoussa, and Pherai, as well as Perrhaibia, minted coins with very similar iconography entitling us to speak of a monetary union at whose centre we should place Larisa, judging from the fact that this city minted the coins for a long time and in several denominations.¹⁸⁰ Another non-Larisean hero, Jason, or rather his lost shoe, decorated the first Larisean coinage minted in the early years of the fifth century.¹⁸¹ The coins must have been in circulation at the time of the Persian Wars, when according to Herodotus the Aleuad Thorax and his brothers dominated Larisean and regional politics, their political will extending apparently even over Iolkos, which they had promised as a gift to the Peisistratid Hippias.¹⁸²

Imaginary Larisa did not spread only in space, it also spiralled through time, reaching far back into the past, to the time of Thessaly's first inhabitants. Although there were traditions which connected the Pelasgians with most areas of Thessaly—and we have found traces of them in Scotoussa—Larisa is exceptional among Thessalian cities in that its eponymous city-nymph was connected with them, being the daughter or the mother of the hero Pelasgos.¹⁸³ The nymph Larisa received in the fifth century a fair amount of attention. Her portrait adorned the coins of Larisa from the late fifth century onwards, but already much earlier, perhaps in the early fifth century, the famous sculptor Telephanes had made a statue of her.¹⁸⁴ The nymph Larisa also had very close connections with Argos and it is not always clear whether a reference is to the Thessalian nymph or to the Argive nymph of the same name. Pelasgos' relationship with Thessaly was usually explained through a movement from Argos to Thessaly.¹⁸⁵

The connection between Larisa and Argos was not exhausted with the travels of a hero and a shared nymph. It was elaborated further through myths and cults which brought to Larisa other famous Argive gods and heroes.

¹⁸⁰ Herrmann (1922); T. Martin (1985) 36–7, 73; Liampi (1996). For Larisa's economic territory see also Helly (1984) 216–17.

¹⁸¹ Moustaka (1983) 69; Kagan (2004).

¹⁸² Hdt. 5.94.

¹⁸³ Moustaka (1983) 48. Thessaly was once called Pelasgia: Hekataios *FGrH* 1 F 14; Pelasgians in Hestiaiotes: Andron of Halikarnassos *FGrH* 10 F 16; in Thessaliotes: Hdt. 1.57; in the plain of Thessaly and in Magnesia: Hieronymos of Kardia *FGrH* 154 F 17; in the Dotian Plain: Callim. *Cer.* 24–5; at Iolkos: Paus. 4.36.1. For the Pelasgians in general and their relationship to Thessaly: Briquel (1984) *passim* and 115ff; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) *passim* and 113–16.

¹⁸⁴ Coins: Moustaka (1983) 48. Statue: Plin. *HN* 34.68. Langlotz (1951) connects the dedication of the statue with the expedition of Leontychidas.

¹⁸⁵ Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 91; Paus. 2.24.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 145.2 call Larisa the daughter of Pelasgos. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3 makes Larisa and Poseidon the parents of Pelasgos, Achaïos, and Phthios. There is in general a persistent connection between places and nymphs called Larisa and the Pelasgians: Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 108 n. 19. For the Thessalian nymph Larisa see also Larson (2001) 165.

The story of Akrisios, the grandfather of Perseus, who left Argos and came to Thessaly, where he was accidentally killed by his grandson, was already widely known by the fifth century, recounted by Hellanikos, Pherekydes, and Sophocles.¹⁸⁶ His tomb was to be seen just outside Larisa, or in the sanctuary of Athena Polias, and he was, according to some, the founder of the city.¹⁸⁷ It is also no coincidence that when Pindar was invited by the Aleuads to sing the praise of young Hippokleas he chose the Argive hero Perseus as a mythical prototype, recounting his journey to the Hyperboreans.¹⁸⁸ Io, the daughter of Inachos and tortured priestess of Argive Hera, had also visited and, apparently, found shelter in Larisa, although in this case the evidence dates to the Hellenistic period. Her story is well known: trouble started when Zeus fell in love with her and so provoked the anger of his wife, who in turn transformed Io into a cow and sent a gadfly to pursue her. Io's peregrinations finally brought her to Egypt, according to the most popular version of the myth. There she gave birth to Epaphos, who owed his evocative name to his miraculous conception by just the touch of Zeus.¹⁸⁹ Epaphos, surprisingly, had a cult at Larisa as is revealed by a Late Hellenistic inscription which refers to a number of *stelai* sacred to various gods and heroes in an area outside the city walls, including one to Io's marvellous child.¹⁹⁰ There was presumably one tradition which placed his birth here.¹⁹¹ A few other cults and spots mentioned in the stele from Larisa could be connected with the mythical cultic nexus of Epaphos, betraying a landscape saturated with this Argive set of myths. There was in the vicinity a joint cult of Hera and Zeus, and another one of a Zeus called Hyperdexios, an epithet which might well have been understood as referring in this context to the deity's procreative hand.¹⁹²

Strabo tells us that some believed that Larisa was once Pelasgian Argos, or that at least this mythical city was in Larisa's vicinity.¹⁹³ By focusing on its

¹⁸⁶ Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 12; Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 91. It is very likely that Sophocles referred to the myth in his lost tragedy *Larisaioi*, which was part of a trilogy treating the myth of Perseus.

¹⁸⁷ For Akrisios fleeing to Larisa and his death by Perseus: Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 12; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4. Both Apollodorus and Pherekydes locate the grave of Akrisios outside the walls. But Antiochos *FGrH* 29 F 2 places his grave in the temple of Athena Polias. For Akrisios being the founder of Larisa: Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 91; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Λάρισαι πόλεις*.

¹⁸⁸ Pind. *Pyth.* 10.

¹⁸⁹ For the myth of Io in general: Gantz (1993) i. 199–203.

¹⁹⁰ Helly (1970b) 251 ll. 25–6, 272; Salviat and Vatin (1971) 31–3.

¹⁹¹ In Aesch. *PV* 830 Io's peregrinations bring her to Dodona and the Ionian Sea, which was named after her. Given the mythological connections that Thessaly had with Thesprotia and Dodona, this tradition might be evoked here (note that the hero Epaphos, according to the inscription, was also known as Ionios). For yet other traditions which place the birth of Epaphos elsewhere see later in this section.

¹⁹² Helly (1970b) 251 l.12; Salviat and Vatin (1971) 27, who, though, connect Zeus Hyperdexios with protection of walls. For the epithet *hyperdexios* in general see L. Robert, *Hellenica* X (1955) 62–6; Graf (1985) 205–6.

¹⁹³ For Larisa being once called Argos: Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀργος*. For the Pelasgian Argos being close to Larisa: Strabo 9.5.5. See also Apollodoros *FGrH* 244 F 154 for the Argousaioi being called

Pelasgo-Argive past Larisa managed to bypass the several traditions that told about various other population groups coming to the area after the Pelasgians were driven away. Instead, starting with Pelasgos, one after the other the most famous Argive heroes had visited the place, creating thus an impression of continuity with the far distant past.

Despite all this mythopoeia, Larisa may have actually been a relatively small and unimportant settlement until the end of the Archaic period, and was thus ignored by Homer, who mentions other surrounding settlements like Argissa and Gyrtone.¹⁹⁴ As it grew during the late sixth and early fifth century into a leading city, Larisa seems to have appropriated myths and cults from the surrounding older and hitherto more important settlements: the cult of Apollo Pythios, Asclepius, Ennodia, Dionysus Karpios, and the various Pelasgo-Argive traditions found at Scotoussa and Argissa.¹⁹⁵ Indeed, there may be evidence that the cult of Epaphos was originally associated with Argissa. Stephanus Byzantius mentions a place in Euboia called Argoura where it was said that Argos, the vigilant guard of Io the cow, was killed by Hermes.¹⁹⁶ Knoepfler has argued that the name Argoura is a local variant of the Thessalian place name Argissa.¹⁹⁷ Given the proximity of Argissa to Larisa, and the fact that the stele to Epaphos was set in the western part of the city, there might have been a consistent association between place names called Argissa and the myth of Io. The conflicting traditions about the grave of Akrisios, which according to Pherekydes lay outside Larisa, but for Antiochos, several years later, was in the temple of Athena Polias, may also point to some reworking of Larisa's traditions.¹⁹⁸

The argument, though not watertight, has its attraction. Homer's silence would not on its own bear much weight, had it not been for Larisa's meagre early archaeological record. There is little Bronze-Age material from the site; the Proto-Geometric and Geometric settlement seems to have been relatively

Argeioi because they were close to Pelasgian Argos. Strabo 9.5.5 says that the whole Pelasgiotis was called Pelasgian Argos, named so by Abas, while Strabo 5.2.4; 8.6.5 says that Thessaly is called Pelasgian Argos in order to distinguish it from the Peloponnese which was the Achaian Argos. Larisa Kremaste, also called Pelasgis, in Achaia Phthiotis must also have identified itself with Pelasgian Argos as indicated by the depictions of Perseus and Thetis on her coins: Moustaka (1983) 67; Heyman (1968). Modern scholars, though, tend to always identify Pelasgian Argos with Achaia Phthiotis despite the persistent associations between Thessaly and Pelasgian Argos: Simpson and Lazenby (1959); (1970) 126; Rigsby (2004) 12–14.

¹⁹⁴ For various reconstructions of the early history of Larisa along these lines see Tziafalias (1994a) 39; Helly (1984); Helly (1987); C. Morgan (2003) 89ff.

¹⁹⁵ The general idea that Thessalian mythology was significantly reworked at that time by the Aleuads has also been suggested by Sordi (1958a) 65–84.

¹⁹⁶ Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀργούρα: ἔστι καὶ τόπος τῆς Εὐβοίας Ἀργούρα ὅπου δοκεῖ τὸν Πανόπτην Ἑρμῆς πεφονευκέναι. See also Strabo 10.1.3, who mentions a place called βοὸς αὐλή on the Aegean coast of Euboia where Io gave birth to Epaphos.

¹⁹⁷ Knoepfler (1981); (1983).

¹⁹⁸ Helly (1987) 128–31, 158.

small, centred on Hagios Achilleios hill, which later became the acropolis; and while habitation spread down the slopes and further away during the Archaic period, nothing betrays a large and powerful settlement.¹⁹⁹ In addition, Larisa's poor early material contrasts with that found in some of its neighbouring communities, or that at Pherai and Pharsalos. The most impressive Bronze-Age and Geometric material comes from the plain east of Larisa, identified with the Dotian plain, from the modern-day sites Bounarbasi and Marmarine.²⁰⁰ In the late seventh or early sixth century Gonnoi, close to the Tempe Pass, built an oval temple on its acropolis and slightly later its fortification walls;²⁰¹ a similar temple structure, perhaps of the same date, existed on the acropolis of the settlement at Evaggelismos on the other side of the Peneus river.²⁰² At the modern-day village of Gyrtone, to the north of Larisa, an Archaic sanctuary has been located;²⁰³ from the village of Dendra comes a well-known Archaic frieze with relief depiction of animals,²⁰⁴ while an Archaic fortification wall, a painted clay *simā*, and the decorated handle of a bronze vase from Gremnos Magoula, to the west of Larisa, which is convincingly identified with Argissa, tell us something about the status of at least some of its inhabitants.²⁰⁵

The theory of Larisa as a pushy newcomer does not, however, explain why it is only from the fourth century onwards that the city seems to acquire monumental marble temples, gymnasiums, stoas, and theatres. The absence of any impressive material from the Classical period, when the city was at its peak, is disturbing. We could take this to mean that Classical Larisa looked rather different from other Thessalian cities, which had by that time some stone temples, fortification walls, or monumental tombs. But the possibility that our current knowledge of the archaeology of this city, which has been continuously inhabited into modern times and never properly excavated, cannot be trusted has also to be taken seriously. Perhaps, then, in view of the uncertainties of the archaeological evidence, a slower process of

¹⁹⁹ Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou (1985) 85–6; Tziafalias (1994c) 155, 157.

²⁰⁰ Lemos (2002) 176.

²⁰¹ *PAE* (1910) 241–64; *PAE* (1911) 317–23; *PAE* (1914) 208–17; Helly (1973a) 21–32.

²⁰² *PAE* (1911) 332. Tziafalias (2000b) 99 places Sykourion here.

²⁰³ Tziafalias (2000b) 97. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1911) 335–7 had also reported fortification walls which might date back to the Archaic period. For the site see also *AD* 43 (1988) *Chron.* 267; *AD* 48 (1993) *Chron.* 249–52. Tziafalias identified the site with ancient Mopsion, because decrees issued by the city were found during excavations. Helly (1999) 103–5 insists that the remains are not impressive enough to justify the status of the settlement as a polis and prefers to locate Mopsion in nearby Rhodia.

²⁰⁴ Biesantz (1965) L43, pl. 46; Ridgway (1993) 403 n. 12.

²⁰⁵ *AA* 70 (1955) 191–9, 215–20; *AA* 71 (1956) 166–70; *AA* 72 (1957) 37–51. The identification with Argissa seems very likely after the discovery on site of a coin with the initials *APΓ* on one of its sides: Franke (1955). Only Tziafalias (2000b) 100–1 doubts the identification with Argissa and prefers to locate Gyrtone here.

development through time, rather than a radical reorganization, could also be envisaged.

This section has taken the reader on an imaginary tour of Thessaly, with the aim of capturing something of the individuality of Thessalian settlements as this was reflected in their mythical and cultic traditions. Even given the scarcity of the evidence, which prevents us from giving a completely clear view of any one place, we have been able to detect some of the different flavours that distinguished one community from another. Each of these places, no matter how small or how unimportant from the point of view of large-scale politics, had its own religious profile. But this special character, as we have seen, was to a large degree defined by what was going on around them.

One theme that has emerged throughout is the role of religion in structuring the relationships between various Thessalian communities. The individuality of Thessalian settlements seems to have been constructed in constant interaction with the other communities around them, against what was perceived as a common 'Thessalian past'. Deipnias was the locale of an important ritual which tied it on the one hand to the great procession going from Thessaly to Delphi, and on the other to the territory of Larisa; the denizens of the cave on Mount Karaplas could each individually be found elsewhere in the region. When brought together in this idyllic spot they offered not an alternative topsy-turvy world, but a momentary respite from it. Pagasai's 'fragile nature' and 'strategic importance as a main port' were reflected in the openness of its cults, while small Scotoussa, caught between the greatest Thessalian cities, appears as a true kaleidoscopic city, its traditions linking it in all directions. Pherai's superiority was reflected in its particularly close relationship with gods like Apollo and Ennodia, popular all over the area. Pharsalos' religious landscape petered out only gradually as one moved away from it, and Larisa hosted a variety of cults from elsewhere in Thessaly, while clinging at the same time to a Pelasgo-Argive past.

I have so far focused on geography. The next section will adopt a historical perspective, looking at change through time, and more precisely at the developments that took place during the Hellenistic period. Meanwhile the particularity of space will not be lost completely from our vision: Demetrias, the 'most Hellenistic' of all Thessalian cities, will serve as our main case study.

4.3. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: NEW PEOPLE, NEW GODS, NEW CITIES

Demetrias was designed to serve as a Macedonian royal capital, a definite mark of the new rulers in the area. It was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes,

after his decisive victory against Kassander, at some point in the early third century.²⁰⁶ Strabo tells us that several settlements participated in its synoecism: Neleia, Pagasai, Ormenion, Rhizous, Sepias, Olizon, Boibe, and Iolkos.²⁰⁷ Thanks to epigraphic and additional literary evidence we can add some other places to this list, such as Amphanai, Kasthanaia, Alos, Aiole, Spalauthra, Homolion, Methone, Korope, and Glaphyrai.²⁰⁸ We do not know the exact location of all these places, but it seems that they were scattered all over the Magnesian peninsula, as far north as the Tempe Pass. Epigraphic, archaeological, and literary evidence concerning Demetrias spans several centuries, and we run the risk, if we bring it all together, of missing important changes through time and of creating the impression of a single act of foundation, which set everything into place instantly at the beginning of the third century. The various settlements across the Magnesian peninsula were not necessarily all incorporated in the city from the very beginning.²⁰⁹ In any case Demetrias, even in a minimal version which leaves the settlements in the north outside, seems to have covered a vast territory, especially when compared with the nominal territory of the 'normal' Thessalian polis, which has been calculated as averaging about 5 kilometres in radius.

Synoecisms do not have the same effects in all cases. They can be messy affairs, and in the case of Demetrias, where the new community was not the outcome of a slow process of local interaction but was imposed from above, we have to think that there might have been varying degrees of local resistance.²¹⁰ Not only were people forced to abandon their cities, they also had to get used to new monuments, new people, new rulers, and, not least, new gods. There is no doubt that the synoecism brought about great changes in the religious life of the population, and together with it great uncertainty about whether things were being done right. In this context finding an *exegetes* at work in the new city is no surprise. Nor is it a coincidence that all third-century decrees from Demetrias are concerned with religious matters.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ See in general Kip (1910) 82–3; Stählin (1924) 51; G. M. Cohen (1995) 111–12 dates the synoecism between 294 and 288 BC.

²⁰⁷ Strabo 9.5.15.

²⁰⁸ Glaphyrai: Helly (1971b) 555 ll.8–9, 557. Homolion, Korope, Aiole, and Alos: *IG IX 2* 1109. Spalauthra: *IG IX 2* 1111. Methone *IG IX 2* 1112. Kasthanaia: Strabo 9.5.22. Amphanai: *AE* (1916) 121; Arvanitopoulos (1929d) 126–8.

²⁰⁹ The northern Magnesian cities Eurai, Eurymenai, and Rhizous minted coins in the third century: Helly (2004b). Note also that the ethnic Melibioieus is attested in a decree from Iasos originally dated to the third century: *Iasos* i. no 54, where a late-fourth-century date is preferred. Kip (1910) 85–6; Stählin (1924) 50, 68 n. 11 discuss the problem.

²¹⁰ Reger (2004) 178–80 distinguishes between *sympoliteiai* promoted by kings and which seem to aim to obliterate previously existing cities and *sympoliteiai* driven by local concerns.

²¹¹ But note that the clause in Stählin (1929) 207–8 'so that no misfortune hits the city' might reflect real circumstances and not just fears. All decrees are discussed further later in this section. R. Parker (2009) for a general discussion, focused on the evidence from the Peloponnese, of the impact of this kind of political reordering on religious life.

But let me begin with new monuments. The city centre of Demetrias was very unlike any of the old Thessalian cities.²¹² To start with, it was very large, counting as many as 25,000 inhabitants.²¹³ A fortification wall running approximately 11¼ kilometres enclosed a space with a surface area of around 440 hectares. Another wall running northeast-southwest cut the city into two halves, of which the western one seems not to have been inhabited. Almost at the centre of the eastern sector was the palace of the Macedonian kings, a large building complex consisting of a series of peristyle courtyards with rooms around them.²¹⁴ South of the palace was a very large plaza, which looked like a typical Hellenistic agora, with three stoas around its sides and a temple in its middle.²¹⁵ To the west rose a hill (hill 84), on top of which was a building with exquisite marble decorations. Thanks to its careful construction and the underground cavity it contained, Marzollf has identified it as the heroon of Demetrios Poliorketes.²¹⁶ On the slope of the hill, facing towards the agora and the palace, was a theatre and north of it the stadium or hippodrome. Somewhere in the area of the stadium might have been another large public space.²¹⁷ The east part of this sector of the city seems to have been used for habitation, the various streets and buildings being laid out on a grid plan. With its hippodameian planning, the form of its agora, the strictly military use of its acropolis, located at the north-western edge of the city, the dominant presence of the palace and Demetrios' heroon, Demetrias compares well with some of the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor. Significantly it also compares well with the Macedonian foundations of Demetrios Poliorketes' enemy, Kassander, and like them it was founded to be a large and cosmopolitan harbour.²¹⁸

All kinds of people lived in the new city. The inhabitants of various Magnesian settlements, of old Thessalian cities, such as Iolkos, Amphanoi, and Pagasai, numerous Macedonians and foreigners from all parts of Greece and the wider Mediterranean were attracted to the newly founded port. Funerary inscriptions reveal to us the presence of people from places as far apart as Epidauros, Kalymnos, Crete, Epiros, Naxos, Syracuse, Boiotia, Thrace, Illyria, Sidon, Tyre, and Egypt.²¹⁹ It is impossible, unfortunately, to

²¹² For summary descriptions of the topography of Demetrias: Batziou-Eftathiou (1996) 16–26; Marzollf (1994a), (1996b).

²¹³ Following Marzollf's (1994a) 61 calculations on the basis of the surface of the eastern sector of the city.

²¹⁴ Marzollf (1996b).

²¹⁵ Marzollf (1976).

²¹⁶ Marzollf (1987).

²¹⁷ As suggested by Marzollf (1996a) 56 on the ground that several statue bases have been found here.

²¹⁸ Marzollf (1994a) notes various similarities with eastern Hellenistic cities; Hatzopoulos (1996) 158ff compares Demetrias with Thessaloniki and Kassandreia, especially in terms of institutions: common was the presence of *strategoi* and *nomophylakes*, attested though in second-century decrees, the presence of demes, and of a cult of *archegetai*. Lolos (2006) prefers to stress the similarity with older Macedonian cities, such as Pella and Olynthus.

²¹⁹ Arvanitopoulos (1928) 91–2.

speak more precisely about how many Egyptians, Tyrians, or Thracians actually lived in the city. On existing evidence, namely the ethnics attested on funerary *stelai*, it seems that the Egyptians living in Demetrias were not very numerous; other foreigners such as Phoenicians, Syrians, and Macedonians appear more often in the record.²²⁰ How did all these people live with one another? Was a feeling of a common belonging, a sense of a common Demetrian identity, ever developed, and by whom was it shared?

Given the dominant presence of the Macedonian king and the multivalent origins of the various communities that were forced to join it, the question arises to what extent Demetrias fully developed, even institutionally, as a *polis*.²²¹ We have great difficulty in understanding how Demetrias was put together in terms of institutions. Stählin, writing in the 30s, described Demetrias as an autonomous polis which had all the civic organs that a normal polis was expected to have had.²²² He invoked a third-century decree which showed various boards of magistrates at work. The decree concerned the replacement of a broken stele in the city sanctuary of Demeter, Kore, and Plouto. The stele apparently had inscribed on it the regulations for the cult, and the *astynomoi* had prepared a new draft of it after consulting with the *exegetes*. The *boule* in turn decided that the *poletai* would be responsible for the preparation of the new stone stele.²²³ The decree indeed shows Demetrias deciding on its own about matters of cult, with no signs of royal interference, although of course we would ideally like to know more about how the *exegetes* involved in the process was appointed and how extensive his powers were.²²⁴ Nevertheless, the recent publication of royal edicts concerning Demetrias, from which we also learn about the existence of an *epistates* and of a *basilike chora*, show that royal interference was much more prominent than Stählin had thought.²²⁵ In one of them it is obviously the king that decides on details of religious matters, as he orders that the cloth of the various *kynegoi* should henceforth be grey. The power of the king in this particular instance could be explained away by the fact that the cult in question had a strong Macedonian colouring. Still, even

²²⁰ Masson (1969); Decourt and Tziafalias (2007b) 338–40. For the possibility that the pattern might not reflect actual numbers but degrees of hellenization see further later in this section.

²²¹ Several features of Demetrias' institution point to it being an artificial creation, with influences from Plato and Athens and lacking any of the familiar magistrates of old Thessalian cities, such as *tagoi*, *politophylakes*, or *poliarchoi*.

²²² Stählin, Meyer, and Heidner (1934) 186–7.

²²³ Arvanitopoulos (1929a) 32; Stählin (1929) 208 no. 2; Batziou-Efstathiou (2010) 180.

²²⁴ For the office of the *exegetes* in Athens see Jacoby (1949) 8–51; J. H. Oliver (1950); R. Parker (2004a) and (2011a) 45.

²²⁵ *Epistates*: Intzesiloglou (2006a) 68–9 n. 3. *Basilike chora*: Batziou-Efstathiou and Pikoulas (2006) 83–4. I do not understand Intzesiloglou's statement that Demetrias 'constituted a city that was fully integrated in the Macedonian kingdom': Intzesiloglou (2006a) 76. What does 'full integration' mean? Contra: Hatzopoulos (1996) 204–5, 207, who calls it an 'allied city'.

if that is so, this should be a reminder of the limits of Demetrias' authority over the various cults practised in its territory.

King, polis, the old local community, and the nebulous group of the *synoikountes*, that could, in theory, include all Demetrias' residents, regardless of their origins and political role in the polis, celebrated together the cult of *ktistai* and *archegetai*, doubtless one of the most important cults of Demetrias. The cult must have been a showcase for the newly founded city, and it is unfortunate that documentation for it is short and uneven. Demetrios Poliorketes, we learn from Plutarch, was buried by his son at Demetrias and there is no doubt he would have received worship as a founder of the city. Marzollf's identification of the building up on hill 83 as the heroon of Demetrios Poliorketes has intuitive value. So does Furtwängler's suggestion that the warrior stepping on or off a ship depicted on third-century seals of Demetrias, in a stance familiar for oecists, was in fact Demetrios Poliorketes.²²⁶ We do not know any details about the celebrations in honour of Demetrios, although the existence of a theatre and perhaps the hippodrome in the shadow of his monument encourage us to imagine large spectacles.

Demetrios, however, does not seem to have been worshipped alone. Two third-century decrees are preoccupied with regulations concerning the worship of the common heroes and *archegetai*, or *ktistai* and *archegetai*. These must have been the various local heroes and founders of Demetrias' old communities who were now being worshipped as a collective in a common cult and presumably together with Demetrios. The two decrees provide us with some information about how this common cult was orchestrated. One of the decrees was found at the modern village Kanalia, at a few kilometres distance from Demetrias, and contains regulations about the organization for the sacrifice of a cow and feast in honour of the heroes, in which various magistrates and a priest are involved.²²⁷ Unfortunately, it is not clear what the issuing body of the decree was; it was perhaps one of the old communities.²²⁸ Another decree issued by Iolkos, now a deme of Demetrias, regulated the same cult.²²⁹ On one side it honours Antigonos for reinstituting the competitions and the sacrifices to Artemis, Leto, Apollo, and the heroes; on the other side it

²²⁶ Furtwängler and Kron (1978) 149ff; Kron and Furtwängler (1983) 149ff.

²²⁷ IG IX 2 1099b.

²²⁸ Graninger (2011b), who argues that the disclosure formula, which mentions that a stele should be set up so that there is an enduring monument for the polis of the piety exhibited, would seem to indicate that the issuing body was not the city but some other entity.

²²⁹ Arvanitopoulos (1929b) 207; Béquignon (1935) 74–7; Meyer (1936). 'Now a deme': Graninger (2011b) believes that the old communities became *komai* of Demetrias, but only Strabo uses this term. J.-C. Decourt and B. Helly, *BE* 125 (2012) 614–16 suggest that Iolkos was still autonomous when it voted this decree and it is in this sense that the word *demos* is used in the decree. Demes and demarchs are mentioned in second-century decrees (IG IX 2 1111, 1112) and it seems to me that all other explanations are more complicated than accepting that the demes of Demetrias existed already back in the third century.

is decided that, because something (the money or the sacrifices?) is not enough, the deme will also sacrifice to the heroes and *archegetai* so that no misfortune hits the city and the *chora* but everybody enjoys good health. It is not clear whether the sacrifices that the two demes decide to offer are going to take place in the deme itself or in the central sanctuary of the *archegetai* and *ktistai*: both options are conceivable.²³⁰ In any case the offerings made by the deme of Iolkos are clearly presented as supplementary to the central cult, are offered to the common *archegetai* and *ktistai*, not those of the deme, and for the benefit of all the *synoikountes*. The rhetoric of the decree allows no space for opposition between what the deme does, wherever that may be, and what happens in the central sanctuary.²³¹

While the monument on hill 83 looked down on the city, as if in lieu of an acropolis, the palace sat comfortably in its middle, in a slightly elevated position, casting its shadow on the large agora with the small Ionic temple. Agora, temple, and palace seem to have been all constructed during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas and may have been perceived as a unit, linked through a monumental road.²³² It is likely that this was the so-called sacred agora with the temple of Artemis Iolkia mentioned in second-century decrees as one of the most prominent public places of the city, where civic decrees were displayed.²³³ But were civic power and decision-making already celebrated here in the third century, in which case the close spatial relationship between palace and agora could be seen as a sign of the close symbiosis between royal and civic power?²³⁴ The name of the square 'sacred agora' seems to allude to an absence of politics and its centre was occupied by a temple, not some administrative building. Perhaps the impression communicated by the whole setting was that of a king sitting side by side with local gods, not civic officials.²³⁵

The cult of local heroes and some old gods, then, continued and even received pride of place in the new city. But their cult seems to have been significantly changed. In the case of local heroes they seem to have lost their

²³⁰ Stählin (1929) 207–8: local; Furtwängler and Kron (1978) 157: central.

²³¹ So too Kravaritou (2012) 270–1.

²³² Marzollf (1996b) for the main entrance to the palace being through the square. See also Marzollf's response (p.358) to Lauter (1987).

²³³ *IG* IX 2 1105; 1106; *IG* V 367. Although I am following this identification, I have a slight doubt about whether the goddess was recognized as Artemis Iolkia back in the third century: see later in this section for second-century evidence stressing local origins of gods. Can we push this evidence back to the third century? See also Kron and Furtwängler (1983) 163–8, who re-date to the second century some coins issued by Demetrias which depicted 'Artemis Iolkia' and which Head (1911) 294 had dated to the third century.

²³⁴ Marzollf (1994a) 61 and (1996a) 53 notes that, contrary to other Hellenistic cities, the palace was centrally located, not at the edge, and that this might reflect the respect of the first Antigonids for constitutional organization of political life.

²³⁵ Lauter (1987) 347–9 about the sacred agora being part of the palace and not having any administrative or social functions.

individuality and become part of a wider collective, within which only Demetrios was singled out. We cannot even be sure that their cult in the demes was continued. Artemis Iolkia might have continued to receive some cult back at Iolkos, but the headquarters of the cult was clearly now the new sanctuary in the sacred agora closely connected with the palace.²³⁶

How far can we generalize about the fate of old local cults from these two instances? Herakleides, writing in the third century BC, refers to a picturesque rite which involved a visit up the Pelion mountain to the sanctuary of Zeus and the cave of Chiron.²³⁷ Come the hottest day of the year, gentlemen in the prime of life covered themselves with ram skins and climbed Mount Pelion to ask Zeus for rain. While in this case celebrations continued to take place at the old site of worship, we can, as elsewhere, detect change. The city in the passage must stand for Demetrias, and this symbolic representation of the city's elite must have been a change that came about after its foundation. We have no idea how the priest of the god (who, according to Herakleides, was responsible for selecting the men) was appointed, but half a century later any affiliation with a particular family or community was lost, as he was selected by the city.²³⁸ Moreover, it is not clear from Herakleides' reticent description whether the procession up the mountain was part of a larger festival or an isolated ritual with just a few participants.²³⁹ The sanctuary of Zeus Akraios was partly excavated by Arvanitopoulos at the beginning of the last century and, judging from the brief reports, there might have been some slackening of ritual activity, since little seems to postdate the fourth century.²⁴⁰ The same picture emerges from the sanctuaries of Apollo at Korope and Soros, where the excavators stress the absence of any evidence after the end of the fourth century.²⁴¹

From a second-century dedicatory inscription we learn about another local cult of the area, that of Artemis Pagasetis. The offering was made to the goddess by a woman who described herself as a *nebeusasa*.²⁴² In this case,

²³⁶ The situation can be contrasted to that at Megalopolis, where doublets of cults were created, but without the old cults being abandoned or losing their importance: Jost (1985) 220–35.

²³⁷ Pfister (1951) ii. 8.

²³⁸ Similar considerations are in place for the priestess of Artemis Iolkia, who is mentioned in a second-century inscription: *IG IX 2 1122*. We may wonder whether she came from Iolkos or not.

²³⁹ As has been pointed out by R. Parker (2011a) 178–9. This picturesque ritual has been analysed by several scholars: J. E. Harrison (1903) 23–8; Cook (1914–40) i. 420–2; Nilsson (1967) 396–401; Burkert (1983) 109–16; Buxton (1994) 93–5.

²⁴⁰ *PAE* (1911) 305–12. Note also that a second-century decree honouring judges from Messene was set up in the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios: Helly (1971b) 548 n. 12, who entertains the idea that this was a doublet of the main sanctuary in the city.

²⁴¹ Korope: *PAE* (1906) 123–5; Papachatzis (1960). The finds are dated either to the seventh and sixth centuries or to the second and first century BC. Soros: *PAE* (1909) 162–70; Milošević (1974). The last excavator at Soros, Mazarakis-Ainian (2012) 291, however, entertains the idea that the sanctuary might have been destroyed by an earthquake.

²⁴² *IG IX 2 1123*. I have some reservations about whether this second-century inscription is relevant to earlier periods. On the one hand, the fact that the dedication was made by a woman

too, alongside continuity, in the name of the goddess, there might be evidence for change. Hatzopoulos, in a lively monograph, has suggested that this and other similar dedications from other places in Thessaly were made by young women reaching marriageable age after having performed some kind of initiation rite.²⁴³ Having gone through its period of vogue, speaking about initiation rites today is bound to raise some eyebrows and several questions: did all girls serve as *nebeusasai*? And did they spend a period of service in the sanctuary?²⁴⁴ Brulé and recently Graninger have suggested that these were individual dedications made ad hoc on the occasion of marriage,²⁴⁵ but the hierarchy in the titles involved (we hear of *archinebeusasai*, *epinebeusasai*, and of *tageusasai*, if the latter are to be included)²⁴⁶ would indicate a more complex and collective ritual. Dedications by *neusasai*²⁴⁷ have been found in Macedonia, at ancient Lete, but they were offered to a goddess called Kale Thea and to Demeter. The fact that the ritual is attested in both regions at the same time might be significant. It could be taken to indicate that Thessaly and Macedonia shared some cultural traditions, concerning the upbringing of young unmarried women, that flourished and developed in these times of close political and social interaction.²⁴⁸

who described herself as a *nebeusasa*, encourages us to include it in the discussion, since there are several other third-century dedications to Artemis by women called *nebeusasai* from other Thessalian cities. The practice might well have existed at Demetrias in the third century. On the other, the association of the ritual with Artemis Pagasetis could have been a second-century phenomenon: Kravaritou (2011) 123 speaks of a nostalgic atmosphere, where, after the removal of Macedonian rule from the area, old local cults received new emphasis and brings as an example *IG IX 2 1125*, which mentions Aphrodite Neleia.

²⁴³ Hatzopoulos (1994a). For the meaning of the word *nebeusasa*: Arvanitopoulos (1929c) 250–1; Clement (1934) took it as a misspelling of the word *nebreusasa* (to imitate a deer); Hatzopoulos (1994a) 27 ff associated with Hesych. ν 170 νέας: αγωνισάμεναι γυναῖκες τὸν ἱερὸν δρόμον; Graninger (2007) 154–7 thinks Hatzopoulos' interpretation is plausible for the Macedonian *neusasai*, but not the Thessalian *nebeusasai*.

²⁴⁴ For the problematic category of initiation rites: R. Parker (2011a) 203–4.

²⁴⁵ Brulé (1997) 324–8; Graninger (2007).

²⁴⁶ I am not sure that Hatzopoulos' dossier should be accepted in its entirety. Hatzopoulos included in it not only inscriptions made by (*archi-*)/(*epi-*)*nebeusasai*, but also two inscriptions that did not mention the *nebeusasai* but included the word *teleouma* (*IG IX 2 1235*; Tziafalias (1984b) 206 no. 62) on the grounds that in the second case the recipient deity Artemis Throsia once received a dedication by a *nebeusasa*. He also included two dedications made by *tageusasai* (*AD 46* (1991) *Chron.* 224; Tziafalias (1984a) no. 59) on the ground that the second was made to Artemis Throsia. *Teleouma* might well designate a dedication made on the occasion of marriage and that may be why it can be offered to Demeter in *IG IX 2 1235* and is not associated with the *nebeusasai* (for *teleouma* see also Brulé (1997) 326). As for the term *tageusasa* it should not be taken as synonymous with the term *archinebeusasa*: perhaps it refers to the priestess.

²⁴⁷ Graninger (2007) 154–7 for the form of the word and some doubts about whether it is a variant of *nebeusasa*.

²⁴⁸ Hatzopoulos (1994b), though, mentions this and the cult of Zeus Hetaireios (see later in this section) among other examples of an old common heritage shared by the Magnesians and the Macedonians. Graninger (2007) is rightly sceptical of such uninterrupted continuity.

The cult of Zeus Hetaireios, about which we learn from a single fragment of Hegesandros, shows a similar blending of local and Macedonian traditions pertaining to the world of men. Hegesandros refers to a festival called Hetaireidia celebrated in Magnesia in honour of Zeus Hetaireios. The first to sacrifice to Zeus Hetaireios, he further tells us, was Jason, and the occasion was the first gathering of all the Argonauts; he adds that the Macedonian kings also offer sacrifices to Zeus Hetaireios.²⁴⁹ The Hetaireidia, being a commemoration of the Argonauts' first sacrifice, must have been a celebration of male companionship. We can only speculate about what kind of male associations sacrificed at the Hetaireidia, which may well have been an old regional festival.²⁵⁰ But the role now ascribed to the king may well indicate a reframing of the festival in order to accommodate the new balance of power.²⁵¹ Everybody was now a *hetairos*, or a potential *hetairos*, of the king.

The impact of the Macedonian world and its values is most visible in the cult of Heracles and his *kynegoi*. We learn about it from a royal edict of Philip V which prescribes that the clothing of the *kynegoi* should from now on be grey. As mentioned earlier, the direct intervention in the cult might be related to the fact that this cult had a strong Macedonian colouring since it is known in several Macedonian cities. An inscription from Veroia seems to indicate that the term *kynegos* was used to designate officials of the cult, usually numbering two each year.²⁵² But the name of the priests (*kynegoi*) and the epithet of the god (Kynagidas) indicate that Heracles had something to do with hunting, a prominent pastime of the Macedonian elite, and one which would have involved more than two individuals. Hatzopoulos has suggested that the two *kynegoi*-priests of Veroia, who presumably also served other cults of the god, were in charge of a larger group of *kynegoi*. These, he further suggested, we should identify with the royal ephebes.²⁵³ His suggestions must remain provisional as new evidence might come to light, but were we to accept them we should then ask who would have participated in the cult of Heracles in Demetrias: just Macedonians, or all members of Demetrias' upper classes? A third-century inscribed altar from Atrax which refers to Polycharmos—a good Thessalian name—as a *kynegos* strengthens the case for the latter option.²⁵⁴

Let me sum up the discussion so far. Some old local cults persisted and acquired an important role in the city's religious life, but there was also radical

²⁴⁹ Ath. 572d–e.

²⁵⁰ Guarducci (1937) 104; for the Cretan *hetaireiai*: Willetts (1955) 18–29.

²⁵¹ Unless of course we are dealing here with two separate festivals, one celebrated in Macedonia by the kings and the other at Magnesia by groups of men, which had nothing to do with each other. The mention of one after the other seems to imply a connection but it is difficult to tell from the passage.

²⁵² Allamani-Souri (1993).

²⁵³ Hatzopoulos (1994a) 103–6.

²⁵⁴ AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 254 no. 10.

change. Cults were uprooted from their old environment; they were associated with the new symbols of power; the personnel involved might also have changed as certainly did the participants. Some of them, like the cult of *ktistai* and *archegetai*, might have brought together large crowds; other rituals like that of Zeus Akraios were more the affair of the new elite of the city, an elite that was to a certain degree macedonianized and may have taken part in the cult of Heracles Kynagidas.

So far the discussion has concerned the official cults of the city. It is time to look at religion in other contexts, such as household cults and private *thiasoi*. Several houses have been excavated at Demetrias but identifying evidence for religion in them is more difficult than is sometimes recognized. I single out only one clear example of household cult, the house excavated at the Katsoni property. In the south part of its courtyard, excavations brought to light a stone-paved floor and a bench. One of the slabs of the floor had a round depression and on top of the bench a small stone altar was found. In front of the altar were a *thymiaterion* (incense-burner) and several pots, which were slightly burnt.²⁵⁵ While one can feel confident suggesting that some form of cult activity took place here, going beyond that simple statement to discuss the nature of this activity is more difficult. But perhaps in this case the 'non-exceptionality' of the finds might in itself be significant, in that they could be taken to suggest that the cult practised in the house was just 'normal'.

We could juxtapose the findings from this building with those found in the one excavated in the Zerva property. Various rooms organized around a peristyle have been uncovered, one of which seems to have been used as a bath. Among the finds the excavator notes a *thymiaterion* but also several figurines and clay altars. According to the excavator, the figurines represented Aphrodite Epitragia, Ennodia, Hecate, Kybele, and Zeus Meilichios. The clay altars, too, had representations of the deities worshipped, but no more information is provided. Originally the building was identified as a house, but later the excavator changed her mind and suggested, citing the Metroon in the agora of Pella as a parallel, that this, too, might have been a public sanctuary of Kybele.²⁵⁶ The finding of tiles with the royal stamp on them, of which similar have only been discovered in the palace, certainly raises questions concerning the status of the building and its occupants, although the term public might still not be the appropriate term to describe it, as it implies city-wide participation.²⁵⁷ In any case, the possibility that the cult may not have been strictly speaking domestic, involving only the members of the *oikos*, should remain

²⁵⁵ AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 230.

²⁵⁶ AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 227; AD 45 (1990) *Chron.* 201; Batziou-Efstathiou (1996) 22–4; Batziou-Efstathiou (2001) 31–2.

²⁵⁷ Note also that part of another building with similar finds, including figurines of Kybele and Demeter, as well as a bathroom, has been excavated at the locality Aivaliotika: AD 55 (2000) *Chron.* 466–8.

open. We could imagine a private *thiasos*, perhaps of high-class members, gathering for worship.

Funerary inscriptions allow us further glimpses into the private cults of Demetrias and the world of its foreign residents. We learn from them about Ouaphres Orou, who came from the city of Bousiris in Egypt and who was a priest of Isis. Ouaphres is depicted on the stele as an Egyptian with typical Isiac attributes, holding a sistrum and a situla.²⁵⁸ Two other funerary *stelai* were for priests from Sidon, but the deity they served is not mentioned.²⁵⁹ These foreign cults may well have been private, although some doubts about the cult of the Egyptian gods should be voiced. In the second century the Sarapeion was an important public sanctuary, where civic decrees were displayed and the priest of the god was appointed by the city and was an individual of very high standing.²⁶⁰ A process of transformation from private to public is epigraphically attested for Delos, but whether we should transplant it everywhere else is less clear.²⁶¹ In some cases the cult might have been public from the very beginning, even if the presence of an Egyptian priest was desirable during the establishment of the cult.

Even if we accept that we are dealing here with private cults, we would still like to know whether these private *thiasoi* brought together people of different origins, including old locals, other Greeks, and non-Greek foreigners, and whether the gods and rites were adjusted to local norms. Such a blending of people and traditions is hinted at by the evidence of onomastics. Masson has noticed that it was very common for the Phoenician residents of Demetrias to adopt Greek names which were free translations of Phoenician ones.²⁶² It is perhaps in such a context of syncretism between different traditions that we should place the cult of Pasikrata and Artemis-Ennodia whose sanctuary was somewhere outside the south walls of the city.²⁶³ A goddess called Pasikrata, Pasikrateia, or Artemis Pasikrata is known in Sicily and north-western Greece while the assimilation of Artemis with Ennodia makes sense primarily from the point of view of non-local worshippers.²⁶⁴

The mixed population of Demetrias seems also to have come to share some common perceptions about the afterlife. Very rarely can the origin of the deceased be connected with a particular set of beliefs about the afterlife, as in the case of the epigram for a Cretan woman which mentions the underworld

²⁵⁸ Arvanitopoulos (1909) 248–52 no. 52 and (1928) 92; Stamatopoulou (2008).

²⁵⁹ Arvanitopoulos (1909) 249; Masson (1969) 694 no. 4.

²⁶⁰ *IG IX* 1101; *IG IX 2* 1107; Arvanitopoulos (1929a) 28 no. 419. The sanctuary of Sarapis has not been located. Arvanitopoulos tentatively placed it in the south part of the city close to the walls: *PAE* (1915) 160.

²⁶¹ See in general: Dunand (1983); Voutiras (2005); Dignas (2008).

²⁶² Masson (1969).

²⁶³ I discuss the supposed funerary location of the sanctuary in section 6.2.

²⁶⁴ For Pasikrat(ei)a elsewhere in the Greek world see section 6.2.

judges Minos and Rhadamanthys.²⁶⁵ But the figure of Hermes Chthonios, a characteristic phenomenon of the wider area at that time, is found both on Thessalian funerary monuments and those of foreigners.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it is on tombstones that ethnic identity is most commonly stressed. Since no connection with a funerary eschatology can be made, this statement of the deceased's ethnic origins seems to be just a reminder that the land that covers him is not his original homeland, as he and his family might have wished, and this wish may be somehow fulfilled by the inscription. The opposition here between old locals and foreigners is marked. There is no example yet that mentions an old local community. Perhaps we can sense here a feeling of belonging, a tie with the earth itself, no matter what its name and who ruled it.

It is time to come back to the question posed earlier on, to what extent was a feeling of common Demetrian identity created and shared between the various elements of the population. To such a question there is no black or white answer, not least because the very concept of 'Demetrian identity' admits various interpretations. The evidence seems to indicate a mixing and sharing of traditions and cults, and we could imagine that the various inhabitants of Demetrias would have developed a feeling of unity that came through cohabitation and everyday interaction. Foreign residents in the city might have started feeling at home after a generation: the frequency of various ethnics in funerary *stelai* could be relevant to this issue. The old locals on the other hand might always have maintained a feeling of closer connection with the land. But what about a civic Demetrian identity? The organization of the territory into demes may be important since a vital element in Athenian civic identity was deme membership.²⁶⁷ Moreover, a third-century funerary epigram set up for a soldier who died in Phthiotic Thebes fighting against the Aitolians calls Demetrias his homeland (*patris*). But there is no mention, as we might have expected, that Antigenes had died fighting gloriously for his polis. Instead the epigram tells us that he died fighting for the pipes of Enyalios, Zeus, and the chthonian grave of Alexander, none of which would naturally stand for Demetrias.²⁶⁸ Even more suggestive seems to me to be the dearth of any *politeia* awards during the second century BC, when royal power was finally removed from the area and Demetrias became an autonomous city. In contrast to other Thessalian cities, that generously bestowed *politeia* on various individuals, Demetrias only awarded *proxenia*: an indication perhaps that

²⁶⁵ Arvanitopoulos (1909) 155 no. 20. Minos alone, though, is also mentioned in Peek (1955) no. 943 which was set up for a Demetrian. For Minos in Greek funerary epigrams see Vertoudakis (2000) 135–66.

²⁶⁶ Kravaritou (2011) 124, who cites M. Stamatopoulou as personal communication. I am very hesitant, though, about seeing Hermes Chthonios as 'the most prominent divinity of the proper Thessalian background': Kravaritou (2011) 119. I discuss his cult further in section 6.2.

²⁶⁷ For the problem of whether Demetrias was organized into *komai* or into demes see n. 229.

²⁶⁸ Peek (1955) no. 943.

citizenship ultimately mattered little in this cosmopolitan city, put together from various previously dependent poleis, ruled for a century and more by a king, only to be replaced in the end by a very narrow oligarchy.²⁶⁹

Was Demetrias unique? In its radical transformation of the pre-existing social and religious environment, the dominant presence of the Macedonian king, and its thoroughly mixed population, Demetrias might well have been exceptional. Nevertheless, all the new features we have encountered in Demetrias are attested, if to a lesser degree, everywhere in the area during the Hellenistic period. Evidence for new people, new gods, new monuments, and new cities is found all over Thessaly and its previously perioikic regions. In Achaia Phthiotis archaeology shows that the synoecism of Phthiotic Thebes, alluded to by Diodorus, might indeed have taken place at some point in the late fourth century, when a new fortification wall was built that enclosed twice as much space as the Archaic one.²⁷⁰ At around the same time Halos, which had been destroyed by Philip, was given a second chance.²⁷¹ The new city was founded on new ground and must certainly have looked very different from its predecessor, with its grid plan and careful division between residential and public space. Excavations have brought to light another newly built settlement at Kastro Kallithea, possibly to be identified with the settlement Peuma, known for its boundary disputes with its neighbours.²⁷² Helly believes that a number of settlements, such as Elateia, Eurai, Rhizous, and Meliboia, were established, or enlarged, in the course of the third century in the north-eastern part of Thessaly and Magnesia.²⁷³ The city of Atrax on the banks of the river Peneus, controlling the passage from the western plain to the eastern, doubled or tripled in size during the third century.²⁷⁴ At the village Kallithera in western Thessaly a new planned settlement was established at around the end of the fourth century only to be abandoned around 230 BC, when it may have joined the nearby city of Metropolis.²⁷⁵ Another community, that of Thamiiai, seems to have formed a sympolity first with Gomphoi, and then with Metropolis.²⁷⁶

Obviously, the structures of religious life must have been altered in those communities that underwent synoecism, although the little evidence we have

²⁶⁹ For a review of the various *proxenia/politeia* awards from Demetrias and Thessaly see section 2.3.2.

²⁷⁰ Diod. 20.110.3. Helly (2009) 341; Decourt et al. (2004) 717 no. 444 for the problem of whether a city called Phthiotic Thebes existed before the synoecism.

²⁷¹ Reinders (1988); Helly (2009) 342.

²⁷² Tziafalias et al. (2006); Haagsma et al. (2011).

²⁷³ Helly (2004b); Helly (2009) 349.

²⁷⁴ Tziafalias (1995). ²⁷⁵ Intzesiloglou (1983). See also Helly (1992) 70–2.

²⁷⁶ Helly (1971a) and (1986); Helly (1993). See also AD 36 (1981) *Chron.* 254: a fragmentary inscription referring to a sympolity between a place called Thone and Metropolis.

seems to indicate that the change might not have been in all cases as radical, involving for instance relocation of sanctuaries, as it was in Demetrias.²⁷⁷ We should not, in any case, draw too clear a line between synoecized settlements and others where life supposedly continued unaltered. Phenomena like the mass bestowals of citizenship, attested in several Thessalian cities, and the end of the system of penestism would have upset the religious structures of these communities equally.²⁷⁸

Although the demography of the population might not have changed as much as in Demetrias, there is no doubt that foreigners were more often to be seen than in the past: the presence of numerous Macedonians is certain, as is perhaps the presence of Aitolians later in the third century. It is often assumed that most of these foreigners moved to Thessaly in some form of military capacity, in comparison to, say, Demetrias where many of them must have been traders.²⁷⁹ Nevertheless, inscriptions reveal the presence of philosophers, poets, doctors, artists, religious embassies, and religious experts, visiting Thessaly for longer or shorter periods from faraway countries.²⁸⁰ In general the various communities of Thessaly exhibit an awareness of the bigger world around them: there is evidence that old traditions were reworked to make new sense in these changed circumstances. Just one example among many: Archareta from Kalydon, who was honoured with citizenship at Krannon, may well have sung about the common past of Krannon and Aitolia.²⁸¹ Thessalians themselves might have travelled much more than in the past. A late fourth-

²⁷⁷ We can unfortunately say very little beyond that: at Phthiotic Thebes the cult of Athena Polias on the acropolis continued, the old temple was renovated (*AD* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 323–4), and the civic coins depicted the hero Protesilaos, who was worshipped at Phylake, and Demeter, presumably referring to her cult at Pyrasos (Head (1911) 310). But these two cults seem to have been famous and must have attracted worshippers from a wide area already before the synoecism (for Protesilaos: Pind. *Isthm.* 1.58–9; Amandry (1971) 617–18 no. 8; Helly (1995) 137ff. For Demeter: Hom. *Il.* 2.695; Strabo 9.5.14). We do not know whether the organization and administration of the cults changed, but architectural remains and dedications to Demeter found at Nea Anchialos, where Pyrasos is located, indicate that the sanctuary did not move: *PAE* (1907) 170; Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 17–18; *IG IX* 2 134; *AE* (1929) 141 no. 6; *AD* 20 (1965) *Chron.* 322. The cult of Aphrodite at Onthyron, judging from Strabo 9.5.17, seems to have continued even after its incorporation at Metropolis. See also section 2.5.

²⁷⁸ For these matters see section 2.3.2

²⁷⁹ Macedonians in Thessaly: Helly (1973a) 85–6 for Macedonian influences on onomastics; Helly (2009) 349, who discusses the depiction of a Macedonian shield on various monuments; Huguenot (2006) for Macedonian tombs at Larisa, Gomphoi, Petroporos, Azoros, and Gonno-kondylos. For other foreigners in a military capacity in Thessaly see Helly (1980); (1991b).

²⁸⁰ See section, 2.3.2.

²⁸¹ *IG IX* 2 458. Marek (1984) 295 believes she was a travelling artist, as the Aristodama from Smyrna who received *proxenia* at Lamia: *IG IX* 2 62; for whom see also Rutherford (2009a). See also Helly (2006a) for an honorary decree for an orator from Alexandria at Troas who spoke about the glorious history of Larisa. For contacts between Thessalian communities and the wider Greek world see also section 5.6. Of great importance for the discussion of how old tradition made sense in new circumstances is also a recently found inscription at Halos, which, according to preliminary reports (*AD* 56–9 (2001–4) *Chron.* 489–90), lists various mythical heroes.

century inscription from Pherai lists a number of individuals contributing various sums of money for the maintenance of the city's gymnasium. Helly has suggested that these may have been Pheraiaans who had participated in Alexander's expedition and had returned home full of new experiences and money.²⁸² New horizons and new experiences brought with them risks and fears: several dedications from all over Thessaly were made to god-protectors of sea-faring, such as Apollo Aisonios, Leukothea, and the Megaloi Theoi.²⁸³

New gods and new cults, some of which we have already seen at Demetrias, as well as new attitudes, came along with this busy traffic. A *kynegos* (of Heracles?) is attested at Atrax, and dedications by girls called *nebeusasai* have been found at Atrax, Phauttos, and Larisa.²⁸⁴ The cult of the Egyptian gods quickly won new ground: dedications by private individuals, groups, and the city have been recorded from Larisa, Atrax, Gonnoi, Krannon, the small settlement at Mikro Kaserli, while from Gomphoi comes a well-known hymn to Isis dated though to a later period, perhaps the first century AD.²⁸⁵ The cult of the Mother of the Gods might also have become popular during that time, attested by inscribed dedications at Atrax, Larisa, and Phalanna. While their testimony as chronological indicators for the introduction of the cult can be contested, recent excavations at the area of Tempe have brought to light a building complex which may have been a sanctuary of the Mother and which seems to have been established in the second half of the fourth century.²⁸⁶ We can say little, though, about the structures of her worship. Another foreign god, the Anatolian Men, started being worshipped in Thessaly. A unique document, a second-century sacred law found at Marmarine in north-eastern Thessaly, reveals a complex cult of various Greek and foreign divine figures and is bound, when fully published, to have a central position in discussions concerning the syncretism of different religious traditions.²⁸⁷ The word *lytron* (ransom) found on a few inscribed dedications to describe the offering, or the mention in a few instances that a

²⁸² Helly, Riele, and van Rossum (1998); see also Habicht (1976c). Launey (1949) 212ff for Thessalian mercenaries.

²⁸³ Apollo Aisonios: Kontogiannis (2000). Leukothea: *IG IX 2 422*; *PAE* (1908) 175; *AE* (1910) 378; *AD 44* (1989) *Chron.* 239 no. 20; Tziafalias (1984b) no. 33. Megaloi Theoi: *IG IX 2 264*; *AE* (1910) 378 no. 26.

²⁸⁴ For the possible connection of these cults with the Macedonian world and its values see earlier in this section. ID nos. 83, 85, 88–9, 91–3, 143; *AD 52* (1996) *Chron.* 524 no. 40.

²⁸⁵ Atrax: *AD 29* (1973–4) *Chron.* 583. Elateia: *AE* (1931) 177 no. 14, a dedication by the *synklitai* to an unknown deity might be a dedication to Sarapis (for the *synklitai* and Sarapis see Voutiras (2005) 286). Gomphoi: Vidman (1969) 43 no. 92. Gonnoi: Helly (1973b) no. 205; Tziafalias (1984b) no. 82. Krannon: *IG IX 2 465*; Larisa: Tziafalias (1984b) no. 102; *IG IX 2 589*, 590, 591. For the cult of the Egyptian gods in Thessaly see in general Dunand (1973) 46–52, 178–81; Decourt and Tziafalias (2007b), who also discuss the evidence from funerary *stelai* and theophoric names.

²⁸⁶ Toufexis et al. (2012); Appendix 2.

²⁸⁷ For a first presentation of the document: Decourt and Tziafalias (2012).

dedication was made after an order (*kata prostagma*), betray a new religious mentality concerning the relationship between humans and gods.²⁸⁸ Private initiators into mystery cults left their golden traces as they travelled through Thessaly from the coast in the south-west all the way to Pelinna in the north-east. Last but not least, the numerous funerary epigrams, whose themes are very similar to those found in Demetrias and which express hopes and often certitude about a blessed afterlife, seem to indicate a shift in attitudes towards death. This, though, will be the theme of another chapter.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ *Lytron*: IG IX 2 303: dedication to Artemis Akraia from Triikka; N. Giannopoulos, *AE* (1931) 178–9; Arvanitopoulos (1929c) 249–51: dedication to Artemis Throsia from Larisa; *AD* 43 (1988) *Chron.* 260: dedication to Poseidon from Larisa; Tziafalias (1984b) no. 100: dedication to Dioskouroi from Larisa. The word is discussed by Hatzopoulos (1994a) 38–9; Graninger (2007) 159–62. *Kata prostagma*: *AD* 40 (1986) *Chron.* 206 to the Mother of the Gods from Larisa; Vidman (1969) 47 no. 104 to Sarapis and Isis from Demetrias. *Kat enyphion*: *AD* 31 (1976) *Chron.* 184; *AD* 44 (1989) *Chron.* 239 no. 19 to Agathos Theos from Larisa.

²⁸⁹ See section 6.2.

Panthessalianism and Religion

5.1. THESSALIAN UNITY AND ‘*ETHNOS* RELIGION’

There are various ways to talk about the unity of a region. Nowadays, one tends to think first in terms of political unity. A region can be unified because it possesses a central government and administration, although the degree of centralization and the power of the central government vis-à-vis local authorities can vary. Alternatively, co-operation on a variety of levels can exist within a region without the region being necessarily politically unified. This is often the case, for instance, with military alliances, or economic unions. And we could also think in terms of more informal contacts and links tying one place to another, of people travelling and moving to buy and sell things, to visit relatives or friends, to participate in festivals, to search for better land, and for many other reasons. How are the various types of contact related to each other? Does an area within which people tend to intermarry finally become more unified? What is necessary for a military and economic alliance to become a political one? How do different forms of political union relate to the particular social or economic characteristics of an area? And why do some attempts at unification fail? These are big questions. Time and again scholars have come up with typologies of the state, each type trying to describe something of the particular relationship which existed between centralized government and local units, and each also carrying some assumptions about the social identity and status of the population. Scholars talk of nation states, unitary states, federal states, confederations, leagues, territorial states, micro-cultures, feudal states, chiefdoms, tribal states, and *ethnos*-states.¹

Several of these names have at one time or another been used to describe Thessaly at different points in its history. But we will not enter this discussion

¹ There is great disagreement and inconsistency on how different scholars understand and use any of these types. See Reynolds (1994) 1–74; Hansen (2000a) and (2000b); Yoffee (2005) 4–41.

of whether, for instance, Thessaly was a federal state or not.² The questions which concern us here are different: how did the Thessalians, and in particular the various different groups which made up the Thessalians, perceive their unity, their common Thessalian identity? And what was the relationship between these, perhaps varying, perceptions of Thessalian identity and religion? Of course we cannot talk about these matters without getting into issues of whether Thessaly was politically unified during the periods discussed here, whether there was co-operation and contact among the various subgroups of the Thessalian population, or, on the contrary, whether Thessaly was torn apart by intense conflict and competition. But the broader subject, as identified here, has not yet been discussed in detail. Scholars who have, if only in passing, engaged themselves with these questions were mainly interested in deciding when Thessaly became a state, what precise type of state it was, and then have progressed from there to make some brief assumptions about religion and identity which would fit their models.

A variety of opinions have been expressed concerning the unity of Thessaly through time: some believe that during the Geometric and Archaic periods the Thessalians not only came together often in war, but had actually formed a strong and unified *ethnos*. In the course of the Classical period, they postulate, *stasis* flourished in the area and the unity of the *ethnos* was only restored in the fourth century, first through the efforts of Jason of Pherai, but more lastingly under the leadership of the Macedonians.³ Others doubt the existence of an early strong and unitary *ethnos*, or that Thessaly had any meaningful existence after the death of Alexander the Great. The most glorious periods of the Thessalian *ethnos* were, according to these accounts, the early fifth and the first half of the fourth century.⁴ Some works give great general prominence to the theme of disorder and internal conflicts, considering it a perennial feature of Thessalian political life. Thessaly, with the exception of a couple of brief spells, is described as a failed state, hardly deserving the name.⁵ But in other works this theme is played down and the emphasis is on discovering the unifying structures of the strong, conquering, and proud Thessalian *ethnos*.⁶ Statements about religion sometimes crop up here and there, by way of reinforcing the argument: common cults, we read, provide the glue through

² For different attempts to categorize Thessaly at the various points of its history see Larsen (1968) 4, 20; Giovannini (1971); Walbank (1985); Beck (1997); Corsten (1999).

³ Larsen (1960); Larsen (1968) 12–26.

⁴ Sordi (1958a) *passim*.

⁵ The subjugation to Macedonia is supposedly the final proof of this failure: Hornblower (2002) 99 writes 'but the failure goes deeper: Macedon succeeded where the tyrants of Thessaly did not.' The cause, for some, was Thessaly's inability to attain the ideal of the type of state it was. See e.g. Hatzopoulos (1994b) 251–2 for Thessaly being a monarchical organized state, which did not manage to regulate access to office through descent in a single line. Also T. Martin (1985) 79–80.

⁶ Helly (1995) *passim*.

which the solidarity of the *ethnos* is maintained;⁷ or, on the contrary, Thessalian factionalism is reflected in the fact that there was not one common cult, but many;⁸ or, when the Thessalians were strong and unified they invested in sanctuaries abroad, but when they fell into conflict they turned their attention to their own local festivals and games.⁹ Where within all these often contradictory views does the truth lie?

It is not the aim of this work to review in detail the various problems concerning the history of Thessaly. But we need to take a detour, if only briefly, to discuss some of the key points of the debate. Starting with the problem of the nature of the early *ethnos*, the belief that Thessaly was united in early times relies, first, on general presuppositions about *ethne*; that these were alternative and more primitive forms of political organization than the polis.¹⁰ Secondly, it relies on the evidence of later literary sources, which refer to events which supposedly took place in the Geometric and Archaic periods and whose traditional interpretation would make Thessaly a pivotal player in central Greece, not least by dominating in the early sixth century the Delphic amphichy.¹¹ The opposite view, which doubts the existence of an early unified Thessaly, draws from recent work on ethnicity.¹² This has inspired scholars to dispute the old understanding of *ethne* as tribal groupings, stressing the constructive and ever-changing character of ethnic identities. At the same time archaeologists seek to understand early societies primarily through material evidence, challenging the validity of using much later sources.

Most important is the work of Morgan, who in her discussion of the early *ethnos* of Thessaly highlights local variation in the patterning of the evidence. The settlement layout and the mortuary evidence from various Thessalian cities, such as Larisa, Krannon, Pherai, and Iolkos, she argues, seem to have been different, as was their location within a hierarchy of other nearby

⁷ Ehrenberg (1960) 25; Snodgrass (1980) 42.

⁸ Beck (1997) 134 argues that 'Die Bundespolitik läßt sich nicht mit der Politik einer oder mehrerer Poleis identifizieren. So fehlte dem Koinon ein permanentes Bundeszentrum. Auffällig ist auch, daß es in Thessalien offenbar keinen ausgeprägten Bundeskult gab', referring to Westlake (1935) 42–3, who, however, explained the phenomenon differently: 'Thessaly was not the special province of any single deity, perhaps because the summit of Olympus was the traditional home of them all.'

⁹ Stamatopoulou (2007) 332–41.

¹⁰ Ehrenberg (1960) 24–7; Snodgrass (1980) 42–7.

¹¹ As Davies (1994) 193 put it 'every historian of archaic Greece has to come to terms with the First Sacred War.' Even scholars who stand sceptical towards the tradition, as well as to what was until recently the orthodoxy concerning early *ethne*, find it hard to exorcize from their understanding of the early history of central Greece a strong Thessaly dominating the Delphic amphichy. See e.g. McInerney (1999) 173–81.

¹² The pace was set by J. Hall (1997) and was followed by many others. While most scholars ascribe to the axiom of the constructive character of ethnicities, disagreements exist on various other issues, such as, for instance, the role and importance of common religion for the self-definition of a group: Compare J. Hall (1997) 22–6; J. Hall (2002) 9ff. and S. Jones (1998) 272–3; R. Parker (1998) 20–1; Sourvinou-Inwood (2005) 24ff.

settlements, a fact which might indicate that their needs and development were different.¹³ Morgan further tries to identify through the archaeological evidence the contexts within which various activities took place and the kinds of identities that these might have created, and she concludes that big settlements/poleis were, from early times, a focus for certain economic and 'political' activities. While, in order to deal with some issues, co-operation on a wider regional level was also required, still these problems do not seem to have been handled on a formal federal level. She, therefore, concludes that 'far from being primeval systems within which poleis developed relatively late, the vast majority of Greek *ethne* were themselves comparatively late constructs developed round a pre-existing structure of local centres.'¹⁴ While it is, indeed, important to highlight variety in the material record within Thessaly, and Morgan might well be right in arguing that the Thessalian *ethnos* acquired political functions only at a relatively late date, I find the emphasis on the 'political' troublesome, since it can lead one to downplay the importance that the *ethnos* might have had already in early times as an arena for social interaction.¹⁵

The same emphasis on the political characterizes the discussion of the theme of Thessalian disorder. It is true that various sources, referring mostly to events of the fifth and early fourth centuries, comment on the inability of the Thessalians to act concertedly. Their stance in the Persian Wars and later in the Peloponnesian War, their changing sides during the battle of Tanagra, the possible existence of so-called private armies, all go to show why the Thessalians, as Demosthenes conceded, were not to be trusted.¹⁶ Cities, various other groups, and private individuals seem to have been able to act either independently, or in the name of all Thessalians, or even contrary to the wishes of the *ethnos*. Be that as it may, the intensity with which the phenomenon of Thessalian disorder has been perceived relies not so much on this kind of evidence as on the existence of the infamous periods of *tagia* and *atagia*. The 'inability' of the Thessalians to always come to an agreement and elect a *tagos*, a chief leader for their confederacy, resulted, according to many

¹³ C. Morgan (2003) 85–102.

¹⁴ C. Morgan (2003) 69–85 and p. 70 for the quotation.

¹⁵ Emphasis on the political: see e.g. C. Morgan (2003) 206: 'one important question that has emerged on several occasions is the relative chronology of the emergence of poleis and *ethne* as politically salient entities.' Stressing the importance that local centres might have had in *ethne*, be they called 'big sites', 'poleis', or 'micro-regions', is a positive step and a necessary one to balance the weight of old scholarship, which insisted that poleis and *ethne* were opposing forms of organization; while the emphasis on the lack of political salience of *ethne* can to some extent be understood, when Morgan's work is set against earlier scholarship which sought to understand *ethne* as early forms of state.

¹⁶ The relevant ancient sources are: Hdt 7.172; Thuc. 1.107; 4.78; Isoc. 8.118; and for the quotation Dem. 1.22. Apart from the standard works on Thessalian history (Sordi, Larsen, and Helly) see also the discussion of these events by Westlake (1936); Robertson (1976); Gehrke (1985) 185–9; Rechenauer (1993).

scholars, in long periods of *atagia*, times when all federal institutions collapsed.¹⁷ The political situation in Thessaly during these periods of time has often been perceived in a dramatic way. Larsen and many others describe the periods of *atagia* as periods of civil strife and anarchy.

But both Sordi and Helly have, in different ways, cast significant doubts on the traditional perception of periods of *tagia* and *atagia* as periods of order versus disorder.¹⁸ The expression ‘*κὲν ταγά κὲν ἀταγία*’, known from two fifth-century civic decrees, if interpreted as meaning something like ‘both in war and in peace’, would then indicate that the periods of *atagia* would coincide with the periods of peace.¹⁹ Similarly Jason in his speech to Polydamas as reported by Xenophon tries to persuade his interlocutor of the benefits of coming under a *tagos*, indicating that in internal Thessalian politics *tagia* and *atagia* were not the encapsulation of good and bad but both were considered as possible equal options.²⁰ Domination over Thessaly, expressed in the institution of the *tagia*, could then be seen as a goal to be achieved, not as a desideratum that had to be secured and preserved. Adopting this standpoint could in turn allow us to see competition among the various power groups in a different light. We could perhaps think of it not as the destructive force that worked against the unity of the *ethnos*, but as the underlying ideology which created and sustained the idea of a unitary *ethnos*. Power both on the local and on the regional level was achieved through a network of competing alliances that transcended the boundaries of single cities and thus incorporated them into a Panthessalian milieu.²¹

¹⁷ For the periods of *atagia* being periods of anarchy see e.g. Axenidis (1947a) 84–91; Larsen (1968) 15.

¹⁸ But neither Sordi nor Helly doubted the existence of permanent federal institutions. Sordi (1958a) 334–9 (also Sordi (1997) 178–82) saw only the office of the *tagia* as an extraordinary one; Helly (1995) 30–5, 334 argues that the *tagos* was a civic official and thus the periods of *tagia* and *atagia* do not apply to the federal level. His arguments are right concerning the use of the phrase in the Thetionion and Atrax inscriptions, which were after all civic decrees: see n. 19. But his discussion (pp. 345–53) of why Jason (Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.8; 6.4.28) would have used this term to describe the chief of the Thessalian *ethnos* supposedly for the first time, although he seems to have gone to considerable efforts to present his actions as conforming to the Thessalian law, is not very convincing. Sordi argues that during periods of *atagia* other federal officials, such as the *polemarchoi*, continued to exist, while Helly believes that the head of Thessalian *ethnos* was the *archon*. Possible though these suggestions are, they cannot be proved, and the possibility that there were no permanent federal institutions has to be given equal consideration.

¹⁹ The phrase ‘*κὲν ταγά κὲν ἀταγία*’ appears in a fifth-century inscription of the city Thetionion: IG IX 2 257. A similar expression ‘*αἶ κ’ ἀταγία*’ occurs in a fifth-century decree from Atrax: E. Giannopoulos, *AE* (1934–5) 140–5. For the phrase being equivalent to ‘both in war and peace’ see Chadwick (1992) 11–12. Contra: Hooker (1980), who translates it as ‘both when there is a *tagos* and when there is not one.’ Helly (1995) 334–5 argues that given the supposedly military functions of the *tagos* ‘la formule... est elle même une manière de dire πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης.’

²⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.8.

²¹ See e.g. Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2 about the Pharsalian Polydamas being entrusted with power by his co-citizens because he was well known and respected both in his city and in Thessaly in general:

Coming, last, to the question of what happened in Thessaly after the Macedonian occupation, this is the period when new epigraphic discoveries are adding most to our knowledge. While most scholars agree that Philip, and seemingly Alexander, did not dissolve the Thessalian *koinon*, there is uncertainty about what exactly happened afterwards.²² Sordi chose the death of Alexander the Great to finish her account of Thessalian history, since, as she maintained, no history of Thessaly could be written thereafter, independently from that of Macedonia. Thessaly had become to all intents and purposes a Macedonian province.²³ Epigraphic evidence attesting the existence of *epistatai* and *strategoi* in Thessaly seems to confirm the view that, during the third century, Macedonian institutions were implanted in Thessaly, although one may still argue that we know little of how these Macedonian officials might have related to local, i.e. Thessalian, governance.²⁴ Other third-century evidence attests to the continuing existence of some form of common Thessalian organization although there is doubt concerning the extent of its powers and responsibilities, which might have been limited.²⁵

While softening our views of an early strong Thessaly around which we could weave the history of central Greece, of a chaotic state during the Classical period with a brief revival under Jason, and of a complete subordination to Macedonia, we should ponder how the various changes that Thessaly might have undergone throughout its history, dimly as we understand them, could have impacted on the Thessalians' perception of their identity and its

οὗτος δ' καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ἡὐδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλὸς τε ἀγαθὸς εἶναι.

²² This does not mean that the *koinon* was not reorganized. For various opinions about the exact changes brought about by Philip II: Busolt (1920) 1488–9; Axenidis (1949) 15–25; Sordi (1958a) 259; Hammond and Griffith (1979) 52ff; Papastylou (1979); Gehrke (1985) 194ff; T. Martin (1985) 89ff; Harris (1995) 175–6; Helly (1995) 59–66; Badian (1999); Consolo Langher (1999); Graninger (2011c) 23ff.

²³ Sordi (1958a).

²⁴ *Strategoi* are mentioned in a late third-century decree from Krannon: Habicht (1981); Hatzopoulos (1996) i. 372–3 n. 8, who suggests they might have been district officials, the successors of the *tetrarchoi*. Evidence for *epistatai* at Thessaly, mentioned by Polyb. 5.26.5, has up to now been found only in the perioikic areas, such as at Gonnoi (Helly (1973b) no. 93 l.7), the Perrhaibian Tripolis (Tziafalias (2000a) 91), Homolion (Bosnakis and Hallof (2003) 230 ll. 19–20) and perhaps Demetrias (Intzesiloglou (2006a) 68–9 n. 3). Intzesiloglou (2006a) argues that they were also employed in Thessaly proper. Contra Hatzopoulos (1996) i. 373 n. 8.

²⁵ References to the *koinon* or *ethnos* of the Thessalians are found in an inscription from Kos first published by Segre (1934), republished with an additional new fragment in *IG XII* 4.1. no. 133 ll. 97, 123, 129; Bosnakis and Hallof (2010) 330 no. 37. See also now the important inscription from Aigai published by Malay and Riel (2009) and the more detailed discussion by R. Parker (2011b). Malay and Riel (2009) 48 suggest a date to the second half of the third century; Parker favours an earlier date at around 280 BC, close to the dating of the document inscribed on the other side of the stele. A similar date, between 294–88 BC, has also been recently suggested for the Kos inscription by Habicht (2007) 132–3, which Segre (1934) had dated to around 220 BC. That major changes occurred between the 280s and the late third century, when there is evidence for Macedonian *strategoi* and *epistatai* in the area, is of course very likely.

expression through religion. Although there is a tendency to associate political unity with a strong sense of identity expressed in the sharing of common cults and inversely the lack of political unity with a more fragmented religious life, we should not think that there is a straightforward correlation between these phenomena. Religion clearly can provide cohesion even in the absence of any formal political organization, and conflicting groups can still share common identities and cults: the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia illustrate this point best. On the other hand, it is possible for a sense of community, or even for political unity, to exist despite much religious fragmentation. The problem of the unity of Thessaly and its relationship to religion is thus complex, and a full treatment of it will take one down a variety of different paths. Some of these we have already trodden, although their implications for the topic discussed here have not yet been brought out. In Chapter 3 the question was posed whether there was great homogeneity in the cults of the various Thessalian poleis, while Chapter 4 gave precedence to exploring local variations within Thessaly.

In this chapter we will address the topic from another angle. We will first look in detail at the stories told about who the Thessalians were in order to see whether we can trace chronological changes or mainstream and non-mainstream beliefs. These stories attest to great diversity within what the Thessalians thought of themselves. We will then proceed to examine the cults which engaged with some of these stories; cults which might have used the stories as aetiological myths, for instance, or those cults which, although we do not know the associated myths, seem to have elaborated similar issues of identity. Examples of the latter include the cults that had wide Thessalian participation, or cults that the Thessalians shared with groups they considered their kin (*syngeneis*). By looking at particular cults in combination with the myths we shall be able to explore both issues of participation and the groups who found the stories relevant.²⁶

I have chosen to arrange the various cults chronologically, not because they were limited to a particular period, but because evidence for each of them seems to cluster at particular points of time. This chronological focus has the benefit of allowing me to discuss the cults in more precise historical contexts. We will start with the cult of Athena Itonia, which is the oldest cult attested in Thessaly, and discuss through it the problem of the beginning of the Thessalian *ethnos*. Then we shall move on to the cults of Poseidon Petraios and Zeus Peloros, exploring questions of status and conflict in the fifth century. The relationship of Thessaly and Delphic Apollo gains momentum in the fourth century and we shall pick it up at this point and see the importance of this cult to the unity of Thessaly. Finally, we shall come to the rich epigraphic evidence

²⁶ Kowalzig (2007) *passim* shows how potentially profitable this can be.

of the Hellenistic period showing the Thessalians making connections, not least in the religious sphere, with their putative kin overseas.

5.2. WHO WERE THE THESSALIANS?

Many population groups were believed to have lived at one time or another in the area of Thessaly: Pelasgians, Lapiths, Perrhaibians, Ainians, Magnesians, Aioliens, Achaians, Phthians, Phlegians, Myrmidons, Dorians, and Boiotians.²⁷ The Thessalians, according to popular myth, were latecomers in the area. The stories about their coming are not very clear. It seems that there were various, occasionally conflicting, traditions about where they came from, when they arrived, and whom, of the various people that had previously lived in Thessaly, they encountered. We should look in more detail into some of these accounts, not with a view to finding out the most authoritative one, which reflects most closely a supposed historical reality, but in order to reconstruct some of the ideas that Thessalians, or some Thessalians, had of their past.²⁸ That varying and conflicting mythologies could reflect standpoints of different interest groups, and changing perceptions over time, hardly needs arguing anymore.

Homer had nothing to say about Thessalians in Thessaly. He describes an area divided into various kingdoms and inhabited by several different people: the Lapiths lived in north-eastern Thessaly, the Perrhaibians, Ainians, and Magnesians occupied a large and indeterminate territory, the Aiolid Eumelos controlled the area around Pherai, Achilles had under his command Phthians, Achaians, and Myrmidons, and the sons of Asclepius led the contingents from Trikke and the places around it.²⁹ Homer, still, knew of a hero called Thessalos, whose sons, Antiphos and Pheidippos, were kings on the island of Kos.³⁰ After Homer, for two centuries, we hear nothing about the Thessalians, or about the population of Thessaly.³¹ When the Thessalians re-enter the sources, in the fifth century, information about them only partly conforms to the Homeric geography. Thucydides tells us that Thessalians came into the

²⁷ The traditions about some of these groups are discussed in more detail in section 4.2.

²⁸ Sakellariou (2009) 749–58 provides a useful collection of the relevant sources. Sordi (1958a) 1–31 remains the most interesting and comprehensive discussion of the topic, but her treatment is guided by the aim to discover the historical truth.

²⁹ Hom. *Il.* 2.681–759.

³⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.676–9: they lead the contingents of Kos, Kasos, Kalyndos, Karpathos, and Nisyros.

³¹ In *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 216–18 the god passes, after Olympus, through the land of Ainians and Perrhaibians, but there is no mention of Thessalians.

area sixty years after the Trojan War.³² This would neatly explain why Homer did not mention them. Thucydides, however, does not mention anything about the Koan hero Thessalos, and in his account the previous inhabitants of the area, with whom the Thessalians fought, were not any of the people listed in the Catalogue of Ships. The decisive battle, Thucydides tells us, was fought against the Boiotians who lived around Arne. The Thessalians prevailed and the Boiotians were expelled and forced to move to their historical homeland. In Homer, on the contrary, the Boiotians were already living in Boiotia.³³

The tradition about the Thessalians acquiring control of Thessaly after beating the Boiotians at Arne was very popular. The fourth-century historian Archemachos reports it, adding that some of the Boiotians decided to stay and became the *penestai* of the Thessalians.³⁴ Strabo mentions it, too, when talking about the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia in Boiotia and how it was transferred there from Arne, when the Boiotians were forced to leave.³⁵ By the early fourth century the city Kierion in western Thessaly was identified with mythical Arne and depicted the homonymous nymph on its coins.³⁶ It is likely that the identification of the area around Kierion with Arne went back to at least the early fifth century, when the name Thessaliotis (meaning land of the Thessalians) for the district is first attested.³⁷ That the Thessalians had come from the north-west, and in particular from Thesprotia, is in any case already found in Herodotus, who also mentions that they conquered the land of the Aioliens.³⁸ Although Herodotus mentions only aggression against the Phokians, at that time, as we shall see, the Aioliens were most commonly identified with the Boiotians. So, in the fifth century there seems to have existed a crystallized tradition that the Thessalians sixty years after the Trojan War had entered from the west and had fought a battle somewhere around Kierion against the Aioliens/Boiotians.

As for Thessalos' Koan connections we learn from Pherekydes that he was the son of Heracles and the local Koan princess Chalkiope,³⁹ but about his relation to Thessaly we know nothing definite at that time. The recent discovery at Metropolis in western Thessaly of what has been interpreted as a hero cult of Aiatos, who was purportedly related to Thessalos, would push

³² Thuc. 1.12.3. ³³ Hom. *Il.* 2.494–510.

³⁴ Archemachos *FGrH* 424 F 1 = Ath. 264a. ³⁵ Strabo 9.2.29.

³⁶ Rogers (1932) nos. 173, 173a, 176, and 177; Moustaka (1983) 48–9 (the identification is secure because the inscription Arne can be read on some specimens next to the kneeling figure: see e.g. Biesantz (1965) pl. 72.10). Arne and Kierion are also identified in Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρνῆ. Arne was a mythical city and was identified with other places, too: the evidence is collected and discussed by Sordi (1958a) 5–6; Bakhuizen (1989) 65–6.

³⁷ Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 52; Hekataios *FGrH* 1 F 133; Hdt. 1.56–7 refer to the tetrads. For their name see Gschnitzer (1954).

³⁸ Hdt. 7.176. ³⁹ Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 78. See also Strabo 9.5.23.

the myth about the Thessalian–Koan connection back to the Archaic period and connect it with the area of western Thessaly, where much other evidence for the migration clusters.⁴⁰ Nevertheless the tradition which links Aiatos with Thessalos and Kos cannot be dated before the fourth century.⁴¹

Pindar in the *Pythian* 10th praises the Heraclid origins of his Thessalian hosts, the Larisean Aleuads, and we could perhaps take this as an allusion to Thessalos' parentage by Heracles. But this would not necessarily entail that he was also connected with the island of Kos, or with the tradition that his descendants came from the north-west to the area of Arne. Indeed there were other, albeit later attested, traditions which told that the Heraclids had come from Argos to Thessaly. We get the details from Diodorus: when Heracles was awarded land in Thessaly, because he had once helped the Dorian king Aigimios against the Lapiths, he asked for it to be safeguarded for his descendants. So when the Heraclids were expelled from Argos, they made their home with the Dorians of Hestiaiotis.⁴² It is not surprising that such a myth might have had appeal to Lariseans. Larisa during the fifth century, we have seen in the previous chapter, stressed its Pelasgo–Argive past and cultivated links with the area of Hestiaiotis. Pindar's ode, after all, was composed for a young boy from Pelinna, a city in Hestiaiotis.⁴³

The tradition which explicitly linked Thessalos' Koan origins with the tradition of a migration from the north-west and the battle at Arne is first clearly attested in the fourth century. It was told that Thessalos' two sons, Antiphos and Pheidippos, went after the end of the war to Ephyra in Thesprotia, where their tomb was to be seen, and that their descendants conquered Thessaly and named it so either after their ancestor, Thessalos the king of Kos,⁴⁴ or, according to another version, after a second Thessalos, who was grandson of Pheidippos and son of Aiatos.⁴⁵ By the fourth century a tomb at Ephyra was identified as that of Pheidippos and Antiphos.⁴⁶ However, other traditions, of uncertain ancestry, remained in circulation. Apollodorus recounts how after the Trojan War Antiphos came to the land of the Pelasgians,

⁴⁰ Most of the evidence from Georgiko dates to the sixth century, but the tile with the relevant inscription could be dated, according to the excavator, even in the seventh century. The evidence is discussed in section 4.2 and in Appendix 2.

⁴¹ See later in this section.

⁴² Diod. 4.37; Diod. 4.58.6. Sordi (1958a) 25 n. 1, too, if in a slightly different way, maintains that the Heraclid tradition of Kos should be differentiated from that of Hestiaiotis.

⁴³ For Larisa and a Pelasgo–Argive past see section 4.2. Larisa and Hestiaiotis: note in this respect that several cities of the tetrad of Hestiaiotis, namely Triikka, Pelinna, and Pharkadon, shared in the so-called northern monetary union, whose centre seems to have been at Larisa (more in section 5.4). For the close link between the Heraclids and Argos see also J. Hall (2002) 80–1.

⁴⁴ Strabo 9.5.23. For the tomb see n. 46.

⁴⁵ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.44. Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δώριον* referring to Charax. Sordi (1958a) 7 places the Acheloos river mentioned in the story in Malis.

⁴⁶ Arist. fr. 640.39 (Rose).

apparently straight from the sea, and took possession of the country and called it Thessaly.⁴⁷ Rhianos went even further, and made Pelasgos the grandfather of Thessalos.⁴⁸ Strabo preserves a related tradition telling us that the father of Thessalos was Haimon, the son of Pelasgos.⁴⁹ Diodorus reports yet another version, which he attributes to Dionysios Skytobrachion, and which made Thessalos the son of Jason and Medea, coming to Iolkos from Corinth to take control of the kingdom which belonged to his father.⁵⁰

There were, then, clearly varying traditions about who the Thessalians were and how they came to live in Thessaly. Some general patterns seem to emerge. All traditions about the origins of their eponymous hero Thessalos (whether as son of Heracles, of Jason, or grandson of Pelasgos) ultimately present him as the lawful inhabitant of the land, returning to reconquer it after his ancestors had been expelled. Thessalian identity was also consistently perceived not only in relation to a single eponymous hero, but in relation to the various groups that were believed to have lived in the area in the past, which continued to make up, in the historical period, the Thessalians' neighbours. Traditions made the old inhabitants Thessaly's future *perioikoi* (Perrhaibians, Magnesians), *penestai* (Perrhaibians, Magnesians, Boiotians), neighbouring *ethne* (Boiotians and perhaps Phokians), or populations that had migrated further away (Pelasgians, Aiolians).

Since the relationship between Thessaly and its perioikic and neighbouring *ethne*, as well as the *penestai*, all but certainly underwent significant changes through time, we would like to know more about how this might have affected perceptions of Thessalian identity. Without getting into details here, we could generally say that while during the Classical period (and perhaps even earlier?) the *perioikoi* seem to have been subordinate in relation to Thessaly, this changed after Philip, when the various perioikic *ethne* gained their independence, at least from Thessaly, and came under the control of the Macedonians, or in the case of Achaia Phthiotis the Aitolians.⁵¹ Moreover, it is widely believed that the system of penestism disappeared during the Hellenistic period.⁵²

The relationship of the Thessalians with the Boiotians and Aiolians needs also to be considered. The belief that the Thessalians conquered Aiolian land and that these Aiolians were actually Boiotians first appeared in the fifth century (Homer, we saw, had the Boiotians living in Boiotia). Indeed, the association between Aiolians and Boiotians remained pervasive throughout

⁴⁷ Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15.

⁴⁸ Rhianos *FGrH* 265 F 30.

⁴⁹ Strabo 9.5.23.

⁵⁰ Dionysios Skytobrachion *FGrH* 32 F 14 = Diod. 4.54–5.

⁵¹ They are called *perioikoi* in Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19, *symmachoi* in Hdt. 8.22; Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19; and *hypekooi* in Thuc. 2.101.2; 4.78.6; 8.3.1. For the changes after Philip see Strabo 9.5.19; Dem. 1.22; 2.11; 6.22. In general Kip (1910); Gschnitzer (1958) 1–6; Sprawski (2008).

⁵² Ducat (1994) 105–13. Sordi's (1958a) 327 suggestion that this happened after the battle of Tanagra was rejected by most scholars: Larsen (1960) 240–2.

the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁵³ Ephoros, however, seems to preserve a different tradition, which would tie better with the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, when he reports that the Boiotians went from Boiotia to Thessaly, and not the other way round.⁵⁴ Related, perhaps, is the story about an oracle given to the Boiotians when they enquired whether they should continue fighting the Aiolians or leave. Who were these Aiolians? Was there a tradition which portrayed the Thessalians as the old inhabitants of the area, as Aiolians, while the Boiotians were the invaders?⁵⁵ There is only very scarce literary evidence for the identification of Thessalians as Aiolians.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, epigraphic evidence dating from the Hellenistic period, to which we will return later in this section, shows that at that time the Thessalians were presenting themselves as Aiolians. Was this a recent development and, if so, why did it happen?

Were these varying perceptions of Thessalian identity propagated and shared by particular groups, or were they of wider currency? When Hegemon from Trojan Alexandria called Aleuas the son of Thessalos we may reasonably wonder whether this was meant to satisfy a Larisean audience.⁵⁷ Similarly, the tradition that made Thessalos the son of Jason might well have been cultivated in south-east Thessaly. We could well speculate further.⁵⁸ But we also need to think whether the existence of many traditions, some older, some more recent, some local, some of wider appeal, means that they were necessarily in competition with one another. We should not a priori assume this: the same people could believe in many and conflicting 'truths'. It is important to

⁵³ See Thuc. 3.2; 7.57; 8.100; Pind. *Nem.* 11.33; Strabo 9.2.3–5. Other than the Boiotians, the Lokrians, Ainians, and the Aitolians are also sometimes mentioned as Aiolians: Thuc. 3.102.5; 7.57; Strabo 13.1.3–4.

⁵⁴ Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 119 = Strabo 9.2.3; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ἀπορη*.

⁵⁵ Parke and Wormell (1956) ii. 124 no. 309; Fontenrose (1978) 383 L75. See also Diod. 19.53.8; Suda ε 3154; Photius 2006. See also Ephoros *FGrH* 70 F 119, who says that the Boiotians are a fusion of natives of Arne and immigrants of Boiotia; while Strabo 9. 2.3 refers to Boiotians ruling together with those from Arne.

⁵⁶ But note Ps-Her. *Vit. Hom.* 2, who calls Theseus, the founder of Smyrna, a Thessalian. And Herakleid. Pont. fr. 163 (Wehrli) = Ath. 624c about the Aiolians descending from Thessalians. Sakellariou (2009) i. 419 comments: 'Cette notice n'exprime point l'idée d'une parenté des Eoliens avec les Thessaliens, mais un point de vue selon lequel les Eoliens de l'Eolide seraient originaire de la Thessalie, le berceau des Eoliens.' Scholars writing on the Aiolian migration often assert that Thessalians had participated in it, but the focus of these discussions is the question of who had participated in the 'real' Aiolian migration (and the evidence used is mostly that of dialects), and not the question which concern us here, of whether the Thessalians were considered Aiolians. For the Aiolians and the Aiolian migration see in general J. Bérard (1959); Vanschoonwinkel (1991) 405–21; Brian Rose (2008); Sakellariou (2009) i. 369–434; and for the dialect H. Parker (2008) with previous bibliography.

⁵⁷ Or shall we translate the passage as Aleuas the Thessalian? Hegemon *FGrH* 110 F 1 = Ael. NA 8.11.

⁵⁸ See e.g. Sordi (1958a) 65–84; 320–3, who speculates that a major reworking of Thessalian mythology took place in the early fifth century as part of Larisean, and more specifically Aleuad, propaganda.

recognize this, especially when we attempt to tie the evidence of myths to the turbulent history of the Thessalian *ethnos*.

Discussing on their own the various traditions that the Thessalians had for who they were cannot help us progress much further. But several of them were tied to, cultivated within, or interacted with, particular cults. It is to these cults I now turn.

5.3. THE CULT OF ATHENA ITONIA AND THE PROBLEM OF BEGINNINGS

No god has suffered more the vicissitudes of scholarship over the nature of the Thessalian *ethnos* than Athena Itonia. Once the goddess was considered the beating heart of the Thessalians' common identity, their most important goddess worshipped at Itonos from the moment they entered Thessaly to the late Roman period. Over the last years, as the nature and history of the Thessalian *ethnos* has been reconsidered, Athena Itonia's status has been radically diminished. First, her Panthessalian importance for the Geometric and Archaic period was called in question.⁵⁹ Soon her status in the Classical and Hellenistic periods started being reassessed. Athena Itonia's very identity has been threatened. We should think, it has been argued, not of one Athena Itonia, goddess of all Thessalians, but of several Itonias worshipped in a number of sanctuaries all over Thessaly.⁶⁰

The traditional picture of the goddess reconstructed from miscellaneous sources made her a very old deity, worshipped before the Thessalians came to the area by the old Aiolian/Boiotian population at Arne. After the Thessalian Invasion the expelled old population transferred the cult to Boiotia at Koroneia, and the Thessalian invaders took over the old Aiolian/Boiotian cult.⁶¹ Excavations in the 60s at Philia in western Thessaly revealed the sanctuary of the goddess. The wealth and early date of the finds seemed to confirm the idea of an old regional cult. On closer examination, however, several elements of this reconstruction prove shaky. Any discussion of the cult's origins and development needs to start from the premise that what the ancients believed about these issues does not necessarily mean that it was true. Moreover, the ancients' perceptions of the origins and development of the cult might have changed through time and so one should be careful when bringing together

⁵⁹ C. Morgan (1997) 170–5, esp. 173 and (2003) 135–42, esp. 140–1, where she mentions the sanctuary at Philia, together with that of Athena on the acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes, as examples of local shrines.

⁶⁰ Graninger (2008) 343 and (2011c) 46–67.

⁶¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) i. 230; Papachatzis (1992).

evidence from various periods, or extrapolating from one period to the other. Furthermore, there is a daunting problem concerning the distribution of Itonia's cult, which has only recently started receiving some attention.

I will first discuss the evidence for the Thessalians' perception of the goddess, starting from the later periods, when the evidence is unambiguous, and progressing backwards. There is plenty of evidence testifying to the *koinon*'s interest in the cult after its reorganization in 196 BC. Decrees issued by the Thessalians were set up in her sanctuary, honours bestowed by them were proclaimed during her festival, the goddess was depicted on federal coinage, and the *koinon* seems to have been the organizer of the common sacrifice.⁶² Interest of the *koinon* in the cult is attested back in the Hellenistic period. The Thessalians did not issue common coinage during that period, and rarely published their decisions on stone, but copies of a couple of federal decrees have been found in other places of the Greek world. In a recently published decree of the Thessalians found at Aigai in Anatolia, the Itonion is mentioned among the places of publication. Moreover, foreign *theoriai* were sent to Itonos, perhaps already in the early third century, to announce honours to the Thessalian cities, or to participate in the cult.⁶³ There is no hard evidence showing the *koinon*'s interest in the cult before the Hellenistic period. This may not be important since we only have two federal decrees dating to that period, which do not include a publication formula, and the *koinon* only rarely and exceptionally issued coins. It should be mentioned, however, that this so-called 'federal coinage' depicted not Athena Itonia, but scenes that could be connected with Poseidon Petraios.⁶⁴

Even if we cannot prove the *koinon*'s involvement in the cult before the Hellenistic period, we can gauge from scattered literary sources, which associate the goddess with military endeavours, her importance for the Thessalians. Pausanias mentions that, during their battle with the Phokians which he dates shortly after the Persian Wars, the Thessalians used her name as a password.⁶⁵ They also seem to have been in the habit of commemorating their victories in the sanctuary of the goddess. For instance, after some war against the Illyrians, perhaps in the early fourth century, the Thessalians had dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonia twelve bronze cows, the work of a sculptor

⁶² Decrees: AE (1927–8) 119–27; AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 137–8; AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 247–8; AD 31 (1976) *Chron.* 176–8. Coins: Moustaka (1983) 29. Sacrifice: AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 248.

⁶³ For these inscriptions see section 5.6. Graninger (2011c) 46–67 downplays the importance of the *koinon*'s involvement in the cult before 196 BC. His argument (57–8) that the fact that foreign embassies chose Itonos as their destination is only informative about non-Thessalians' perceptions of the cult pushes the outsiders' versus insiders' perceptions opposition too far. In any case the decree from Aigai, published after his work was out for publication, now proves otherwise. For his argument that there were many sanctuaries of Itonia apart from the one at Philia see later in this section.

⁶⁴ See section 5.4.

⁶⁵ Paus. 10.1.10.

called Phradmon.⁶⁶ Pyrrhus, after his victory against Antigonos, sometime after 275 BC, offered to the goddess spoils from the war, a symbolic act, which for some scholars aimed to present the victory as a victory of the Thessalians and Pyrrhus as the archon of the Thessalian *koinon*.⁶⁷ Admittedly we learn about all these occasions from late sources, but the association of the goddess with the Thessalian military endeavour par excellence, the Thessalian Invasion, seems to have been in circulation by the fifth century. The broader area where the sanctuary was located was known as Thessaliotis; Kierion, the sanctuary's neighbouring city, portrayed on its early fourth-century coins Arne and on its fifth-century ones Athena; while if the identification of the finds at the tholos tomb at Georgiko as a hero cult of Aiatos is correct, then stories about the Thessalian Invasion, even if in different versions, were connected to the area of south-western Thessaly already in the seventh century, when the sanctuary at Philia was flourishing. We cannot be certain about who shared in these traditions, but the name of the tetrad Thessaliotis implies some regional recognition of this mythical geography.⁶⁸

The sanctuary of the goddess was excavated at Philia in west Thessaly during the 1960s.⁶⁹ It is worthwhile giving a brief preview of the cult's development as evinced by the archaeological record.⁷⁰ The evidence for architectural investment in the cult can be made to coincide with that of literary or epigraphic sources. At around the end of the fifth, or in the early fourth century, the first monumental building(s) was constructed; part of a Doric column and of a clay cornice found in excavations have been dated to

⁶⁶ The date of this dedication is disputed. We know about it from an epigram in *Anth. Pal.* 9.743. It has been attributed to Theodoridas from Syracuse, who is known to have had connections with Thessaly and who lived in the second half of the third century BC: Gow and Page (1965) i. 195 no. xvii, ii. 549 no. xvii. See also Seelbach (1964) 1–2 and 108–13, who suggests that the war might refer to some event of the third century. Towards an earlier date for the dedication (see Swoboda (1903) 212) may point the mention of the sculptor Phradmon, if he is to be identified with the famous sculptor Phradmon from Argos dated either in the fifth (Picard (1939) 655; Zevi (1969–70) 112) or the fourth century BC (Ridgway (1974) 2, 9). A battle of the Thessalians against the Illyrians, during the reign of Amyntas III is mentioned by Diod. 14.92.3. Ellis (1969) 1–8 dates this war in 392 BC. But another war cannot be excluded.

⁶⁷ Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26; Paus. 1.13.2. For Pyrrhus' action see Tarn (1913) 265; Lévêque (1957) 565–7.

⁶⁸ See section 5.2 and section 4.2. See also Kowalzig (2007) 328ff for the argument that the Boiotian tradition, which she can trace back to the early fifth century, presupposes the Thessalian one.

⁶⁹ The identification is secure since the name of Athena was read on two inscriptions found in the sanctuary (AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 138; AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 248 = Habicht (1976b)). This, together with the finding of several federal decrees, confirms the identification as that of Itonia. Apart from the two decrees mentioned above, note also N. Giannopoulos, *AE* (1927–8) 119–27; and Habicht (1987b) 309–14. In the sanctuary was also found a decree recording the sympolity between Gomphoi and Ithome: Helly (1993).

⁷⁰ For what follows see the excavations reports: AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 135–9; AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 244–55; AD 20 (1965) *Chron.* 311–13; AD 22 (1967) *Chron.* 295–6; AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 256–7. The small finds have been published by Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002).

around this time.⁷¹ In the early third century, at the time when foreign *theoriai* visit the sanctuary, another large building with a Doric colonnade, perhaps a stoa, was added to the sanctuary.⁷² Building activity peaked after Roman reorganization of the *koinon*. Several stone monuments, bases for statues, and inscriptions, mostly fragments of decrees, belong to that time.

The evidence of offerings tells a different and much longer story.⁷³ Evidence for cult activity, mainly in the form of numerous small, and some larger, bronze dedications, goes back to the Middle or even the Early Geometric period.⁷⁴ The sanctuary at Philia is thus the earliest archaeologically attested cult place in Thessaly after the Bronze Age, and one of the earliest in the wider Greek world. The altar was most likely the focus of cult for a long time. Gathered around it, worshippers dined and left their offerings.⁷⁵ Votive activity peaked in the Late Geometric and Archaic period. The vast majority of the Geometric and Archaic material consisted of small bronze objects, namely fibulae of various sizes and forms, and different kinds of pendants and rings. Several weapons have also been found, such as spearheads, shields, and knives, as well as a few tripods and obeloi. Turning to the Classical period there was a sharp decline in the number of finds. Similarly, very few objects can be dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Nevertheless, the kinds of objects dedicated are still the same as in previous periods. Fibulae and other kinds of dress ornaments continued to be the most popular kind of offering.⁷⁶

The long early history of the cult begs the question of the role that it might have had in the Thessalian *ethnos* over this long stretch of time. Reacting to a traditional interpretation which saw the so-called federal cults as providing a stable focus for gatherings of the various *ethne* from the Geometric down to

⁷¹ AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 246.

⁷² AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 246.

⁷³ But see Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 230, who suggests that, following the discovery of the Archaic temple at Metropolis, we should also expect the existence of an Archaic temple at Philia.

⁷⁴ There are also some Proto-Geometric finds (a double axe, obeloi, and a cheese-grater): see Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 176, who argues that they might have been heirlooms or pieces of cult equipment used in dining. For a few Mycenaean figurines see Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaethymiou-Papanthimou (1983).

⁷⁵ The vast majority of the objects were found in an ash layer, which has been interpreted as the debris of an altar. Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 231, 250 suggests two possibilities: a) the ash layer is *in situ* and because of its apsidal shape one can imagine that it follows a sacred street; b) it was transferred there from the altar area. Intzsiloglou (2006b) 230–2 has challenged the identification of the ash layer as an altar debris, on the grounds that no bones have been reported and that a similar ash layer was found at a distance of 200 metres from the spot of the Theocharis' excavations (AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 257). He suggested that it was caused by a fire that destroyed the sanctuary in the sixth century. Theocharis in AD 20 (1965) *Chron.* 312 associated this layer only with the Geometric and Archaic finds, but Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 230 n. 915 mentions that later finds were also found there.

⁷⁶ For the finds dated to the Classical period: Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 177–8, who also notices (p. 186) a small rise in the number of weapons dedicated at that time. But perhaps we should not make much of this. As Kilian-Dirlmeier notes the vast majority of the weapons found at Philia are undated and thus the pattern is subject to change.

the Roman period, scholars today try to envisage a more complex situation.⁷⁷ Morgan is right in arguing that we should not just extrapolate an early regional role for the sanctuary from later periods. While scepticism is in place, leaning towards the opposite view, that it became regional only later, seems to me equally open to criticism. Morgan's argument that Philia might have actually served a local clientele relies on a comparison of its finds with those from the contemporary sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai. She notices that, while very similar votives were found at both, there were some noticeable differences. The sanctuary at Pherai has yielded many more fibulae and jewellery items. Philia, on the other hand, has furnished more weapons, as well as several obeloi and tripods, which are not attested at Pherai. These differences, Morgan argued, are important: while ritual dining and military interests are stressed in the sanctuary of Itonia, the main ritual act in Ennodia's worship was the offering of a cloth to the divinity. The fact that the two cults were materially constructed in such different ways, she further suggested, could be seen as part of an attempt of their respective cultic communities to consolidate their local identity. Not everybody would agree with Morgan's interpretation of the differences in the votive record of Philia and Pherai. Kilian Dirlmeier, for instance, explains the smaller number of weapons at Pherai as the result of early excavations. She, however, suggests that the presence of tripods and spits at Philia, kinds of votives which are usually classified as very prestigious, could be an indication for a more regional importance of the cult than that of Pherai. The tripod, also, can symbolize sovereignty over a land.⁷⁸

Ultimately, one cannot discuss the problem of Philia's worshipping community, in the Geometric or later periods, without getting into questions concerning the distribution of Itonia's cults. Athena Itonia's cults are attested in various places of the Greek world, and one has to ask what the relationship between these various sanctuaries might have been and how the cult spread. The situation is very confusing. First, there is the problem with Itonos, the city from which the goddess took her name, and which was considered one of the oldest cities in the Greek world.⁷⁹ According to the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and Strabo, the city of Itonos should be placed somewhere in Achaia Phthiotis. If Homer's geography had any significance for the people of the area in later times, then a sanctuary of Athena may have existed somewhere in the region, and may well have claimed to have been the original cult place of the goddess.⁸⁰ We do not know, however, anything else certain about this cult.

⁷⁷ See section 5.1.

⁷⁸ Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 205, 216. Papalexandrou (2005) 37ff.

⁷⁹ Simonides of Keios *FGrH* 8 F 1; Armenidas *FGrH* 378 F 1 = Σ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.551a; *Etym. Magn.* 479.46; Σ Callim. *Cer.* 74–5. For this and other etymologies of the name suggested by modern scholars see Bearzot (1982) 44 n. 6; Papachatzis (1985) 53; Papachatzis (1992) 321; Robertson (2001) 52; Graninger (2011c) 46–50.

⁸⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.696; Strabo 9.5.14 in a very confusing passage. That Strabo is not here only following Homer might be indicated by the fact that in 9.5.8 he places Itonos 60 stadia away from

A month Itonios is attested in the calendar of some Phthiotic Achaian cities, but this might have been a late borrowing from the Thessalian calendar.⁸¹ Some scholars associate with this hypothetical sanctuary the few Hellenistic decrees (see earlier in this section) which mention Itonos as the place of publication of Thessalian federal decrees and as the place of destination of foreign *theoriai* to Thessaly.⁸² But I find it very difficult to explain why the Thessalians would be using a sanctuary in Achaia Phthiotis, at a time when this area had acquired some kind of independent existence, and not the sanctuary at Philia, which traditions had long placed on the route of the Thessalian Invasion. It is preferable to argue that Itonos was also the name of a place in Thessaly, the area around Philia.⁸³

To continue with the distribution of Itonia's cults by the late seventh century the goddess had a cult at Koroneia in Boiotia, which was famous enough for Alkaïos to write a song about it.⁸⁴ And by the fifth century at least this sanctuary was believed to have been founded by the Boiotians when they were expelled by the Thessalians from Arne.⁸⁵ By the fifth century Itonia was also worshipped at Athens, while in Hellenistic times her cult is also found at Lokris, Amorgos, Kos, and Tauromeneion in Sicily.⁸⁶ The evidence seems to indicate that the core area of Itonia's worship was central Greece; from here her cult must have spread further afield perhaps at various points through time: to Athens by the fifth century, to Kos, or indeed Tauromeneion, perhaps later; at some point in time some sanctuaries of the goddess (the one at Koroneia and the one at Philia) acquired fame and were associated with important military events for their regions.

Halos. The precision could suggest a more up to date source, such as Artemidorus' *Periplus* (100 BC) mentioned a few lines later. The city Itonos was considered to have been one of the oldest cities of Greece, founded and named after the hero Iton, son of Amphictyon, who was in turn son of Deukalion, a genealogy that takes us to the area of Lokris and south Thessaly. In other sources Itonos is mentioned in association with the battle between Heracles and Kyknos but is not given a precise location (Diod. 4.37.4; Nikol. *Dam. FGrH* 90 F 54). Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰτων mentions a city Itone at Epirus.

⁸¹ See in general Trümper (1997) 229–31; Graninger (2011c) 106–10.

⁸² Graninger (2011c) 63. ⁸³ Tziafalias and Helly (2004–5) 396–8.

⁸⁴ Alkaïos fr. 325 (Campbell).

⁸⁵ For the Boiotian cult see in general Schachter (1981) i. 117–27; Kowalzig (2007) 328ff, esp. 360–4. The argument depends not so much on evidence for the cult of Itonia itself, which is unclear and first attested in Strabo 9.2.29, as on evidence for the existence of traditions which presuppose the Thessalo-Boiotian wars and migrations.

⁸⁶ *IG* I³ 383 ll. 151–2; *IG* II² 333 ll. 18–19; *Agora* XIX H1; Gawlinski (2007) face A, col. I, l. 12 for cult equipment, property, sacrifices, and a shrine of the goddess at Athens. Trümper (1997) 164, 207, 229ff for a month called Itonios at Lokris, Achaia Phthiotis, and Tauromeneion. At Amorgos Hellenistic inscriptions refer to a large *panegyris* in honour of Athena Itonia: Adler, *RE* IX (1916) 2376; Nilsson (1906) 89–90; Marangou (2002) 340; Lagos (2009). The island of Kos sent in Hellenistic times a *theoria* to the Thessalian Itonion: discussion later in this section and section 5.6.

We could envisage several possibilities for how and when this might have come about. One would be that Itonia was, once upon a time, a goddess locally worshipped in numerous places all over central Greece. At some point the sanctuaries at Philia and Koroneia acquired more importance, gathering large groups of worshippers, and in the course of time contacts between the two areas caused the traditions concerning the Thessalo-Boiotian wars and the role of Itonia in them to be invented. While this suggestion cannot be excluded out of hand, there is only very flimsy evidence for small local Itonia. Of the three cases of Itonia sanctuaries that Graninger suggests existed elsewhere in Thessaly, two of them, the Krannon and Pharkadon temenos, are not convincing at all.⁸⁷ The third one, the Pelasgiotis temenos, is also uncertain, but cannot be entirely dismissed. Pausanias refers to an Itonion between Larisa and Pherai, and it is probable that this Larisa could have been the Larisa Kremaste in Achaia Phthiotis (in which case Pausanias would be referring to the sanctuary of Itonia which existed in this area) and not the more famous city in the Pelasgiotis.⁸⁸ Finally, a Boiotian third-century decree clearly refers to a sanctuary of Athena Itonia at the small Boiotian city of Akraiphia.⁸⁹ It is impossible, however, to ascertain how old this cult might have been.⁹⁰

A second possible option would be that the cult spread from one sanctuary somewhere in Central Greece (i.e. from Philia, or Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis), a terminus ante-quem for which would be the mention of the Boiotian cult by Alkaios in the seventh century. This scenario does not say anything about the popularity of the cult and its catchment area, allowing for a variety of possibilities. One of these various possibilities would be that the cult of Itonia was an early amphictionic cult⁹¹ gathering the people of Central Greece (hence the secondary cult places at Boiotia and elsewhere) and perhaps further afield.⁹²

⁸⁷ Graninger (2011c) 50–64. For the supposed Krannon temenos the evidence is Polyaeus, *Strat.* 2.34. But the word *ἱτωνίων* has been restored. The festival is called *ταυρίων* (of the bands), or *ξενίων* (of hospitality), in the manuscripts. The existence of the so-called Pharkadon temenos relies on Strabo 9.5.17, but the Itonion mentioned could well be the one at Philia. Nilsson (1906) 89 had also suggested, on the evidence of Callim. *Cer.* 74–5, that there was a sanctuary of Itonia at the Dotian plain. But Callimachus only says that Erysichton was king at the Dotian plain. There is no reason why the games of Itonia, to which he had been invited, should also take place at the Dotian plain.

⁸⁸ Paus. 1.13.2. ⁸⁹ Rigsby (1987) esp. 737.

⁹⁰ For a discussion of the problem see Schachter (1981) i. 116, who, however, wrongly attributes the cult to Haliartos.

⁹¹ I am using the word ‘amphictiony’ here to denote a cult which might have drawn participants from a wide area who did not necessarily share a common identity. An amphictionic cult could of course have helped foster such a sense of common belonging. In the case of Itonia, however, the development of the cult would have been slightly different, in that it helped create different but interacting identities.

⁹² Note also that the hero Itonos was according to a tradition the son of Amphictyon: *RE IX* (1916) 2376 [Weicker]. For the cult reaching Athens through participation in a dark age ‘Thessalian’ or ‘Boiotian’ amphictiony see R. Parker (1996) 28. To other places the cult may well have spread in later times and in different ways. Tauromeneion was founded in the fourth

The early history of the cult of Athena Itonia, then, is clearly both obscure and complex. Three things, however, we can say with some certainty. The goddess had an early and wealthy sanctuary at Philia, she had acquired an equally important sanctuary by the seventh century at Boiotian Koroneia, and by the fifth century her figure had become central to the identities of the Thessalian and the Boiotian *ethne* respectively. Given the evidence as it stands the most reasonable interpretation seems to be that the goddess' cult at Philia was from a very early period one of wide regional appeal and importance, though its original catchment area may not have coincided with the later Thessalian *koinon* and may indeed have transcended later political frontiers. Such a conclusion is compatible both with the archaeological evidence at Philia itself and with the patterns visible in the literary record. As an alternative, any attempt to cast the sanctuary of Philia in the Geometric period, let alone in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as of only local importance, underestimates the archaeological evidence and fails to explain the spread of the cult.

The process by which this regionally important central Greek cult ended up crystallizing into two (and perhaps more) separate cults centered on Philia and Koroneia is unfortunately obscure. Some scholars believe that important events took place in central Greece in the late sixth century, which, signalling the end of Thessalians' expansionism towards the south, led to a redefinition of the map of the area and prompted regional reorganization. Two important battles, at Hyampolis and at Keressos, are usually dated just before the Persian Wars.⁹³ In both the Thessalians lost. The first was fought against the Phokians, the second against the Boiotians.⁹⁴ Phokis seems to have now acquired some form of regional organization, parallel processes seem to have been taking place in Boiotia, and some believe that Thessaly too was first organized in this period. The traditions concerning the Boiotian and Thessalian migrations, which implicated the cult of Itonia, are also first attested now, and it was during this war with the Phokians, if we believe Pausanias, that the Thessalians

century by Sicilians, Naxians, and mercenaries of various origins, presumably including Thessalian or Boiotians: Bennett (1977). For speculation on the introduction of the cult at Amorgos see Lagos (2009). The evidence for Koan participation dates to the third century, a period of Thessalo-Koan rapprochement: see section 5.6. It cannot be excluded that the cult spread at Lokris and Achaia Phthiotis at a later period: see section 5.6.

⁹³ Hyampolis: Hdt. 8.27–8; Paus. 10.1.3–11; Plut. *Mor.* 244. Keressos: Plut. *Mor.* 866f, who dates it shortly before the Persian Wars; Plut. *Cam.* 19 for a date 200 years before Leuktra. See in general Sordi (1958a) 85ff; Larsen (1960) 231–7; McInerney (1999) 173–8; J. Hall (2002) 141–2.

⁹⁴ Who these Boiotians are, however, is unclear. Note Paus. 9.14.2, who seems to refer to hostilities between Thessalians and Thespians and Hdt. 7.233, who implies friendly relationships between Thessalian and Thebans during the battle of Thermopylai (but see Plutarch's (*Mor.* 866f) comment). See also Siewert (1981) for an early fifth-century inscription from Olympia which might refer to the Thessalians and Boiotians attacking the Thespians and Athenians respectively. But Buck (1979) 108–12 argues that there was an alliance between Thessalian and Orchomenians against the Thebans and the Thespians; his explanation leaves Herodotus' passage in the air.

used the name of Itonia as their password. Given all this, it is perhaps inevitable to think that the two phenomena might in some way be related. This, however, cannot be the whole story, since Alkaïos' poem, with its emphasis on the warlike aspects of Itonia, hints that the process of negotiation concerning the cult had begun already in the seventh century. And the discovery of what might have been an Archaic hero cult of Aiatos, father of Thessalos, at Metropolis shows that traditions concerning the migration might have been connected with the area of western Thessaly for some time.⁹⁵ The process of renegotiation and crystallization was probably a long one.

Let us pass to more general questions about the nature of the goddess, the participants in the cult, and the atmosphere of her festivals. Modern discussions often create a picture of a heavily militaristic cult, tallying with the stories associating the goddess with several Thessalian military endeavours. Athena Itonia, like Artemis Orthia of Sparta, or Athena Alea of Tegea, is usually considered as a mixture of an Olympian goddess with an old local divinity.⁹⁶ This fusion supposedly resulted in her having a slightly peculiar, untypical Athena-persona; although she shared some of Athena's prominent functions, she developed some of these to the extreme, while she lacked others.⁹⁷ Her warlike nature was supposedly her most prominent characteristic. Time and again, Athena Itonia has been imagined as a fierce military goddess, with little interest in the workings of peace, such as craftsmanship or technology, which were important facets of the Panhellenic Athena's personality. Her warlike nature is indeed brought out in myths which relate that the goddess and Iodama, the daughter of Itonos, were rivals in *hoplomachike* (fighting with heavy weapons) and that in the event Iodama was killed.⁹⁸ Alkaïos, already in the seventh century, singing for the Boiotian Itonia, praised her warlike capacities; and we know that in the Hellenistic period military teams competed in the Pamboiotian games held in honour of the goddess at Koroneia.⁹⁹ In Thessaly, too, we have seen, the goddess was associated with several Thessalian military achievements. Moreover, victories in war in the Classical and Hellenistic period were commemorated in her sanctuary, and Philia stands out from other Thessalian sanctuaries in the number of weapons found.

We should thus find a place for warriors gathering to worship their goddess in our picture of the Thessalian cult. But we should also allow space for a wider spectrum of worshippers. In Apollonius Rhodius Athena Itonia is cast in some of her other well-known roles, as a protectress of young heroes, handing Jason

⁹⁵ For Aiatos see section 5.2. For the cult at Metropolis see section 4.2.

⁹⁶ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) i. 230; Nilsson (1967) 388.

⁹⁷ Bearzot (1982); Papachatzis (1985) 52 and (1992) 321; Schachter (1981) i. 119–20; C. Morgan (2003) 141.

⁹⁸ Simonides Keios *FGH* 8 F 1.

⁹⁹ Alkaïos fr.325 (Campbell). For the Pamboiotia see Schachter (1981) i. 117–27.

his cloak, and as a mistress of shipbuilding, helping in the making of the Argo.¹⁰⁰ Representatives of the various Thessalian cities and foreign embassies would also have been present at the cult; so much, at least, we can infer from the fact that in Hellenistic time honours bestowed to the various cities were announced at the sanctuary.¹⁰¹ We can perhaps glimpse the splendour of the common sacrifices, held in Thessalian *megaloprepeia*, behind Erysichthon's forced refusal, famous as he was for his insatiable hunger, to participate in the *agon* organized at Itonos by the Ormenidai.¹⁰² And the numerous fibulae and jewellery items, the predominant type of votive offering, add a different tint to the image of the bloodthirsty militaristic celebrations that discussions of the cult often convey, and dilute the smell of testosterone that hangs around the sanctuary. Rather than straightforwardly militaristic, the impression is of a parade of both dresses and weapons, an interplay of masculine and feminine. Philia, unlike, for instance, Delos or the Panionion, might not have rejoiced in the voices of young children's choruses, but it was not an army camp either.¹⁰³

5.4. THE CULTS OF POSEIDON PETRAIOS AND ZEUS PELOR(I)OS: DIFFERENT WAYS OF BEING THESSALIAN

When the first federal coinage was minted in Thessaly, in the fifth century, Athena Itonia was surprisingly not depicted on it. The coins minted around the middle of the fifth century and bearing the inscription $\Phi E \Theta A$, which as most scholars argue is short for $\Phi E \Theta A \Lambda \Omega N$, had on one side the image of a horse springing from a rock, while on the obverse they depicted an ear of corn, a club, or a trident.¹⁰⁴ Some issues had the inscriptions $ME \Theta Y$ and ΣKO

¹⁰⁰ Ap. Rhod. *Argon* 1.721. Graninger (2011c) 50 n. 20.

¹⁰¹ See also Swoboda (1903) 212 for the idea that the number of bulls (12) dedicated by the Thessalians after some victory against the Illyrians (see n. 66) might correspond to the tetrads of the Thessalian confederacy (3x4).

¹⁰² Callim. *Cer.* 74–5. For the problem of the relevance of the hymn to Thessalian realities see section 2.5.

¹⁰³ Women and children at Delos and the Panionion: Thuc. 3.104; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.25. Dances and songs of a different character, though, might well have been part of Itonia's cult: for songs and dances at Boiotian cult of Itonia see Kowalzig (2007) 363–4, who suggests that the *hyporchemata* written in her honour by Bacchylides, and perhaps Pindar, were military dances staged as hunts based on some Thessalian model. See also Farnell (1896–1909) i. 301 about Athena Itonia being a fertility goddess and, surprisingly, a protectress of poetry.

¹⁰⁴ Franke (1970). His suggestion has been widely accepted and gains strength from the fact that a similar scene was depicted on fourth-century federal coinage (for which see n. 121). Earlier discussions attributed the coins with the initials $\Phi E \Theta A$ to Pherai, taking the letters ΦE to be the initials of the city and the letters ΘA the initials of a magistrate: Gardner (1883) 46; Head (1911) 307; Herrmann (1922) 38–9. Inscribed letters interpreted as initials of magistrates, or engravers, do appear on other contemporary and later Thessalian coins, but they are in general, with few exceptions, distinguishable from the city legend and are usually inscribed in smaller letters and in

instead of $\Phi E \Theta A$ on the obverse, which have been interpreted as the initials of Scotoussa and Methyilion respectively.¹⁰⁵ The scene on the front can be confidently identified with the birth of Skyphios, the first horse, which leaped out of a rock when Poseidon accidentally struck it with his trident, or when the god spilled his seed as he lay asleep on it.¹⁰⁶ Pindaric scholia and the *Etymologicum Magnum* connect these stories specifically with the Thessalian cult of Poseidon Petraios.¹⁰⁷ Poseidon Petraios is also credited, as early as Herodotus, with the feat of splitting the Tempe mountains. In old times, the story went, Thessaly was surrounded on all sides by mountains and, because the rivers could not find an exit to the sea, the area used to flood and turn into a lake. Thanks to Poseidon, the god who causes earthquakes, the Tempe mountains were split, and the river Peneus, whose tributaries all other Thessalian rivers were supposed to have been, managed to reach the sea. As the waters withdrew the rich Thessalian plains emerged.¹⁰⁸ Poseidon Petraios was, then, an important god: the two most celebrated Thessalian symbols, the horse and the rich Thessalian plains, were his gifts to Thessaly.

Other evidence for the cult of Poseidon Petraios also dates to the fifth century. Both Pindar and Bacchylides referred to his cult. Pindar mentions him only in passing, in *Pythian* 4th, where he calls Pelias the son of Poseidon Petraios.¹⁰⁹ From Bacchylides we have a fragmentary victory ode composed for the Thessalian Kteoptolemos, victor in the chariot race held in honour of the god.¹¹⁰ The clustering of the evidence for Petraios' cult in the fifth century demands some further thinking. Was the cult perhaps first instituted or reorganized at that time? If so, under what circumstances might this have happened? The matter is closely connected with a lively debate going on about the so-called 'Petraios issues'. On the one hand, there are scholars who believe that the Petraios coinage might have been what it claimed to be, a federal coinage of all Thessalians.¹¹¹ On the other, several scholars point out that

a less prominent position. On the so-called *taurokathapsia* issues they were inscribed on the obverse side, while the legend of the city was on the reverse: see examples in Liampi (1996), esp. 116. Pharsalian issues have them both on the same sides, but they are distinguishable from the city legend: Lavva (2001) 54–93. For further discussion concerning the abbreviated names and their relation to the city legend see also Herrmann (1925) 39, 58, 64; T. Martin (1983) 31.

¹⁰⁵ But see Herrmann (1922) 39 and Sordi (1958a) 103 n. 1, who attribute the coins with the initials $ME \Theta Y$ to Melitaia, a city south of Pherai in Achaia Phthiotis. This solution would require a different explanation for the letters ΘY , as perhaps the initials of the name of a magistrate (for which see the remarks in n. 104).

¹⁰⁶ So Philippson (1944) 27; Heyman (1970) 117; Moustaka (1983) 22–3. Gardner (1883) xxxvi had identified the image as the representation of a stream or fountain, such as the Hypereia fountain at Pherai.

¹⁰⁷ *Etym. Magn.* 473.42; Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246b.

¹⁰⁸ Hdt. 7.129 and Σ Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246a. The story is also told by Baton *FGrH* 268 F 5 = Ath. 639d–640a and Diod. 4.18.6, but the deed is attributed to Zeus and Heracles respectively.

¹⁰⁹ Pind. *Pyth.* 4.246. ¹¹⁰ Bacchyl. *Od.* 14.

¹¹¹ See e.g. T. Martin (1985) 36–8.

when examined in the light of the rest of fifth-century Thessalian coinage the 'Petraios' issues make better sense if interpreted as being shared only by a few Thessalian cities, which were only claiming to be acting in the name of all Thessalians.¹¹²

The period around the middle of the fifth century, when these various coinages were issued, seems to have been a period of unrest in Thessaly. Both Spartans and Athenians tried to intervene in Thessalian affairs. Leoty-chidas' expedition to the area, dated usually in the 60s, even if not wholly successful, seems to have curtailed the power of the Aleuads, as he removed some of their supporters from other Thessalian cities.¹¹³ At Pharsalos, too, there was trouble. Echecratidas, a local nobleman presumably, was expelled and the Athenians tried to restore his son Orestes.¹¹⁴ The Thessalians' stance in the battle of Tanagra in 457 BC, changing sides at the last moment, also speaks of dissent among them.¹¹⁵ Literary sources and coinage could be made to fit one another, both arguing for various kinds of groups within Thessaly speaking all at once and some claiming to do so in the name of all Thessalians. It has been argued, for instance, that the tyrants expelled by Leoty-chidas were those of Scotoussa and Pherai, and perhaps of other southern Thessalian cities, which now formed a new monetary union, which was centred at Pherai, where the 'federal issue' was most likely minted.¹¹⁶ In its details, however, the picture is rather messier. The relationship between the various cities which minted the Petraios issues is not very clear. Scotoussa is situated at the south of Pelasgiotis but Methy lion seems more remote, being most likely located in the area of Thessal iotis, at the modern-day village of Myrine and actually closer to Pharsalos than to either Scotoussa or Pherai. It makes little sense then to call Methy lion, Scotoussa, and Pherai the 'cities of south Thessaly'.¹¹⁷ Similarly, the use of the Boiotian dialect for the inscription of the 'federal issue' might indicate a mint in south Thessaly, but its connection with Pherai is merely hypothetical, relying on the supposition that if the city stopped minting the previous *taurokathapsia* coins it must have replaced them with something.¹¹⁸

¹¹² Franke (1970) 92; Kraay (1976) 115–16; Helly (1992) 85 n. 179 and (1995) 229–30; C. Morgan (2003) 81–2.

¹¹³ Hdt. 6.72; Paus. 3.7.9; Plut. *Mor.* 859^d.

¹¹⁴ Thuc. 1.111. It is not clear whether the expulsion of Echecratidas was related with Leoty-chidas' expedition.

¹¹⁵ Thuc. 1.107.

¹¹⁶ Sordi (1958a) 101ff, followed by Gehrke (1985) 186 n. 17. Franke (1970) 92–3 places the coinage in the same milieu.

¹¹⁷ But see Herrmann (1922) 39 and Sordi (1958a) 103 n. 1, who attribute the coins with the initials *MEΘY* to Melitaia, a city south of Pherai in Achaia Phthiotis. This solution would require a different explanation for the letters *ΘY*, as perhaps the initials of the name of a magistrate (for which see the remarks at n. 104).

¹¹⁸ For other suggestions about where the 'federal issue' might have been minted see Liampi (1996) 122–6, who suggests that both the *taurokathapsia* and the Petraios issues were minted at Larisa and were shared by the cities of Pelasgiotis, Hestiaiotis, and Perrhaibia, but not by the

While the question about where the federal issue was minted must remain open, and with it the problem of how it fits into fifth-century Thessalian history,¹¹⁹ we may wonder here what the implications of this debate might be for the cult of Poseidon Petraios. Is it, for instance, possible that the cult, originally only local, was now propagated as Panthessealian by the cities which shared the Petraios coinage? But it is equally, if not more, possible that the cult was already an important Panthessealian cult and it was within it that the various Thessalian power groups voiced their claims. Unfortunately, the location of the sanctuary of the god (a piece of evidence which could help clarify matters, if, for instance, the sanctuary was located as far north as Tempe) is not known.¹²⁰ Be that as it may, the fact that the image of Skyphios springing from the rock was also chosen to decorate fourth-century federal coinage clearly indicates that the symbol (and presumably the myth and cult to which this alludes), even if it had appeal to particular groups, did so because of its general Panthessealian connotations (or was successful in acquiring general Panthessealian importance).¹²¹

What kind of god was Poseidon Petraios? In many respects he looks very much like any Greek Poseidon. His stories can be compared with other local Greek myths, which attributed to the god similar deeds usually in the context of Poseidon's competition with another god/goddess over a certain city.¹²² In Athens, for instance, it was recounted that, during his competition with Athena, Poseidon made a horse spring from a rock, while victorious Athena offered as a gift to the city the olive tree. Poseidon, after his defeat in Athens and other cities, such as Argos where he was in competition with Hera, caused floods and it was only after due honours were paid to him (or after Zeus' intervention) that the

tetrads of Thessaliotis and Phthiotis. Helly (1992) 85 n. 179 and (1995) 229–30, on the contrary, suggests that it was minted somewhere in Thessaliotis and that it was the issue of a *koinon* of the Thessalians, which comprised the cities of Thessaliotis, Hestiaiotes, to which also Scotoussa belonged. He is following R. Arena, 'Le monete tessaliche con l' iscrizione $\Phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{-}\Phi\epsilon\theta\alpha$ ', Istituto Lombardo, *Rendi Conti dell' Accademia di Scienze e Lettere*, Milan 1960, 261–73 (*non vidi*).

¹¹⁹ Mackil and van Alfen (2006) argue that such co-operative coinage might tell us more about economic co-operation rather than about political relationships.

¹²⁰ Late sources locate the sanctuary of the god at a village called Lytai, or Petre: Σ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1244^a. Maehler (1982) 294 and Papachatzis (1985) 48 favour a location in north Thessaly because of the aetiological myth's connection with Tempe. Ringwood (1927) 19 n. 49 locates it at Larisa and tenuously associates the Petraia festival with the much later (Roman) Larisean Poseidonia.

¹²¹ For the fourth-century coinage see von Gaertringen (1922); Rogers (1932) 16. Franke (1970) 90 suggests a date around 361 BC, while Sordi (1956) 20 dates it around 336 BC. As far as I know no scholar has actually claimed that this was again a federal issue only in name. But, even if it was, this would not affect the argument, unless it was again a Pheraean issue. But this seems very unlikely, given that the motif is also found on mid-fourth-century bronze coins of the city Orthos, for which see Head (1911) 303; Rogers (1932) 138.

¹²² For these and other similar stories of Poseidon see Detienne (1973); R. Parker (1987b) 198–9; Wright (1996) 543–6; Mylonopoulos (2003) 409–11.

vengeful god was persuaded to take the waters away. The element of competition is absent from the Thessalian stories. The god simply offered his blessings to Thessaly: Skyphios appeared through the blow of his trident, almost as if by an accident—even more so in the version where Skyphios is the outcome of Poseidon's accidental ejaculation¹²³—and, when Poseidon caused the Tempe mountains to split, there is no evidence that by doing so he saved the area from a punishment he had previously inflicted on it himself. The irritable and vengeful god appears in the Thessalian stories as benevolent and generous, and his power seems to be unchallenged.¹²⁴ His gifts, the horse and the fertile Thessalian plains, which in other places granted him only the second place in the city, were the two most important Thessalian symbols.

The cult of Poseidon Petraios undoubtedly appealed to the famous Thessalian aristocracy. Chariot races and odes composed by the famous Bacchylides were clearly the mark of the upper strata of society. That being said, it does not mean that his festival was attended only by the well off. *Hippomania*, the love of horses, was not necessarily a passion restricted only to those who were well off. The equestrian competitions apart, it is possible that a wide range of people of various statuses and means may have gathered at the sanctuary of the god either as spectators or even as participants in the other festivities. We could perhaps make something here of Pherekydes' statement that when Jason first came upon Pelias, the latter was busy offering a sacrifice to Poseidon (and Pelias was for Pindar the son of Poseidon Petraios), and that in this sacrifice everybody could partake.¹²⁵ Even more relevant might be the point that the coins with the Petraios iconography were minted in small denominations.¹²⁶ This could indicate that the cult had, or aimed to have, a wider appeal: even if few Thessalians were able to afford a trip to the sanctuary of the god, perhaps more might happen to find in their hands a coin with the image of the springing Skyphios; and the cult of Poseidon Petraios would thus become part of their own world.¹²⁷

¹²³ Note the similarity with the birth of Erichthonios at Athens: so Nilsson (1906) 71.

¹²⁴ Nevertheless, there is other evidence for a ritual antagonism between Poseidon and Hera in Thessaly (see section 1.5), but this does not seem to have also taken the form of a myth of competition over a city. Philippson (1944) 25–64 unconvincingly argues that Zeus replaced Poseidon in Thessaly. In the same evolutionary spirit Papachatzis (1985) 46–50 argues that Poseidon Petraios, whose cult he places at Tempe, gave way to Apollo. For a discussion of the evolutionary approach to Thessalian religion see section 1.3.

¹²⁵ The story is reported in Σ Pind. *Pyth* 4.133. But there is no evidence that the Petraia was 'a festival of reversal', although its aetiological myth was associated with the Peloria (see later in this section). Robertson (1984) 7–8 erroneously attributes to Poseidon Petraios the Peloria festival. Such festivals, nevertheless, were not unknown for Poseidon, e.g. at Troizen: Ath. 639c; Mylonopoulos (2003) 90–2, 306–7.

¹²⁶ Franke (1970) mentions drachmae, hemidrachmae, obols, and hemiobols.

¹²⁷ The popularity of the theophoric name Petraios, a name which was indeed quite popular in Thessaly, is also relevant to this discussion. Although it was the name of several *strategoí* of the Thessalian *koinon* in Roman times, it is not clear whether it was prominent only among particular classes of the population: see L. Robert (1940a).

With these qualifications, the cult, however, remained a celebration of wealth. The aetiological myth takes us back to the very distant past, to the time when the Thessalians had not yet come to the land, nor, it seems, had any of the other previous inhabitants of the area. The cult, then, celebrates a virgin world, but one which, with its fertile plains and horses, seems not to have been very different from the world of today. The cult seems somehow to bypass the complex mythological past of shifting populations, and ties the wealth of Thessaly in the present to its most distant past and thus transports the cult's participants to that furthest idealized time.

One of the aetiological myths of the Petraia, that of the revelation of the rich Thessalian plains, served also as the *aition* of another cult, the Peloria, which were celebrated in honour of Zeus Peloros. The Peloria festival is known to us only through a passage of Baton of Sinope (second century BC), who calls it, in his treatise on *Haimonia and Thessalia*, a great festival (μεγίστην ἑορτήν).¹²⁸ This festival, unlike the Petraia, has very visible elements of a festival of reversal and, despite similarities between the myths associated with the two cults, we should imagine that the festivals were, in fact, very different. Baton tells us that prisoners were set free, foreigners were invited to the sacrifice, and slaves were served by their masters. How did this work? Rather than a centrally celebrated Panthessealian festival with splendid sacrifices and competitions, as perhaps was the Petraia, we should instead picture local or even family celebrations.¹²⁹ It is hard to imagine a large-scale movement of foreigners, slaves, and prisoners to a single Thessalian sanctuary.¹³⁰ So far no local cult of Zeus Peloros has been certainly attested, but I find it very likely that the festival might have been celebrated at various local sanctuaries of Zeus and these need not necessarily have been sanctuaries specifically of Zeus Peloros.¹³¹ It would then be mainly through the medium of myth that these local celebrations could be portrayed as a common festival, and that the various local Zeuses could be united in the figure of the 'Thessalian' Zeus Peloros, who might in the end have been little more than a literary construct. Although it is impossible to be certain, there is no reason to assume that the Peloria was celebrated only in some parts of Thessaly, i.e. in the Pelasgiotis in view of the

¹²⁸ Baton *FGrH* 268 F 5 = Ath. 639d–640a.

¹²⁹ It has been envisaged as a centrally celebrated festival by Heichelheim (1944); Moustaka (1983) 12; Papachatzis (1985) 48; Helly (1991a) 138.

¹³⁰ For rites of reversal, including the Peloria, see discussion in: Sourvinou-Inwood (1974) 194; Bremmer (1983) 122; Graf (1985) 90; Versnel (1987) 130. We know that the Kronia were celebrated at a family level and the same has been suggested for the Anthesteria: Parke (1977) 30, 117; R. Parker (1987a) 142.

¹³¹ Note, however, a fourth-century coin from Phalanna (Rogers (1932) 149 no. 457) which bears on one side a male bearded head and the inscription ΛΟΠΙΣ. This has been completed as ΠΕΛΟΠΙΣ and the figure has been identified as Zeus Peloros: Heichelheim (1944) and (1947); Moustaka (1983) 17. But the form in -ις- would be very unusual.

festival's connection with the Pelasgians. That being said, it is possible that some local celebrations acquired more fame than others.

As in the case of the Poseidon Petraios' cult, the aetiological myth transfers us to the past; on this occasion to the time when the Pelasgians lived in the area. While the Pelasgians were holding a common sacrifice, Baton tells us, a man named Peloros announced to Pelasgos that the mountains of Tempe had been split by great earthquakes. Because of the gap that was created the waters of the lake rushed into Peneus and beautiful plains appeared. When Pelasgos heard the joyful news, he offered the splendid table that was prepared for him to Peloros and ordered everybody to serve him. When they took over the place, Baton goes on, they instituted a festival in imitation of this celebration and they sacrificed to Zeus Peloros, organizing large banquets, and so philanthropic is the festival that all the foreigners participate in the sacrifice and the prisoners are set free, and the slaves are served by their masters. Baton finally adds that the Thessalians still to his day celebrate this festival with great splendour and they call it Peloria.

The aetiological myth of the Peloria describes the passage from a world of chaos and confusion to one of order. In a classic study of so-called festivals of reversal, Versnel focuses on the Kronia festival celebrated at Athens, which he brings as a parallel for the Peloria. Versnel argues that the ambivalent figure of Kronos, now considered a figure connected with chaos, now with over-abundance, ruling at an era when the division between free and slave was not yet established, was an appropriate figure for festivals of reversal, where the norms of society were momentarily reversed and the lower strata could acquire prominent roles in the ritual. It is tempting to see, with Versnel, Baton's passage where he mentions that 'when they took over the place they held a festival in imitation of this celebration' as referring to the Pelasgians taking control of a land previously inhabited by abnormal creatures, giants (although it is not clear whether the 'they' who took control of the land and held the festival in imitation of this celebration refers to the Pelasgians or to the Thessalians mentioned further later in the passage).¹³² The name of the messenger Pelor or Pelor(i)os¹³³ means the gigantic or monstrous one. We do actually know of a giant called Pelor, Peloros, or Peloreus who was associated in myths with the area of central Greece.¹³⁴

There are, however, some particularities in the aetiological myth of the Peloria, at least as reported by Baton. The myth of the Peloria brings us

¹³² Versnel (1987) 144.

¹³³ For the various forms of the name see Heichelheim (1944); Heichelheim (1947).

¹³⁴ The giant called Pelor, Peloros, or Peloreus was the enemy of Dionysus in the gigantomachy and threw Mount Pelion at him, or, according to another tradition, was killed by Poseidon in the Spercheios area: Wüst, *RE* XIX (1937) 393–4. For the figure of Peloros see Nilsson (1906) 37; Bremmer (1983) 122–3. Robertson (1984) 8 connects the name of the festival with the tables heaped with food, which would have been the main characteristic of the festival.

straight to the order of Zeus.¹³⁵ We are not being told of the absurdity of a world, long forgotten, now turned upside down. The emphasis, on the contrary, is on the world that came after.¹³⁶ And it is this new world that is extremely abundant. While in the myth of Kronos the absence of slavery belonged to an unnatural fertile universe, in the case of the Peloria it is almost as if the world of abundance and the institution of slavery were created at the same time.

As with the Petraia then, we are getting a glimpse of a distant past which seems though not to have been so dissimilar from that of today, of a very fertile land when wealthy aristocrats, just like today, competed for Poseidon, and slaves, for one day, ate with their masters in honour of Zeus.¹³⁷ The world of the Thessalians appears to be unchanged and *autochthonous*!

5.5. THESSALY AND DELPHI

We move, now, to the fourth century and depart from Thessaly for Delphi. The Thessalians claimed a close connection to the Delphic sanctuary. Although their involvement in the Sacred Wars comes first to mind, scattered pieces of evidence seem to indicate that they believed their special link with Apollo Pythios to go far back to the time when the Thessalians first came to Thessaly and Apollo to Delphi. There is, for instance, a series of oracles issued by Delphi, which seem to relate to the Thessalian migration.¹³⁸ Aleuas the Red, the most important 'statesman' of Thessaly, tradition had it, became king of Thessaly thanks to the Delphic oracle.¹³⁹ It was also said that the first offering at Delphi, a small statue of Apollo, was dedicated by a Larisean called Echecrates.¹⁴⁰ In the same context it is worth noting that the name of one of the architects of the first temple at Delphi, Pagasos, points to Thessaly;¹⁴¹ and the temple was supposedly built with laurel that came from Tempe.¹⁴² All of this clearly places the Thessalians' involvement in the far distant past: the small size of the statue emphasizes how old the dedication was, connecting it with the first daedalic statues, while the first offering points to the beginning of

¹³⁵ Several scholars have tried to dissociate the festival from Zeus and argue that it was originally or mainly a festival of some other 'older' figure, such as Peloros or Poseidon: Nilsson (1906) 37; Philippon (1944) 61; Robertson (1984) 8; Papachatzis (1985) 46–8.

¹³⁶ See also R. Parker (2011a) 212 n. 148, who, though, wonders whether it is pedantic to insist that the relation to the primeval time is different in Kronia and Peloria.

¹³⁷ For the myth of the Peloria articulating religious continuity between the Pelasgians and the present see also Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 119.

¹³⁸ Plut. *Mor.* 432^b (= Parke and Wormell (1956) ii. 124–5 no. 311; Fontenrose (1978) 383 L77).

¹³⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 492^b.

¹⁴⁰ Paus. 10.16.8.

¹⁴¹ Paus. 10.5.8.

¹⁴² Paus. 10.5.9.

cult, as does the bringing of a statue and the building of the first temple.¹⁴³ These stories could be combined with traditions which described Apollo going to Thessaly as soon as he killed the dragon Python, thereby taking control of the Delphic sanctuary. It was told that Apollo went to Tempe, or in another version to the house of Admetus at Pherai, to be purified from the murder.¹⁴⁴ Thessaly was thus closely linked with the establishment of Apollo's cult at Delphi, while having Apollo purified in their land could help portray the Thessalians as protectors of the purity of the god and his sanctuary.

It is difficult to tell how far back these various traditions, mostly known from late authors, date. It is generally accepted that Thessaly was involved in the Delphic cult from at least the early sixth century, when the amphictiony was said to have taken control of the sanctuary. But the problem lies in deciding the extent of this involvement and its salience for the Thessalians' perception of their identity. The least we can say is that as an amphictionic state Thessaly was represented by two *hieromnemones* in the Delphic sanctuary. A more ambitious, and much more popular, position ascribes to Thessaly a leading role in the series of events which were remembered as the First Sacred War and a prominent presence thereafter in Delphi. Not only did Thessalians traditionally hold, according to this view, the presidency of the amphictionic council and with it that of the Pythian Games, but they were also connected with two other important Delphic festivals: the festival of Theoxenia, which was associated with Thessaly through the figure of Neoptolemos, and the Stepteria, which included a procession through Thessaly to bring back the laurel used for the crowns of the victors at the Pythian Games.¹⁴⁵

Tempting though this scenario is, the evidence in support of it is not straightforward, and once we doubt Thessaly's leading role in the First Sacred War its Delphic religious policy also starts to shake. As late a source as Heliodorus credits the Ainians and Thessalians with a special interest in Neoptolemos' cult, but there is nothing to support the argument of an early Thessalian interest in his Delphic cult, let alone that the Thessalians had actually introduced Neoptolemos to Delphi.¹⁴⁶ The *terminus ante quem* for

¹⁴³ Paus. 2.17.4–5; 9.40.3 for the motif of old statues being small in size. See also Romano (1988) 128.

¹⁴⁴ The service at Admetus was a penance either for the killing of the Cyclops (Hes. fr. 54b–c (M/W); Eur. *Alc.* 1–7; Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 35a) or the Delphic dragon (Anaxandridas *FGrH* 404 F 5). Paus. 2.7.7 mentions that Apollo fled to Crete to be purified from Python's murder.

¹⁴⁵ Defradas (1954) 149, 154–6; Fontenrose (1960) 207; Kowalzig (2007) 195–201. Sordi (1958a) 70, 76; and (1979) places the Thessalian involvement at Delphi later, at the end of the sixth century or the early fifth century. For the association of Neoptolemos with the Delphic Theoxenia see Currie (2005) 301–2 with previous bibliography and Kowalzig (2007) 192–5. Hel. *Aith.* 2.34, however, associates his cult with the Pythian festival. Sánchez (2001) 78 concedes that the Thessalian expansion to the south scenario seems reasonable.

¹⁴⁶ Heliod. *Aith.* 2.34–3.10.

the beginning of the cult of Neoptolemos at Delphi seems to be the fifth century BC, when Pindar alludes to it, but both times he does so in songs written for Aeginitans.¹⁴⁷

As for the Stepteria, unfortunately, we hear about it mostly from late sources.¹⁴⁸ The association, for instance, between the daphnephoric rite to and from Tempe and the Pythian Games could only have happened after 582 BC when the Games became crowned. Although much relies on speculation, it is usually assumed that the laurel from Tempe was also used for the victors' crowns right from the institution of the crowned games.¹⁴⁹ This certainly would have given Thessaly a special position in the Delphic cult, but we know very little about the Tempe cult and who might have participated in it. Reconstructions could vary. At one end of the scale, we could imagine a group of Delphians travelling to Tempe and offering sacrifices at the sanctuary of Apollo there, assisted only by a few local notables. Alternatively, we could envisage a very much larger celebration with mass Thessalian participation. Certainly, by at least the time of Aelian (and perhaps by the fourth century, if he is really using Theopompos as a source), the people of the regions that the *theoria* passed joyfully joined in the celebrations.¹⁵⁰

A group of inscriptions dated from the mid-fifth to the third century BC and found in various locations in Thessaly and Perrhaibia commemorate dedications made by groups of *dauchnaphoroi*. One of them, dated to the fifth century, was found at a village north-east of Larisa.¹⁵¹ A second, perhaps contemporary, fifth-century dedication by a group of *dauchnaphoroi* was found at Atrax, a small city several kilometres west of Larisa.¹⁵² And there are a couple of dedications of *dauchnaphoroi* from Pherai and Tyrnavo dated to the Hellenistic period.¹⁵³ Had these dedications something to do with the Tempe *daphnephoria*, or were they related with local daphnephoric rituals? The latter cannot be excluded, in view of the fact that daphnephoric rituals seem to have been widespread in cults of Apollo in central Greece.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, we would like to know more details concerning the dating of the

¹⁴⁷ The evidence is discussed by Currie (2005) 296–307.

¹⁴⁸ For the festival Farnell (1896–1909) iv. 293–5; Jeanmaire (1939) 387–411; Brelich (1969) 387–483; Burkert (1983) 127–30.

¹⁴⁹ See Brelich (1969) 396ff. Sourvinou-Inwood (1979) 233 also argues that the various mythic cultic contexts that involved the laurel from Tempe were shaped in the Archaic period. The importance of the laurel in the Delphic cult seems to have been a well-established fact by the time of Pindar, who referred to the myth of the first laurel temple at Delphi, and may have included the information that the laurel used in its construction had come from Tempe: *Σ* Pind. *Pai.* VIII. (*P.Oxy.* 841 Fr107); Rutherford (2001) 210–32.

¹⁵⁰ Ael. *VH* 3.1 = Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 80. ¹⁵¹ *IG* IX 2 1027. See also section 4.2.

¹⁵² *AD* 49 (1994) *Chron.* 340 no. 21. ¹⁵³ For references see further later in this section.

¹⁵⁴ So Brelich (1969) 424–5. Helly (1979a) 173 had initially followed him. For daphnephoric rites in Boiotia see now Kowalzig (2007) 380, who, however, I think, over-stresses their Thessalian character. She does not, for instance, discuss the *daphnephoreion* found at Euboea, which dates back to the mid-eighth century: C. Bérard (1971).

Hellenistic dedications, since for much of the third century Thessaly's connection with Delphi seems to have been severed (see later in this section). Be that as it may, Helly's suggestion that the dedications were made by delegations of *daphnephoroi* sent by various Thessalian cities to join the large Stepteria procession deserves some attention.¹⁵⁵ The dedication from the *chora* of Larisa seems to have been found *in situ* and it is tempting to associate the place with the Larisean village Deipnias, which was, according to Stephanus Byzantius, the first place where the Delphic *theoros* stopped on his way back to Delphi and broke his fast. In some of the other cases, too, connections with the Delphic cult could be argued. The dedication from Tyrnavo was offered to Apollo Kerdoos, an epithet which in Lycophron's *Alexandra* is mentioned in connection with Apollo of Delphi.¹⁵⁶ As for the dedication from Pherai, we have already mentioned that, according to a version of the myth, the god went to Admetus of Pherai to be purified after the killing of Python.¹⁵⁷ If this hypothesis is valid, then it could be argued that Apollo Pythios' cult served as a vehicle for promoting a sense of Thessalian identity not only because of the stories which connected him with the region, and the sending of an official *theoria*, but because it formed a network, through myth and ritual, with the various local Thessalian cults.¹⁵⁸

In the fourth century various phenomena coalesce to show that Thessaly's relation to the Delphic sanctuary had become a burning issue. It is at this point that the traditions concerning Thessaly's involvement in the First Sacred War are first recorded. Word circulated that the leader of the amphictionic army was a Thessalian called Eurylochos. To him went the honour not only of leading the amphictions to victory, but also of celebrating the first Pythian Games.¹⁵⁹ These traditions became particularly relevant during the Third Sacred War, when the precedent of the First Sacred War, and in particular the Thessalians' supposed prerogatives in the sanctuary, were used to vindicate Philip's expansionism to the south.¹⁶⁰ It seems likely that Philip did not make the whole tradition up, but was instead making use of stories which had been

¹⁵⁵ Helly (1987) 141.

¹⁵⁶ *IG IX 2* 1234. For discussion of the cult of Kerdoos and problems concerning the origins of this inscription see also section 3.3.3.

¹⁵⁷ Unpublished inscription mentioned by Helly (1987) 141 n. 35.

¹⁵⁸ Note also Plut. *Mor.* 393c, who mentions that in Thessaly priests (of Apollo?) on 'impure days' had to spend the time alone by themselves outside the temples and it was then said that the priests were keeping Phoebus (*φοιβονομείσθαι*). The passage implies a commonality of practice between the various Thessalian Apollo cults, but it is not certain when these 'impure days' were and how old the custom was.

¹⁵⁹ Strabo 9.3.4; 9.3.10; [Thessalos] *Presb.* (27) 17; *Hypoth.* Pind. *Pyth.* b, c, and d; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.13.

¹⁶⁰ Robertson (1978) *passim* and 64–6 for a general called Eurylochos serving under Philip II.

in the air for some time.¹⁶¹ These stories might well have gone back two decades earlier, when the most famous leader of Thessaly, Jason of Pherai, set in motion a notorious project, ordering the Thessalians to arrange for the celebration of the Pythian festival. A huge procession of hecatombs of sheep, oxen, and men, prepared as if going to war, was to walk to Delphi.¹⁶² Jason on several occasions claimed to be retracing the steps of famous Thessalian personalities. In his speech to Polydamas, as reported by Xenophon, Jason conjured up an image of a unified Thessaly which owed a lot to the achievements of Aleuas the Red and Scopas. Perhaps traditions about Eurylochos and the Delphic sanctuary also came into the mix.

Despite appeals to traditionalism, some things seem clearly to have been done differently now. In the fourth century, Thessaly's special relation to Delphi started to be worked in stone. Thessaly had previously only a discreet archaeological presence at the sanctuary, but now a number of monuments can be associated with the region.¹⁶³ At some point in the second quarter of the fourth century, the Thessalians set up a statue of the Boiotian general Pelopidas, who had helped them fight against the tyrants of Pherai.¹⁶⁴ To the second half of the century dates one of the most famous monuments from Delphi, the monument of Daochos. This monument, which portrayed one of the most prominent Thessalians of his time, among other male members of his family, was set up in the north area of the sanctuary.¹⁶⁵ Behind it stood a building that, according to a recent suggestion, was built a few years earlier and may well have been a *thesauros* of the Thessalians.¹⁶⁶ The Thessalian dedications were set up in the north of the sanctuary, in the same general area where the temenos of Neoptolemos was located, an indication that Thessaly's connection with the hero was emphasized at that time.¹⁶⁷ The aetiological myth for the festival of Stepteria, which explained the series of rites as a representation of Apollo's fight against Python, his subsequent flight to Tempe, where he was purified for the murder of the dragon, his return to Delphi wearing a laurel garland, and the institution on his arrival of the Pythia

¹⁶¹ See Davies (1994), who argues for various periods when it is plausible to suppose that the tradition might have been reworked before 343–330 BC.

¹⁶² Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.29.

¹⁶³ For the Thessalians' offerings at Delphi see in general Jacquemin (1993) 223–5; Jacquemin (1999) 51–2. Stamatopoulou (2007) 339–41 argues that the change in Thessalian dedicatory practices came in the second half of the fourth century with the Macedonians, but the evidence seems to suggest that they had started slightly earlier.

¹⁶⁴ Bousquet (1963); Jacquemin (1999) no. 465.

¹⁶⁵ Note, however, Geominy (1998), who argues for a third-century date.

¹⁶⁶ Jacquemin and Laroche (2001).

¹⁶⁷ For different identifications, all of which seem to date to the fourth century see Fontenrose (1960) 191, 194; Pouilloux (1960) 49–60; Bommelaer (1991) 195, 200. Scott (2010) 120 n. 37 states, but without any support, that the cult area of Neoptolemos was in existence since the beginning of the sixth century.

festival, is also first attested now.¹⁶⁸ Perhaps there was a renewed interest and reworking of the cult; the theme of Thessaly protecting the purity of the sanctuary would fit well the fourth-century milieu.

But what did all these stories about Thessalians at Delphi, about Apollo's journey to Tempe, and all these new monuments mean for the majority of the Thessalians back home? Theopompos, if he is indeed the source behind Aelian, mentioned joyful celebrations all along the route of the Tempe *theoria*. We can point here, as evidence both for investment in the cult at Tempe and for a wider interest in it, to a series of fourth-century Thessalian reliefs, in one instance explicitly dedicated to Apollo Pythios. They were found at various Thessalian cities, namely Larisa, Pharsalos, and Olosson, and all shared a very similar iconography, showing Apollo in the *kitharodos* type in the company of Leto and Artemis.¹⁶⁹ It has been suggested, on the basis of style and representation, that they are almost contemporary with each other, dating to the first half of the fourth century, and copy a common prototype, a new cult statue of the god set up in a Thessalian sanctuary, perhaps the one at Tempe.¹⁷⁰ Jason's preparations for the Pythia, which included Panthessalian competitions among the cities for the best-looking animal, most vividly illustrates how the celebration of a Delphic festival could interrupt the lives of Thessalian cities and become a Panthessalian affair. Was this a one-off occasion, or even the beginning of a new fourth-century trend? In its military emphasis this must have been an extraordinary celebration, and alarm was caused in some circles that Jason was planning to plunder the sanctuary.¹⁷¹ But the cities' eager reaction to join in the Thessalian *theoria* with hundreds of sacrificial victims might have been motivated by a deeper feeling of an old connection with the Delphic cult.

Thessaly's close relationship with Delphi, the 'centre of the world', was severed in the early third century, after Delphi was attacked by the Gauls and the Aitolians established themselves in the sanctuary. No Thessalian *hieromnemes* are attested after 279/8 BC, a phenomenon which has been connected with the division of power between Antigonos Gonatas, who regained firm

¹⁶⁸ Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 80. For the whole myth and its relation to the cult Plut. *Mor.* 293c. See also Nilsson (1906) 156 and Halliday (1928) 65–71, who argue that the myth does not seem to fit very well with the cult and might have been associated with it at some later date. Similarly Jeanmaire (1939) and Brelich (1969) argue against the festival having an expiatory character and prefer instead to attribute to it an initiatory one.

¹⁶⁹ Larisa: Biesantz (1965) 31 L53 and L54. Pharsalos: *IG IX* 2 593 (= Biesantz (1965) 31 L 52; Decourt (1995) 81 no. 64). Olosson: Helly (1979a). See also Decourt (1995) 82 no. 65, for a fragmentary relief of the second half of the fourth century from Pharsalos representing Apollo this time with the lyre.

¹⁷⁰ von Graeve (1979); Flashar (1992) 30–2.

¹⁷¹ Sprawski (1999) 118ff for the political plans that may have lain behind Jason's order for military mobilization.

hold over Thessaly, and Aitolia.¹⁷² Was the celebration of the daphnephoric rite to Tempe also interrupted? We do not know. *Theoroi* from Delphi still visited Thessaly in the late third century.¹⁷³ Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi seems to have been reorganized. So much we can perhaps infer from Pausanias' statement that the Delphians, in gratitude for his assistance during the Gallic Wars, started honouring the hero whom they had previously held in disrespect.¹⁷⁴ But what, if anything, this reorganization had to do with Aitolians and Thessalians we can hardly tell. As for the possibility that the Thessalians might have started celebrating their own Pythia, as other states seem to have done from the third century onwards, there is no evidence to suggest it.¹⁷⁵ Apollo Pythios had an important sanctuary at the Perrhaibian city of Pythion, which seems to have flourished in the Hellenistic period and was apparently the centre of the so-called Perrhaibian Tripolis, but there is no evidence that it ever acquired a wider clientele.¹⁷⁶ If the decision to cede the presidency of the amphictiony was forced upon the Thessalians by Antigonos, we can only guess the discontent this decision would have caused among them. This might, partly at least, explain why the Aitolians seem to have had supporters in many Thessalian cities throughout the third century.¹⁷⁷

5.6. CULTS OF THE THESSALIANS AND THEIR SYNGENEIS

In spite of Thessaly's removal from the 'centre of the world' in the third century, it still found itself at the centre of a wide-ranging web of ties. Numerous third- and second-century inscriptions inform us about a busy traffic: judges, poets, philosophers, artists, and religious embassies travelled to and from Thessalian cities, linking the area with various places of the Greek world to the north, the south, the west, and, mostly, to the east. This mobility is very much a phenomenon of the Hellenistic world, when 'any small city could be transformed for a few days every year into a Panhellenic centre.'¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² For various reconstructions of this period see Fine (1932); Grainger (1995); Scholten (2000) 45, 154–5, 240ff; Sánchez (2001) 270ff; Helly (2009) 343.

¹⁷³ Plassart (1921) col. III ll. 10–50; Graninger (2011c) 137. ¹⁷⁴ Paus. 1.4.4.

¹⁷⁵ For local Pythia after the third century see Krause (1841) 53ff; Fontenrose (1988) 137.

¹⁷⁶ Rescue excavations have revealed impressive remains of the Hellenistic and Roman times: there is evidence for temples, other buildings, and numerous dedications and decrees: Lucas (1997) 184–5; Tziafalias (2000a) 91; *AD* 51 (1996) *Chron.* 363–4. Lucas (1997) 216–17 airs the idea that the city was renamed Pythion at the time of Philip II. For the Perrhaibian Tripolis see Rosenberg (1916); Lucas (1997) 211–19; Tziafalias (2000a) 91.

¹⁷⁷ See the interesting discussion by Helly (1991b) 336–43.

¹⁷⁸ The quote is from L. Robert, *OMS* VI (1989) 711. R. Parker (2004b) 12ff comments on the nature of the change.

Various phenomena form what we call the 'diplomacy of the Hellenistic world', such as the calling in of judges from other states, the declaration of the inviolability of various sanctuaries, the recognition of festivals as *isopythian* or *isolympian*, the cultivation of *syngeneia* ties, sometimes with very distant places. Related though these phenomena often were, they do not seem to have occurred to the same degree or at the same time everywhere in the Greek world; and a closer look at such regional and chronological variations could perhaps help us better understand how the various different places tried to position themselves in the wider Greek world. Boiotia, for instance, declared many of its sanctuaries inviolable, but this declaration does not seem to have been accompanied, as was usually the case, with the granting of Panhellenic status. Boiotian sanctuaries remained, or became, Pamboiotian.¹⁷⁹ To give yet another example, Athens rarely acknowledged kinship ties with other places.¹⁸⁰ The Thessalians, in contrast, often invoked kinship ties in their interactions with the wider Greek world, and their attempts to map out a world of kin and close friends had a religious dimension.

A recently discovered third-century decree from Aigai in western Turkey, which was issued by the Thessalians, bestows on Koans, Magnesians on Maeander, and the more mysterious group of the Aioliens rights of *politeia*, together with the right to share in the cults shared by all Thessalians.¹⁸¹ A few lines above we find a reference to one of these cults. The Thessalians' honours bestowed on Koans, Magnesians, and Aioliens, we are informed, had come in response to the latter's decision to participate in the sacrifices to Zeus Olympios and the hero Thessalos, and in the *agon* celebrated by the Thessalians.¹⁸²

This is the first time we hear about a Thessalian cult of Zeus Olympios (and of a cult of their eponymous hero Thessalos). A few inscribed dedications to the god have been found in some Thessalian cities, but what seems to be a central Thessalian cult of Zeus Olympios was hitherto unattested.¹⁸³ Scholars have entertained the idea that the god would have been especially venerated by the Thessalians, given Thessaly's proximity to Mount Olympus.¹⁸⁴ We know of two cult places of Zeus on Mount Olympus, at Dion, where cult seems to go back to the fifth century, and on the peak of Hagios Antonios, where cult

¹⁷⁹ Rigsby (1996) 54–84; R. Parker (2004b) 12 n. 11, 15.

¹⁸⁰ C. P. Jones (1999) 44 for Athenian reluctance to acknowledge kinship ties. Papazarkadas and Thonemann (2008) 82 for a review of the relevant evidence.

¹⁸¹ Malay and Riel (2009) and more detailed discussion by R. Parker (2011b). For the date of the inscription see n. 25. For who the Aioliens might have been see discussion in Parker (2011b).

¹⁸² I follow R. Parker (2011b) here, who argues that the sanctuary to which Koans, Magnesians, and Aioliens sacrificed was in Thessaly and not in Asia Minor as Malay and Riel had argued; Malay and Riel (2009) 50.

¹⁸³ Dedications to Zeus Olympios have been found at Pharsalos: AD 28 (1973) *Chron.* 333–4 = Decourt (1995) 75 no. 58 (fourth century); at Metropolis: mentioned by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 231 n. 890 (Roman, unpublished); and Python: SEG 51 (2001) 737.

¹⁸⁴ Kern (1926) i. 200ff.

seems to start in the third century.¹⁸⁵ But there is a problem with associating either of these two sanctuaries with the Thessalian cult of Zeus Olympios. The sanctuary at Dion was, by the time of the decree from Aigai, the 'national sanctuary' of the Macedonians, and it feels awkward to imagine the Thessalians gathering there with their kin to worship their own national hero Thessalos.¹⁸⁶ Despite these reservations, we should still leave open the possibility that the Thessalians may have had a special role in the cult at Dion, organizing perhaps some of the competitions. We know very little about the cult's early stages, before the Macedonians' expansion to the south. There was, at least in later times, a tradition that the first altar at Dion was set up by Deukalion the Thessalian.¹⁸⁷ And an inscription found at the sanctuary, unfortunately undated, refers to a contest called *taurotheria*, giving a distinct Thessalian colouring to the cult.¹⁸⁸ As for the sanctuary on the peak of Hagios Antonios, about which we know very little, some believe that it might have been connected with the one at Dion. Moreover, the sanctuary is too far removed from Thessaly and we may wonder whether it would have been a suitable environment for staging competitions.¹⁸⁹ It might, then, be preferable to search for the Thessalian sanctuary of Zeus Olympios somewhere else, either on the mountain, or perhaps even in the Thessalian plains. The major role that Larisa had in the decision-making process of the decree could lead one to think that this might have been a Larisean sanctuary, acquiring perhaps

¹⁸⁵ Dion: Pantermalis (1977) and (1997) 29–30. Hagios Antonios: Kyriazopoulos and Livadas (1967); Höper (1990).

¹⁸⁶ National sanctuary: see the evidence collected by Baeye (1913) 10–13. Reservations are expressed by R. Parker (2011b).

¹⁸⁷ POxy 4306 fr. I col. i, ll. 19–29. For a discussion of the passage and the possibility that in old times the cult was connected with Thessaly see Voutiras (2006) 335–7. The first Macedonian king to be associated with Dion is Archelaos reigning at the end of the fifth century: Diod. 17.16.

¹⁸⁸ The inscription is mentioned by Hatzopoulos (1996) 129 n. 2; Le Bohec-Bouhet (2002) 45. The term *taurokathapsia*, used by modern scholars in general for 'bull-wrestling' competitions, is found on a Roman relief of Smyrna, which depicts scenes of the event, and on a Roman inscription from Aphrodisias: see Baunack (1883) 298–9. Roman Thessalian inscriptions (IG IX 2 528.16; 534.9) refer to an event called *taurotheria*. This was possibly the local name for the event. *Taurokathapsia*-type competitions, known under different names and celebrated in honour of various gods, became very popular in Roman times, particularly in Asia Minor: see Baunack (1883); Mayer (1892); Axenidis (1947b) 18–19; Nilsson (1906) 80–1. But it was believed that Thessaly was the homeland of the competitions: Plin. HN 8.70.182. Were these the competitions that Thessalos had instituted at the Olympia? Kraay (1976) 115–16 (followed by S. Lavva, LIMC s.v. Thessalos) identified Thessaly's eponymous hero with the bull fighter on the fifth-century so-called *taurokathapsia* coins (for which see section 4.2.). But for other identifications of the figure see Moustaka (1983) 74–5; Kagan (2004) 81.

¹⁸⁹ Malay and Riel (2009) 52, who argue that the Thessalian sanctuary of Zeus Olympios is the one at Hagios Antonios. Voutiras (2006) 340–2 argues that the two cults at Dion and Hagios Antonios must have been related. But see Höper (1990) 220 n. 33, who argues that Hagios Antonios is most easily accessible through Perrhaibia.

only lately a wider prominence.¹⁹⁰ But the phrasing in the last lines of the document, where it is stipulated that a copy should be set up 'at Olympion, at Itounos, and at Larisa in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos', seems to indicate that Olympion, just as Itonos, was not in Larisean territory. Similarly it cannot be excluded that Zeus Olympios' cult, like that of Athena Itonia, was Panthes-salian from earlier times.

Even greater uncertainty surrounds all other aspects of the cult, such as its ancestry, or details about the rituals performed, for instance the sacrifices and competitions mentioned in the decree. Worshipers came, we may assume, from all over Thessaly, but we can say nothing about how participation might have been organized (by cities, by tetrads?), or about how popular the cult might have been among the various groups of the population. What the inscription clearly states is that the cult became at some point in the first half of the third century open to foreigners. It does not seem, though, that the Thessalians opened their cult to all Greeks who might have accepted the invitation.¹⁹¹ The Koans, Magnesians, and Aioliens, who are honoured with *politeia* by the Thessalians for their decision to participate in the cult, claimed to have had close ties with Thessaly.

When the island of Kos suffered a shortage of grain in the first half of the third century the Thessalians offered help, in view of their *syngeneia* with the island.¹⁹² According to an old and well-known tradition first attested in Homer, the eponymous hero of Thessaly, Thessalos, was the son of Heracles and a Koan princess. Moreover, traditions about a co-operation between Koans and Thessalians during the First Sacred War seem to have been in circulation in the fourth century, and to have been cultivated in the context of the Delphic cult.¹⁹³ During the third century, interest in Thessalo-Koan relationships seems to have intensified. The local historian Philitas wrote about the Thessalian settlement of Kos, referring perhaps to a tradition about a pre-Dorian colonization of various places in the south-east Aegean, including Syme, Rhodes, Cnidus, and Kos, by Triopas and the Pelasgians of Thessaly, or by Thessalian Lapiths.¹⁹⁴ As for the Aioliens and Magnesians, kinship ties which might have gone back further are invoked in later second-century decrees. Thus Larisa honoured two Aiolian citizens of Alexandria on

¹⁹⁰ R. Parker (2011b) who points to the mention of a toponym Olympus in a second-century Larisean inscription (Salviat and Vatin (1971) 11 l. 28). But it is not clear how Olympus is used in this inscription, which uses several landmarks as topographic directions: see also Helly (1970b) 273–4, 287, who argues that it refers to the well-known mountain and the relevant passage shows direction towards the north.

¹⁹¹ See R. Parker (2011b).

¹⁹² For the inscription and its date see n. 25.

¹⁹³ Robertson (1978) 68–72; Nelson (2005), who argues that the tradition, already in circulation in the fourth century, was used in ambassadorial speeches on behalf of the Koan Asclepieia in the third century.

¹⁹⁴ Calim. *Cer.* 25. See in general Sherwin-White (1978) 17; Spanoudakis (2002) 187ff.

the Troad and mentioned the *syngeneia* that linked the two places.¹⁹⁵ An even stronger term, the *homogeneia* of Lariseans and the Magnesians of Maenader is used in another decree, if correctly attributed to Larisa.¹⁹⁶ Although the *syngeneia* concerns only Larisa, one may suspect that in these, as perhaps in many other cases of civic decrees, the links of kinship did not concern only the city that voted the decree but also the *ethnos* to which it belonged.¹⁹⁷

This bringing together, in the Thessalian cults of Zeus Olympios and the hero Thessalos, of all these population groups, and the assertions of kinship ties between them, might come as a surprise, if we take into account those traditions which talked about enmity between them. The Aioliens, Magnesians, and Perrhaibians were in some tales the enemies of the Thessalians, when the latter invaded Thessaly. But we have also seen that Thessalian identity was a complex one, and the Thessalians could perceive themselves both as 'foreign' invaders and as lawful inhabitants of the land. Indeed, the link between Thessalians, Magnesians, and Aioliens must have appealed to some perceived common Aiolian ancestry. Such a perceived common Aiolian past must lie behind the *syngeneia* invoked in another Larisean decree between Larisa and Akraiphia, and Boiotia in general, otherwise the traditional enemy of the Thessalians.¹⁹⁸ Is it possible that the Magnesians, closer at home, and the Perrhaibians, living in the shadows of Olympus, also participated in the cult, since both areas had contacts and claimed links of kinship with some of the honorands?¹⁹⁹ It seems that what brought together the Perrhaibians and Magnesians of Thessaly with those on the Maeander and the Koans was memories of a time when their respective ancestors had all lived together in Thessaly.²⁰⁰

It would be interesting to look at what was going on at the old sanctuary of Athena Itonia, which was closely connected with the stories of migration and wars around Arne. Was participation in the cult of Itonia more restricted because of the cult's militaristic overtones and its close association with stories which celebrated the Thessalians as invaders, in opposition to the cult of Zeus Olympios which commemorated a time when the various population groups supposedly all lived together? This is a tempting suggestion, but we should

¹⁹⁵ Helly (2006a). For relations between Thessaly and Mytilene see later in this section.

¹⁹⁶ *I. Magnesia* 26; Rigsby (1996) 200 no. 75. ¹⁹⁷ See also further later in this section.

¹⁹⁸ For Magnesians on Maeander being Aioliens see *IG II²* 1091. Akraiphia decree: *IG VII* 4130 ll. 10-11, second century. Note also the links of *syngeneia* established between the second-century Thessalian *koinon* and the Teans, who were considered (Paus. 7.3.6) the descendants of Aiolos through Athamas: Gallis (1972); Crowther (1997) 355-6.

¹⁹⁹ Helly (1973b) no. 111 for a decree from Gonnoi which called the Magnesians on the Maiander *philoi* and *syngeneis*. Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952) 13-15 no. 5 for two third-century decrees from Gonnoi and Homolion which refer to the *syngeneia* between Kos, Perrhaibians, and Magnesians. Bosnakis and Hallof (2003) 229-36 suggested that the *ethnos* in question in both inscriptions were the Thessalians. But see the criticisms of Helly (2004a) 99-100.

²⁰⁰ See section 4.2.

remember here that the dividing line between Athena Itonia as a goddess of invasion to one of migration can be easily crossed. During the third century, the Koans seem to have sent a regular *theoria* to the sanctuary to participate in the cult.²⁰¹ Later, in the second century, the Ambrakians also received the honour of sending *proxenoi* to the cult and sharing in the common sacrifice.²⁰² Both groups can be connected with the traditions about the descendants of Pheidippos and Antiphos coming to Thessaly from north-west Greece.²⁰³ But in the second century BC a *theoria* from Mytilene, the Aiolian colony par excellence, seems also to have come to Itonos.²⁰⁴ Was this a change that accompanied the second-century reorganization of the *koinon* and its cults, or just a renewal of old practice?²⁰⁵

We have already seen some of the ways in which local cults could interact with the Panthessalian dimension. The cult of Zeus Peloros was most probably celebrated at a local level and it was argued that it was through the medium of myth, which connected the festival with the revelation of the Thessalian plains, that the various local celebrations would have been considered parts of a single Panthessalian festival. Another example was furnished by the cult of Apollo Pythios, a god whose particular connection with Thessaly was elaborated through various myths and stories. We can quickly mention here other examples. In 490 BC somewhere on the banks of the Peneus river and, very likely, at some local sanctuary, the inhabitants of the wider area gathered to celebrate the victory of the young Hippokleas from Pelinna at the *diaulos* of the Pythian Games. We know of the event from Pindar, who composed the victory ode, whose performance was an integral part of the festivities.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ *Theoriai* from Kos: Boesch (1908) 28; Segre (1934). See also discussion in Rigsby (2004).

²⁰² AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 248; Habicht (1976b). It is not clear to me why *proxenoi* and not *theoroi* are mentioned here and what the difference might have been.

²⁰³ Only *philia* is mentioned, though, in the admittedly very fragmentary decree, but there is further evidence for contacts between Thessaly and these parts of Greece at that time: see Tziafalias and Helly (2007) 453–64 for a decree of the Mollosian league honouring Larisean judges; Cabanes and Andreou (1985) for an Akarnanian boundary dispute where Larisean judges were sent.

²⁰⁴ Tziafalias and Helly (2004–5).

²⁰⁵ Tziafalias and Helly (2004–5) speculate on the circumstances. See also R. Parker (2011b) who airs the idea that the date of this and another related decree of the Thessalian *koinon* concerning the Mytilenean Asclepieia (see n. 219) may have to be revisited. There is evidence for relationships between Thessaly and Mytilene in the third century: an unpublished inscription refers to Atrax providing the island with grain at a time of shortage: Tziafalias (2000a) 86 no. 3.

²⁰⁶ Pind. *Pyth.* 10.55–9, for his song being heard around the Peneus river and making Hippokleas' glory known to comrades, elders, and girls. It is not important here to decide whether the ode was performed at a sanctuary at Pelinna, the victor's city, or at Larisa, since the Aleuads had commissioned the ode, or at both. Heath (1988) 191 for celebrations taking place at the victor's city in a local sanctuary and/or in his house. The possibility that the ode was performed at an important sanctuary of the area, not necessarily attached to Larisa, or Pelinna cannot be excluded. See e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 7, which was for a victor from Ialysos, but was dedicated at the temple of Athena Lindia, a sanctuary that possibly already had a Panrhodian function.

Although Pindar goes to pains to praise the family of the victor and particularly his hosts, the famous Aleuads, the rhetoric of the ode, that starts and finishes with praise of Thessaly, makes it clear that the victory of the young Hippokleas brought fame and glory above all to Thessaly.²⁰⁷ On the occasion of Hippokleas' victory, the city of Larisa or of Pelinna and one of their local sanctuaries became for once the centre of a Panthessealian celebration.²⁰⁸

This interplay between local and Panthessealian continues in the Hellenistic period and we now glimpse another facet of the phenomenon, the translation of local practice into Panthessealian custom that seems to arise naturally in interaction with foreigners. It is perhaps through such a process, at this time of intense contact with other Greeks, that figures like Asclepius and Ennodia, whose cult, although widespread, might always have been localized, become emblematic 'Thessalian deities'.²⁰⁹ Starting with Ennodia, we have discussed in the previous chapter the possible relationship between Pherai's fourth-century politics and the Panthessealization of the goddess.²¹⁰ But it is a passage of Polyaeus which clearly portrays her as a goddess of the Thessalians in general. Polyaeus reports how during the Ionian migration, while trying to colonize Erythrai, Knopos the son of Kodros was advised by Apollo to request from the Thessalians as a general the priestess of Ennodia. The Thessalians, when asked, sent Chrysame, who knew about *pharmaka*, and with her help the Ionians managed to conquer Erythrai.²¹¹ We know little else about connections between Thessaly and Erythrai,²¹² but Thessaly had links in the Hellenistic period with many other cities on the coast of Asia Minor, and it is certainly in such a context that we should set this story. Polyaeus, it has been argued, possibly drew on a local Hellenistic historian of Erythrai, such as Hippias, who wrote about Knopos.²¹³ Perhaps, if we take the Thessalians to stand for the Aiolians, the story could reflect a tradition that Aiolians had a

²⁰⁷ P. W. Rose (1982) 57–8 further suggests that the story of Perseus' visit to the land of the Hyperboreans, which forms the main mythical narrative of the ode, served to provide an image of a glorified Thessaly. Perseus' myth might resonate also with a Larisean context: see section 4.2.

²⁰⁸ Polyaeus' (*Strat.* 6.1.6) story about the name-giving ceremony of Jason's brother's son, which included among the various guests the notables of Thessaly, also portrays what should have been a family occasion as a Panthessealian celebration.

²⁰⁹ R. Parker (2011b) n. 39 draws attention to Myrsilos of Lesbos *FGrH* 477 F 5, where it is said that there are only two crows in the heroon of Lepetymnos (in Lesbos) 'as in Krannon', and wonders whether this could attest a link that the Methymnaeans have found with Thessaly, given all that has already been said about Mytilenean–Thessalian connections. If so, this is a good example of how a strictly local custom, unlike the cults of Asclepius and Ennodia which were widespread, could be described as a Panthessealian one. For Krannon and crows see section 4.2.

²¹⁰ See section 4.2 for a detailed discussion of this problem.

²¹¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.43.

²¹² There are doubts about whether a very fragmentary decree found in the wider area of Halos and Phthiotic Thebes was actually issued by Erythrai as some scholars believe. See discussion in *IErythrai* no. 431; Helly (1978).

²¹³ Burkert (1979) 61. For Hippias see also Jacoby *FGrH* 421 F 1.

role in the colonization of Erythrai, as in that of other Ionian cities.²¹⁴ Furthermore, there is some evidence that Erythrai might have had an important cult of Hecate, in which case a rapprochement between the two figures makes good sense, and Ennodia, the 'One on the Road', is an appropriate-sounding goddess for assisting migrations.²¹⁵ Indeed, another seemingly Thessalian story told how Thessalos managed to win over the Boiotians at Arne with a trick which involved the swinging of torches, a motif that we have good reasons to associate with the torch-bearing figure of Ennodia.²¹⁶ When this story spread and whether it was celebrated in the context of a particular cult, such as the one at Pherai, remains uncertain. But it seems safe to state that by the Hellenistic period Ennodia was, both at home and abroad, very much a representative 'Panthessalian deity'.²¹⁷ As with Ennodia, it is in the context of Thessaly's contacts with its friends and kin that Asclepius was portrayed as a representative deity of Thessaly. In the climate of the times, as the various Asclepieia competed for titles of ancestry, the Koans claimed that Asclepius had come to their island from Trikka.²¹⁸ After all that has been said about Thessalo-Koan relationships in the third century, arguing that Trikka stood here very much for Thessaly should not be contentious.²¹⁹

5.7. PANTHESSALIANISM AND RELIGION: UNDERSTANDING VARIETY

This chapter started by asking about the ways in which Thessaly was unified in the various periods of its history and how Thessalian unity was related to religion. This large topic was not treated here in all its details and from all possible points of view. In order to understand how the Thessalians might have perceived their common identity, we have focused on the stories which talked about their origins and famous exploits, and looked at cults which seem to have interacted with such stories.

²¹⁴ For the various traditions concerning the Aiolian migration see J. Bérard (1959); Vanschoonwinkel (1991) 405–21. For Erythrai being Aiolian see *I Erythrai* no. 16.

²¹⁵ For Hecate at Erythrai see Graf (1985) 257–9: the evidence is mostly theophoric names.

²¹⁶ See section 3.4.2.

²¹⁷ Graninger (2009) 114–20, esp. 120 on the contrary argues that Ennodia never became a Panthessalian goddess, but he does not take into account the sources discussed here, or second-century federal coinage which seems to portray the goddess: Helly (1966) 8 no. 4, 31.

²¹⁸ Herod. 2.97–8. For Herodas' relation with Kos see Sherwin-White (1978) 16.

²¹⁹ The recognition of the Asclepieia of Mytilene might also indicate connection between the two sanctuaries. Thessalians participated in the festival of Asclepius of Mytilene, and honours bestowed on them during the Dionysia show that this was more than a simple recognition of a festival. *Syngeneia* is not mentioned, but *philia* and *oikeiotes*: L. Robert (1925) 233–8 = Labarre (1996) 273 no. 14.

The cults discussed varied and could fall into different groups. There were cults which were centrally celebrated and seem to have gathered worshippers from all over Thessaly, such as those of Athena Itonia, Poseidon Petraios, and Zeus Olympios. There were Panthessalian festivals, such as the Peloria which might have been celebrated only at a local level, but by all Thessalian communities. There were cults outside Thessaly to which the Thessalians sent representatives, most importantly the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, but which might have been accompanied by festivities all over Thessaly. And there were gods, like Asclepius and Ennodia, who became emblematic of Thessaly, even though their worship might have always been localized, with no evidence for a common festival celebrated across Thessaly.

These cults vary in all dimensions, not just in the spatial organization of worship, but in the ritual emphasis, the worshippers they drew, and the stories connected with them. Athena Itonia had a cult with military overtones that celebrated, although perhaps not exclusively, the coming of the Thessalians as a military confrontation between them and the previous populations of the land. Then there are the sacrifices and competitions in honour of Zeus Olympios, bringing from afar those who had once shared Thessaly, here considered kin rather than enemies of the Thessalians. There is the cult of Poseidon Petraios, featuring chariot races among Thessalian aristocrats, in honour of the god who created Thessaly's fertile plains and horses—symbols which established a sense of continuity between the Thessalians of today and the very distant past. This same past is differently evoked by dinner parties in honour of Zeus Peloros but here with slaves and foreigners included, as was supposedly done in the time of the Pelasgians. There are the processions of young boys for Apollo Pythios, the great Panhellenic god who wove together Thessaly by travelling through it. This same motif of the travelling god is mirrored by stories of typical Thessalian gods journeying outwards to the assistance of other Greeks, their Thessalian identities crystallizing as they move outward.

What does this variety tell us? How much is it a product of change through time, of local patterns, and of the attitudes of different groups of worshippers? Important changes took place in Thessalian society; perhaps the most important, which are dated for lack of greater chronological precision in the Hellenistic period, were the emancipation of the *penestai* and the loss of control over the perioikic *ethne*. Both changes must have had important economic and social repercussions. Moreover, both groups played an important role in the construction of Thessalian identity, and one cannot then help wondering about how these developments might have affected perceptions of Thessalian identity and the cults within which these perceptions were explored. Since the *penestai* are a group we can hardly identify in the record, in their case we can do little more than pose the question. To form an answer we would like to know much more, about how they had previously lived, whether they had

developed their own ways of life, whether they were a homogenous group, and last but not least how their emancipation came about. As for the *perioikoi* one could perhaps think that the traditions that presented them as relatives of the Thessalians became more popular in Hellenistic times. But the evidence does not allow such a clear-cut assertion. The cult of Zeus Olympios was opened up in the early third century to other Greeks, who were considered kin of the Thessalians. There is a good possibility that perioikic *ethne* might have also participated. But we have no way of telling for certain whether they were newcomers to the cult at this point.

Within Thessaly various groups strove for power, sometimes claiming to represent the Thessalians as a whole, and cults were implicated in this process. We have discussed in the previous chapter the evidence for the relationship between the imperialistic politics of Pherai and the Panthessalization of Ennodia, or in this one the turbulent milieu in which the Petraios coinage was issued. Nevertheless, in neither case, nor in any other case discussed in this chapter, do we have enough evidence to speak about an exclusive association between a cult (or, to put it differently, between a particular image of Panthessalianism) and a particular faction. As far as we can tell, Ennodia's Panthessalian image enjoyed wide currency and the same seems to have been the case with the cult of Poseidon Petraios. This conclusion seems to tally with the suggestion, made at the beginning of this chapter, that conflict should be seen not as a sign of Thessaly's failure but as a symptom of its success. Certainly competition was part of the ordinary running of the *ethnos* and it was through continuous competing alliances that a feeling of common belonging was created and sustained.

The omnipotent presence of the Macedonian king from the fourth century onwards could not but alter the rules of the game. The breaking of this chain of feuds and alliances would allow the king a tighter control over the area, making political power largely dependent on one's relations to the throne. A related phenomenon was, perhaps, a more intensified engagement between Thessaly and the wider Greek world, one possible consequence of which for religion was the opening of cults to kin from abroad. Another was the creation of stereotypical images of Thessaly and, by implication, of Thessalian religion. This phenomenon was certainly not new, but it was now that it must have found itself reach full force, as the Thessalians needed more often to describe themselves to others. It is interesting to note here, as a prelude to a topic we will explore in the next chapter, that the Panthessalian images of Ennodia and Asclepius both fed into the most perennial of images of Thessaly, that of a land of magic.

So, to conclude, how important was Panthessalian identity? Do variety, change, and manipulation mean that it carried little weight for the people of the area? Was it like a mantle quickly adjusted here and there, and thrown over an oblivious population which it never really succeeded in enclosing?

What better support for this than the supposed weakness and continuous failures of the Thessalian *koinon*? But the evidence, sparse and fragmentary though it might be, seems to argue for the opposite. In case after case, throughout time, we see echoes of Panthessalian identity in a variety of cults. Rather than representing the result of one particular moment, Panthessalianism seems to have been repetitively stressed and restressed in a variety of historical circumstances, by a variety of different interest groups, and, most importantly, in a variety of different ways.²²⁰ It can be found at many different levels of religious life from local cults to centralized sanctuaries. As a theme it can be found in long-established rites, local community festivals, and ad hoc occasions. This diversity and all-pervasiveness are more symptomatic of a long-growing sense of common identity than of some momentarily manipulated political expediency. The common identity floating in the background of these cults can be seen more as the natural environment of politics than its temporary creation.

Panthessalianism appears as a powerful stream, with its power stemming not from any strong claims to autochthony, as in the case of Athens, or from an exclusive obsession with the story of military conquest, as in the case of Sparta, but from its ability to move in between these poles, transforming one into the other. Like the rivers of Thessaly, permanent features of the landscape but always moving through it, their ever-changing waters swamping the land and then, at the gods' stroke, finding exit to the sea and through that to other lands, Panthessalianism, 'the coming of the Thessalians', flooded the area, mixing old and new, local, regional, and Panhellenic, creating at its passing a world ordered *à la Thessalien*.

²²⁰ While allowing for the possibility that the situation in Boiotia might have been different, it seems to me that it is because of undue emphasis on political manipulation, and as a result of a focus on a limited time period, that Kowalzig (2007) 328ff can call the Boiotian identity empty, vacuous, and fragile, only ever as strong as the *koinon*.

The Land Rich in Herbs

6.1. WELCOME TO THESSALY: MEADOWS, HORSES, PARTIES, AND HERBS!

The image of Thessaly as a land of meadows and grazing horses, where one could find remedies for all sorts of ills, not to mention a lively party, is pervasive in ancient sources. For Critias, who spent some time there at the end of the fifth century, Thessaly lived up to its reputation.¹ His teacher, Socrates, famously shunned the place, as he preferred death in an Athenian prison to a merry life in fertile Phthia.² These are only two among many instances in Classical Athenian literature where the region becomes the background of action. Thessaly and its inhabitants tickled the Athenians' imagination and it is not too difficult to guess why. Any good democrat should despise the place: the Thessalians had sided with the Persians, were ruled by oligarchies, claimed connections to Sparta through their ruling class, and had, indeed, often co-operated with them; and yet Thessaly claimed to have been the land of Achilles and Hellen; despite its disgraceful governance and its misconducts, Athens had to stay on good terms with it in order to win the war and, perhaps, even to feed the democracy.³

In this chapter we are, first, going to look at how Thessaly's image was constructed in the ancient, mostly Athenian, sources. A lot revolves around parties, horses, meadows, and herbs in this imaginary Thessaly. But the Thessalians' concerns with τὰ τῶν θεῶν, the things that relate to the gods, also come into the mix. The Thessalians, as the sources reveal them, seem to

¹ Philostr. *VS* 1.16 wonders 'was it Thessaly that corrupted Critias or Critias Thessaly?'

² Pl. *Cri.* 53d–e.

³ There is no straightforward evidence for Athens importing grain from Thessaly in the Classical period. Moreno (2007) prefers to stress the role of Euboea and the Black Sea as regular suppliers of grain to Athens. But Garnsey (1988) 112 envisages such a possibility. *IG IX 2 506* (*BE* 122 (2009) no. 302) contains three Larisean decrees, the earliest of which dates to the late third century, and which concern the selling of grain to Athens. For Thessaly supplying other Greeks and Romans with grain see Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone (1984). For various Thessalian grain products being available in Athenian markets in the Classical period see later in this section, and for Thessalians exporting cheap meat to Athens: Plut. *Mor.* 193e.

have had a slightly disconcerting relationship with death and they often turned to the practice of magic. It is precisely these two features that several scholars have considered as the defining characteristics of Thessalian religion.⁴ Our first task is to look at how different sources exploit a variety of motifs traditionally associated with the area to construct an imaginary Thessaly that would serve their purposes.⁵ Only after this first step has been taken will we try to discern the realities that may have given rise to, or been built in, the stereotypes that 'the Thessalians have a problematic attitude to death' and 'Thessaly is a land of magic', and restore them to their original Thessalian context. Through exploring and deconstructing ancient and modern images of Thessaly and its religion, this chapter tries to tackle the problem of 'making sense' of the area.

One of the most dominant images of ancient Thessaly is that of the rich Thessalian land. Thessaly, everybody seems to have agreed, was, as it still is, a very fertile area. But what did it produce? According to the sources, the most celebrated Thessalian products were horses (and other large grazing animals), corn (and other cereals), herbs, and slaves. These are not, however, all mentioned as often as one another or in the same contexts; each of Thessaly's famous products gave rise to a different network of associations. Moreover, one or the other could sometimes be privileged in descriptions of the Thessalian landscape at the expense of the rest.

Thessalian horses are ubiquitous, mentioned on a great variety of occasions, from descriptions of battle scenes and treatises about horsemanship, to proverbs and casual references in poetry, where the epithet 'Thessalian' next to a horse serves as a guarantee of quality.⁶ As for corn and other cereals, in

⁴ See section 1.3. This image of Thessalian religion has made its way into general textbooks: Hornblower (2002) 96 writes that 'Thessalian religion showed little more than the usual regionally specific deviations', and mentions the gold orphic plaques, the highly unusual Thessalian burial practices, and the area's reputation for witches. In the new edition of 2011 (p. 101) he also includes the cult of Ennodia.

⁵ In treating references to Thessaly, primarily, as a literary *topos* I am, thus, in sympathy with Zeitlin's (1990) analysis of the representation of the city of Thebes in tragedy. I take, though, into consideration references to Thessaly in other genres, not only tragedy, and although I speak of 'Thessaly's image' I do not perceive it as a unified and coherent construct, which could be transplanted and remain intact from author to author and from text to text. Allan (2000) 49 is right when he writes that the atmosphere of Thessaly in the *Andromache* is different from that in the *Alcestis*. That being said, there were some standard 'Thessalian' themes, from which each author could select, and combine them differently, in order to create the particular image of Thessaly that was convenient for his purposes. For the Thessalian localization of several tragedies see also Taplin (1999) 48 who, however, adopts a position I disagree with, that references to Thessaly are straightforwardly positive. Aston (2012) is a fuller discussion of the complex relationships between Athens and Thessaly, and their impact on stereotypical ideas about the area, but she defines the latter rather narrowly as the 'dangerous Thessalian hospitality to non-Thessalians'.

⁶ See for instance: *Anth. Pal.* 9.21; 11.259; *Arist. Pol.* 1262^a; *Hdt.* 7.196; *Isoc.* 15.298; *Pl. Leg.* 625; *Soph. El.* 703–4.

Xenophon Jason boasts about the self sufficiency of the area in grain and its ability to supply others.⁷ Here, the words are put in the mouth of a Thessalian. When non-Thessalians refer to Thessaly's cereal products, it is usually in comedy, and the discussion is about different kinds of food. We hear, for instance, of Thessalian *χόνδρος*, a kind of special fine flour, which was a speciality imported into Athens, or of different kinds of breads and cakes, which were again considered a speciality of 'bun-eating Thessaly' (*Θεσσαλίας κολλικοφάγος*).⁸ When the precise theme of the fertility of the Thessalian land is brought up, cereals do not come in.⁹ It is all about horses, and other grazing animals. Theocritus sung of the numerous serfs of the Aleuads and the shepherds who served the hospitable Creondai of Krannon tending their numberless flocks.¹⁰ Meadows with grazing animals might seem to befit the bucolic atmosphere of Theocritus' *Idylls*, but other poets also evoke similar scenes of the Thessalian landscape. 'Sheep-rearing', 'well-flocked', 'rich in horses', and other similar epithets, are often used to describe Thessaly or Thessalian places.¹¹ The gifts of Demeter are here pushed aside, to allow space for this fundamentally pastoral paradise.

Theocritus populates this pastoral paradise with countless serfs. And the comic poet Hermippus listed, among other famous regional products from all over Greece, slaves from Pagasai.¹² When Chremylus in Aristophanes' *Pluto* responds, to the question of where he could find the slaves he wanted, that he would get them 'from a Thessalian merchant', the implication seems again to be that slaves were a product of the area and its inhabitants.¹³ Last but not least, Thessaly was known as a land rich in herbs. Browsing through Theophrastus' *History of Plants* one finds several references to the variety of herbs that grew in the area.¹⁴ Once upon a time, Ephrya, the mythical city, rich in

⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.11. See also n. 3.

⁸ Thessalian *χόνδρος*: Alexis fr. 196 (Kassel-Austin) = Ath. 127c; Antiphanes fr. 36 (Kassel-Austin) = Ath. 127b; Hermippus fr. 63 (Kassel-Austin) = Ath. 27e. For a Thessalian type of bread called *δάρατον*: Ath. 110d; Ath. 114b. *Δάρατα* are mentioned in connection with one of the ceremonies of the Labyadaí at Delphi (Rougemont (1977) 45–7) and possibly in an Archaic inscription found at the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope, Magnesia (*IG IX 2 1202*; Jeffery (1990) 97). For a special kind of cake called *ματτύνη*, considered a delicacy in fourth-century Athens, and which might have been Thessalian or Macedonian: Ath. 662f. Bun-eating Thessaly (*κολλικοφάγος*): Ephippus fr. 1 (Kassel-Austin) = Ath. 112f.

⁹ This is hardly surprising, since there was a strand of thought in ancient Greece which considered pastoral wealth as the elite wealth par excellence: see Howe (2008) 27–47.

¹⁰ Theoc. *Id.* 16.36.

¹¹ See for instance: Hom. *Il.* 2.696: *Ἰτωνά τε μητέρα μήλων*; Bacchyl. *Od.* 14b 6: *Θεσσαλίας μῆλοτρόφος*; Eur. *Andr.* 129–30: *δεξιμήλον Θετίδειον*; 1229: *ἵπποβότων Φθίας πεδίον*; Strabo 9.5.18: *Ὀρμένιον πολύμηλον*. Eur. *Alc.* 588–96; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.148–50 also are full of pastoral imagery. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1086 describes Thessaly as *εὐρρηγνός* and *εὐβοτός* ('rich in sheep and pasture'). See also Molyneux (1992) 118, who argues that the Theocritus passage may be based on one of Simonides' poems.

¹² Hermippus fr. 63 (Kassel-Austin).

¹³ Ar. *Plut.* 520–4.

¹⁴ Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 9.15.4; *Anth. Pal.* 11.259. See discussion in section 6.3.

herbs and drugs (πολυφάρμακος), sat in Thessaly, where Medea had left her medicine box open and spilled her *pharmaka* over the area.¹⁵

A land rich in horses, herbs, and slaves is not an untainted paradise. Fertility is not always a good thing. Living in an extremely fertile land, Thucydides tells us, is not good for building character.¹⁶ In the beginning of his history, troubled with the question of what set Attica apart from other parts of Greece and could account for its growth and glory, Thucydides draws an opposition between the supposedly poor Attic soil and some of the finest lands of Greece, and Thessaly comes first on his list. Attica, he says, thanks to its poor soil, remained without faction and was inhabited always by the same people. On the contrary, people of fertile lands tend to migrate easily; nothing, it would seem, ties them to the land which they have not worked, since they can make a living easily, without planting any crops. Or, it might be strife and desire for personal profit, Thucydides goes on, that finally pushes their inhabitants to migrate: the fruit-bearing land has given them a taste for quick and easy personal gain. It is interesting to note, given what we said above about the Thessalian fertile landscape being evoked as a mainly pastoral one, how Thucydides describes the fertile, fruit-bearing land as uncultivated, not yet put to the use of agriculture.

Several of the negative characteristics that Thucydides attributes to the inhabitants of fertile lands, such as love of gain, factionalism, laziness, and a tendency to migrate, resurface as we go on to examine the construction of Thessaly and the Thessalians by other authors. Again and again the sources comment on the wealth of the Thessalians;¹⁷ a wealth, however, which came effortlessly and with no refinement.¹⁸ Their nature, one might argue, was just as grand, generous, and hospitable, but also just as uncultivated, as their land seems to have been.¹⁹ As is common in Greek thought, it was at the dinner

¹⁵ Σ Ar. *Nub.* 749 about Medea spilling her drugs over the area. For the traditions about Ephyra see section 4.2. The importance of Ephyra for Thessaly is also indicated by the tradition that located there the tombs of Thessalos' sons: Arist. fr. 640.39 (Rose). Polyaeus *Strat.* 6.13 mentions that Eurylochos managed to win the First Sacred War thanks to the use of hellebore.

¹⁶ Thuc. 1.2. Similar concerns about the relation between fair lands and their people are expressed in Hdt. 9.122.

¹⁷ Kritias 88 fr. 8, 31 (Diels-Kranz); Pl. *Meno* 70a; Isoc. 8.117; 15.155; Theoc. *Id.* 16.36; Plut. *Cim.* 10.5; Ath. 418 c–e, 527a–b, 662f; Diog. Laert. 2.25.

¹⁸ Alcman fr. 241 (Bergk) = fr. 8 (Calame) opposes Thessalian vulgarity to Lydian refinement; Pl. *Meno* 70a–b on the Thessalians having little interest in matters of the mind; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 49 = Ath. 527a–b for the Pharsalians being the laziest of all Thessalians; Plut. *Mor.* 15d attributing to Simonides the claim that the Thessalians are too stupid and ignorant to be deceived by him; Ath. 350a about Hegesandros being quizzed about who are more uncivilized (βαρβαρότεροι), the Thessalians or the Boiotians.

¹⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.3 about Polydamas being φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. Note that Thessalian horses are granted similar qualities as the people: they are excellent for racing, but too flashy for more serious business, such as war: Anderson (1961) 20. Uncultivated: see n. 18.

table that the Thessalians' vulgar opulence came to the fore. The dinner parties of the *δξύπεινοι* ('ravenously hungry'), *εὐτράπεζοι* ('of lavish tables'), and *πολύφαγοι* ('gluttonous') Thessalians were a popular theme for ancient comic writers.²⁰ They evoke an atmosphere of drunkenness amidst piles of food.²¹ We should perhaps imagine Thessaly's cereal products, the various kinds of breads, wheat cakes, and porridges piled on the Thessalian festive tables. But what seems to have mostly fascinated the Athenians' imagination were the large Thessalian meat portions.²² The Thessalians, as befitted the inhabitants of a pastoral land, were compulsive meat-eaters.

A materialistic, luxuriant lifestyle and a gluttonous appetite are characteristics often attributed to barbarians.²³ The Thessalians, it may be tempting to conclude, are portrayed as the 'other'. We are at this point in danger of getting caught up in a cliché. The concept of the 'other' has been belaboured in scholarship, often used in too general a way, by clumping together any negative characteristic and building up a simple and ultimately unsatisfactory opposition to the 'self' that it is supposed to illuminate. Nevertheless, in studies which approach the perception of identities with greater sensitivity, thinking of alterity and the 'other' has opened up some very interesting perspectives. The image of Thessaly in Athenian Classical sources is constructed both against the Athenian identity and alongside several other 'others'. There are the barbarians;²⁴ but there are also the Greeks of the heroic age, with whom the Thessalians are also juxtaposed. And there are the Spartans, who can at times appear as very different from the Thessalians and at times as quite similar to them.²⁵ Their luxurious lifestyle, for instance, contrasts with the ideal of Spartan simplicity. The excessive Thessalian hospitality is the opposite of the Spartan *xenophobia*, and their take on Gorgias and his flowery way of speaking mirrors the Spartans' taste for laconism.²⁶ On the other side of the coin the upper classes of both claimed Heraclid origins and the *penestai* of

²⁰ Antiphanes fr 249 (Kassel-Austin) = Ath. 47b; Ar. fr 507 (Kassel-Austin); Eriphus fr. 6 (Kassel-Austin); Mnesimachus fr. 8 (Kassel-Austin).

²¹ Piles of food: Wilkins (2000) 288 argues that the *ματτήνη* (for which see n. 8) contributed to establishing the Thessalian dinner not only as packed with foods, but also as luxurious. Aristophanes' (fr. 507 Kassel-Austin) playful comparison between the Lydian and Thessalian *deipna*, where the Thessalian are proclaimed *καπανικώτερα* ('more like their chariots'), shows that despite their various delicacies Thessalian symposia were still considered garish and vulgar. Drunkenness: Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 162.

²² Sources comment on the Thessalians' way of cutting meat (Eur. *El.* 815–16) and on the size of their meat portions: Crates fr. 21 (Kassel-Austin); Hermippus fr. 42 (Kassel-Austin); Philetaerus fr. 10 (Kassel-Austin). For Athenians importing meat from Thessaly see n. 3.

²³ For the attributes of the barbarian character see E. Hall (1989) 71, 79–84, 213–14.

²⁴ Ar. fr. 507 (Kassel-Austin); Kritias 88 fr. 31 (Diels-Kranz).

²⁵ The Thessalo-Spartan relationship has been usually treated one-sidedly: see e.g. Poole (1994) 12, 23–5, who notes that in several tragedies Thessalian things are preferred to Spartan/Dorian ones; and discussion later in this section.

²⁶ Take on Gorgias: Pl. *Meno* 70a–b. For Gorgias in Thessaly see also Arist. *Pol.* 1275^b.

Thessaly were often compared with the Spartans' helots. The portrait of Spartan Menelaos in *Andromache* can hardly be distinguished from that of Thessalian Menon in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. They are both treacherous, deceitful, gain-driven, and cowards.²⁷

The Spartan, Trojan/barbarian, and the heroic Homeric world meet and clash in Euripides' *Andromache*, a play which, significantly, takes place in Thessaly. The setting of the play is the Thetideion, the sanctuary of Thetis somewhere close to Pharsalos. The *Andromache* was performed during the Peloponnesian War, perhaps in around 425 BC, and several scholars have detected in it strong anti-Spartan propaganda and have tried to situate the play in the context of the Athenians' alliance during that time with Molossia and Thessaly.²⁸ There is indeed a lot of strong anti-Spartan talk in the play,²⁹ but there is not an equally strong and straightforward positive take on Thessaly. A necessary precondition, in order to subscribe to the 'cultural propaganda in favour of Thessaly' view of the play, would be an acceptance that the characters can be neatly divided into sympathetic and having to do with Thessaly (Peleus, Andromache, and Neoptolemos) and non-sympathetic and having to do with Sparta (Menelaos, Hermione, and Orestes). I will avoid getting here in a discussion about the *ethos* of the various characters, and focus instead on the question of whether they would have been consistently perceived by the audience as representatives of Thessaly and Sparta respectively.

Andromache is hardly a Thessalian. Her Trojan origin is constantly stressed. Menelaos is associated with Sparta throughout the play. The case with Peleus and his grandson Neoptolemos is not so clear. They may rule over the area, but Neoptolemos is at one instance called an islander, an allusion to his birth and upbringing on Skyros, but perhaps also an allusion to the Aeginitan origins of his furthest-most ancestors.³⁰ In line 687 Menelaos refers explicitly to Peleus' murder of his brother Phokos, which led to his exile from Aegina to Thessaly. These references to the islandic origin of the family of Peleus, as well as the several references to their simple and poor way of life,³¹ and their final migration from Thessaly, would have, partly at least, deconstructed their perception as contemporary Thessalians. There is, it could be argued, a problem with Hermione, too. She is Spartan in origin,³² it is true, but she is through marriage the lawful ruler of the place, and her riches and

²⁷ Xen. *An.* 2.6.21–29. For Thessalian deceitfulness see also Dem. 1.22; and Eur. *Phoen.* 1407–13, for the so-called 'Thessalian feint'.

²⁸ For the time of performance of the play and a review of discussions concerning its historical context see Allan (2000) 149–60. For Euripides' supposedly hostile attitude to the Spartans in general see Poole (1994); and for his supposedly general pro-Thessalian one: Delebecque (1951) 411–13.

²⁹ See especially Eur. *Andr.* 445ff.

³⁰ Eur. *Andr.* 14; at l. 210 Skyros is explicitly mentioned.

³¹ See e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 211.

³² Eur. *Andr.* 486 calls Hermione a *λάκαινα*.

expensive clothes make her look like a typical contemporary Thessalian. When Menelaos claims rights of kinship in the place, would the audience not have thought, we may wonder, of the common Heraclid origin of Thessaly's and Sparta's upper classes? Orestes is an Argive, a foreigner, we are told, invading a foreign land, but Orestes was a good noble Thessalian name, too. Would the Athenians have forgotten that some years ago they had helped an exiled Pharsalian of that name be repatriated and get back the power he thought was lawfully his?³³ The answer to the question of who might have been perceived as a representative contemporary Thessalian is thus complicated.

One of the themes that *Andromache* explores has to do with nobility of character and heroism, and their relationship to ethnicity, wealth, birth, freedom, and slavery. The claims that each of the characters makes can appear as just, even if the way they may go about achieving it is not. Thessaly is an appropriate setting to explore these issues, since it was for the Greeks the place of noblemen par excellence, who claimed a heroic past but whose taste in clothing and lifestyle seemed almost barbarian.³⁴

The problem of *arete* and whether it comes with noble birth or can be taught and acquired through practice is also the theme of Plato's dialogue *Meno*; and we should not bypass the fact, it has been pointed out, that Socrates' interlocutor is a Pharsalian nobleman.³⁵ Attic comedy and other sources also pick up on the theme of 'Thessalian nobility', by messing up, this time, the border that separates a Thessalian nobleman from a Thessalian *penestes*. An Athenian embassy sent to Pharsalos for negotiations is ridiculed by Aristophanes as spending time with the Thessalian serfs, instead of their landlords.³⁶ Other sources, too, comment on how the *penestai* shared the luxurious lifestyle of their masters.³⁷ The *penestai* were considered Thessaly's native inhabitants, who chose not to migrate but to stay put as slaves, tied to the Thessalian land and, as comedy seems to add, its festive tables. The Thessalian newcomers, masters though they might be, also share in the lifestyle of their serfs, since they often do things usually done by slaves, such as taming and cleaning the horses and butchering the oxen.³⁸ Ultimately, they are not that different at all, since they, too, quickly enslaved themselves to the

³³ Thuc. 1.111. See also Sordi (1958b), who identified Orestes the son of Echekratidas with the Orestes mentioned in IG IX 2 257.

³⁴ Allan (2000) 49–50 is, thus, too restrictive when he writes 'what Thetideion, Pharsalus, and Phthia do offer, however, is a Greek setting with strong *epic* connections, and these features advance the play's exploration of both ethnicity and heroism.'

³⁵ Richter (2011) 24.

³⁶ Ar. *Vesp.* 1270–4. Critias, too, seems to have spent time with *penestai* (Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.36) but we do not know in what context.

³⁷ Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 81 about *penestai* dancing at symposia. Archemachos *FGrH* 424 F 1 about them being wealthier than their masters. Westlake (1935) 41 writes that Thessalians of all classes were notorious for prodigious orgies of eating and drinking.

³⁸ Eur. *El.* 815–16; *Dissoi Logoi* 90. 2.11 (Diels-Kranz).

Persians, and had no qualms about surrendering to Philip, as long as they could continue their merry feasting.³⁹

Noble-slaves and enslaved nobles, then, are the kind of men that this land produces,⁴⁰ unless of course one chose to cut his ties with Thessaly's corrupting plains and migrate (we return to Thucydides' theory of fertility and migration, if from another point of view). Peleus' noble line at the end of *Andromache* is saved, but Phthia is lost, abandoned by its most glorious inhabitants. Andromache and Molossos go to the west, Neoptolemos' body gets buried at Delphi, Achilles lies at Sigeion and his soul enjoys immortal life at Leuke.⁴¹ 'On the third day I would arrive in fertile Phthia', Achilles threatened in the *Iliad*, as he refused Odysseus' request to be reconciled with Agamemnon.⁴² But he did not, as he chose, instead of a long easy life, *arete* and the glory of death. Socrates, in *Crito*, played with Achilles' very words, and he, too, heroically preferred death from a life at Phthia.⁴³ No one might have pursued him in Thessaly, Socrates said to Crito. But this was no place to be a philosopher, to talk about *arete* and justice, not only because no one would care to hear him, since the place was corrupt and unlawful, but because in order to stay there and share in the Thessalian dinner parties, he would have to become a flatterer, a slave to other men.⁴⁴ For Socrates, as for Achilles, the journey to Phthia is driven by the excessive desire for continued life; a desire that finally corrupts oneself, as it turns him away from the pursuit of *arete* and justice by making him a slave to the pleasures of life.

Euripides' *Alcestis*, another play which takes place in Thessaly, explores precisely the theme of *φιλοψυχία*, of excessive love for life, and it does so by imagining a situation where the laws of life and death can be momentarily suspended.⁴⁵ We are at Pherai this time, in the kingdom of Admetus, the most hospitable of all mortals, who treated Apollo as befitted a god, when the latter was sentenced to serve him. The time has come for Admetus to die, but Apollo, who knows how to pay a worshipper back, grants him the chance to have somebody else die in his place. His father Pheres, aged though he is, does

³⁹ Kritias 88 fr. 31 (Diels-Kranz); Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 162.

⁴⁰ Noble-slaves/enslaved nobles: the ancients seem to have had a similar term, that of *δεσποτοπενέστης* attested in an Attic comedy by Theopompus fr. 78 (Kassel-Austin). See discussion in Ducat (1994) 48–50; and pp. 26–9 for the term 'Menonidai', about which we hear from a gloss of Hesych. M 865, and which might also have been used in an Attic comedy to describe euphemistically the *penestai* that Menon had brought with him to Athens and who, apparently, according to the Athenians, put on the air of noblemen, as if they were Menon's kinsmen. Note also that Athenians might have been familiar with ex-free Thessalians who had been sold into slavery when their cities were destroyed by their various aggressive compatriots (Diod. 14.82; Paus. 6.5.2).

⁴¹ Eur. *Andr.* 1236ff.

⁴² Hom. *Il.* 9.363.

⁴³ Pl. *Cri.* 44b. On this passage see Kramer (1988).

⁴⁴ Pl. *Cri.* 53d–e.

⁴⁵ For the play see Gregory (1991), who also notes (pp. 21–2) that Achilles' attitude in the *Iliad* influences the portrayal of death in the *Alcestis*.

not volunteer, nor does his mother, because life, after all, can be sweet in spite of age. Of all friends and relatives only his young wife Alcestis agrees to take his place. Without her, however, Admetus soon finds out, life is not life at all. 'And what about his reputation, would he be seen as a coward?' he also worries. While the house is torn by mourning, Heracles passes by for a visit, and Admetus, ever the hospitable one, conceals the death of his wife and welcomes Heracles in. When Heracles finds out the tragicomic situation he has been caught up in, he decides to give death a good beating, wins, and brings Alcestis back. The Thessalian setting of the play is continuously evoked in the audience's mind, through references to Admetus' horses, descriptions of sheep-rearing plains, of Heracles' dinner party, his hosts' excessive hospitality, and casual references to other myths that had taken place in Thessaly. The play takes us to a place (and to a time) where the world is not exactly as we know it, and the borders between life and death, mortals and immortals can be blurred. Here, once upon a time, Apollo shed his divine status and put himself in the service of man, and the great goddess Thetis was forced to marry a mortal and enter into a life of tears that only mortals cry. Death, then, for those who choose it, can be postponed, but is a life to which one clings worth living? Thessaly is revealed as a meaningless fairyland.⁴⁶

Two themes interwoven into this imaginary Thessaly acquired such prominence in literature that it is worth following them from the stories told by outsiders about Thessaly back to the land itself. One is the theme 'Thessaly is a land of magic', to which I will return later. The other, which will immediately concern me, is the theme of the Thessalians' relationship with death.

A number of other stories set in Thessaly, some of which are evoked in the *Alcestis*, have to do with the problem of accepting the contingency of death. Apollo's relationship with Admetus goes back to his anger over the killing of his son Asclepius by Zeus, because Asclepius had used his medical skills to raise people from the dead. Then there is Protesilaos, the first to die at Troy. His widowed wife, the story went, could not live without him, made an effigy of her husband, and slept with it, until the gods took pity on her and sent Protesilaos back from death, if only briefly. Thetis' failed attempts to make Achilles immortal lived on in poetry; and what shall we make of the most notorious of visitors to Thessaly, Medea, who spent her stay there trying to rejuvenate Aison and Pelias? While we saw how the theme of the Thessalian *φλοῖσυχ'α* can be made to fit into a general image of Thessaly, and may well go back to Achilles' stance in Homer, its persistent recurrence in myths set in the area invites us to dig deeper into the matter. Could it also reflect some deeper concern of the Thessalians?

⁴⁶ D. M. Jones' (1968) 57–8 comparison of Thessaly's use in the *Alcestis* to that of Tibet or Ireland for a modern writer, that is as a wonderland, seems to me, thus, too restrictive.

Kern, one of the first scholars to study Thessalian religion, argued that the Thessalians cared little for what happened in the afterlife. Enjoying a life full of pleasures and no toil, little reason did they have, or so Kern thought, to worry about death and think about eschatology. The ancients, as explained above, saw the matter slightly differently. The coin is two-sided: in a land that gives its fruits in abundance, love of life can grow excessive, and fear of death can slip into everything, transforming life into death itself. Kern's ideas have been forgotten. Going through the works of modern scholars writing on Thessalian religion, one constantly hears echoes of the ancients' voice.⁴⁷ While Kern's view of Thessaly sounds rather unrealistic and utopian, modern scholars ask us to imagine an equally strange universe. Allowing chthonian features to slip into every god and every cult, their Thessaly comes out as a place where one would be all the time and concurrently frivolous, life-loving, and opportunistic like a young Menon, and grief-torn, morbid, and miserable like the tragic king Admetus. Let us ask anew the questions of what might have been the Thessalians' attitude to death, how they imagined the afterlife, and to what extent their concerns for matters of eschatology affected their daily life.

6.2. THESSALIAN VISIONS OF THE UNDERWORLD

I start with the idea, often expressed in scholarship, that a distinctive feature of Thessaly was its funerary sanctuaries. The first such 'funerary sanctuary' was tentatively identified by Arvanitopoulos in 1925. In his publication of the funerary *stelai* of Demetrias, Arvanitopoulos aired the idea that the sanctuary of Pasikrata and Artemis-Ennodia might not have been just a normal sanctuary, as he had originally thought when he excavated its votive deposits several years earlier. If, as it seemed, it was located amidst the graves of the south-east cemetery of the city, then it might have been a funerary sanctuary.⁴⁸

Any trace of Arvanitopoulos' hesitation had disappeared by the 1950s. Papachatzis, a scholar who strongly believed in the chthonian character of Thessalian religion, had no qualms about calling the sanctuary of Pasikrata at Demetrias a funerary sanctuary. To justify his certainty he brought a number of additional supporting arguments, apart from its location among the graves.

⁴⁷ Kern's views of Thessalian religion and those of modern scholars are discussed in more detail in section 1.3. Kern might well have known the 'orphyic' lamella found at Magoula Mati (see section 6.2), but it is likely that at that time an interpretation of it as having something to do with initiation in a private *thiasos* might have been preferred. For a review of the history of interpretations of gold lamellae: Graf (2007).

⁴⁸ For Arvanitopoulos' excavations at the sanctuary of Pasikrata at Demetrias see *PAE* (1912) 198–209; *PAE* (1915) 162–4; *PAE* (1920) 21–4; and for his interpretation as a funerary sanctuary see Arvanitopoulos (1928) 42–8.

First was the nature of the finds, which included numerous terracotta figurines of Aphrodite, similar to types that were found in graves. Secondly, he considered the nature of the main deity as revealed by her name and iconography. Pasikrata, the almighty one, was, he thought, an appropriate name for the terrible, all-powerful queen of the underworld, who was in this case identified with the Aphrodite of the dead. Last but not least, Papachatzis invoked the association of Pasikrata with Artemis-Ennodia, the terrible infernal goddess of ghosts and drugs, in cult. For Papachatzis, then, the funerary sanctuary of Pasikrata was not an isolated case, to be discussed in the context of the cosmopolitan city of Demetrias in Hellenistic times.⁴⁹ It had a long Thessalian pedigree, leading back to the old local deity Ennodia.

The thread was picked up several years later by Chrysostomou. In his work on Ennodia, Chrysostomou put forward a rather consistent portrait of the goddess, which has been widely, though not unanimously, accepted. Ennodia comes out as a complex powerful deity, her powers extending into various domains, but at her core she remains a dark and spooky goddess who has to be propitiated. According to Chrysostomou's line of thought, nothing captures Ennodia's dark nature better than her association with the graves and cemeteries in which most of her sanctuaries were supposedly located. Her old Geometric sanctuary to the north of the city of Pherai was supposedly built next to a Proto-Geometric tumulus; there was a second sanctuary of the goddess in the western necropolis of the city and yet another one in the northern one.⁵⁰ The sanctuary of Ennodia at Phthiotic Thebes was also in one of the city's cemeteries.⁵¹ Meanwhile excavators had revealed further funerary sanctuaries, which seemed to belong to other gods with connections to the underworld. Zeus Thaulios' sanctuary at Atrax was in the western cemetery of the city.⁵² Some unknown divinity was worshipped in the cemetery of the ancient settlement at Prodomos, in western Thessaly, while the funerary sanctuary of Kedros may have belonged to Artemis, or perhaps, more appropriately, to Demeter and Kore.⁵³

What a funerary sanctuary precisely is has not been openly discussed, and this lack of an explicit discussion has allowed various ideas to develop around

⁴⁹ Papachatzis (1958). For Papachatzis' view of Thessalian religion see further section 1.3.

⁵⁰ P. Chrysostomou (1998) *passim* and 25–48. Chrysostomou does not explicitly identify the monumental sanctuary at Pherai as a funerary one. But it is often assumed that the early sanctuary had a relationship to a Proto-Geometric tumulus that supposedly existed in the area, and the implications of this for the character of the cult and of Ennodia are pervasive in scholarship: see e.g. C. Morgan (2003) 135.

⁵¹ AD 32 (1977) *Chron.* 126–8; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 64–5.

⁵² Tziafalias (1995) 75 and P. Chrysostomou (1998) 59.

⁵³ Prodomos: AD 39 (1984) *Chron.* 148; AD 40 (1985) *Chron.* 196; AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 269. Kedros: AD 37 (1982) *Chron.* 232 (where figurines of Artemis in the Bendis type are mentioned); AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 268. For the identification with Demeter see Decourt et al. (2004) 699 s.v. Orthos, referring to personal communication with Intzesiloglou.

the notion. One, for instance, might get the impression that cult in a funerary sanctuary had something to do with the funerary rites performed in the nearby cemeteries. This idea, however, has to be left aside in view of the lack of any evidence. On the contrary, there is explicit evidence that cult in some of these sanctuaries had to do with the living. I have already discussed on several occasions the large sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai, the *epiphanestatos topos* of the city. Furthermore, two marble inscribed *stelai* from the sanctuary of Pasikrata were dedicated by parents in favour of their children, and there were several kouroutrophic figurines among the finds. The argument could be extended to the rest of the various sanctuaries, which have at times been called funerary. It is noticeable that they display great variety in the architectural layout and nature of finds: there is the monumental civic sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai, with its rich bronze finds, several stone *stelai*, and civic decrees. At the locality known as Alepotrypes, in the same city, a very different kind of 'funerary sanctuary' has been revealed, with a much more modest rectangular building and only few items of sculpture. At Prodomos excavations revealed four small buildings, described in the reports as *oikoi*, and finds included terracotta female figurines and riders. At Kedros the excavator reports the remains of two rectangular buildings, a round one, and the remains of a peribolos wall together with finds including female protoms and reclining male figures. Finally, the finds from the sanctuary at Demetrias consisted of numerous terracotta figurines, many of which depicted Aphrodite or Dionysiac themes, together with fragments of statuettes and votive *stelai*. This variety should cast serious doubts on the suggestion that all these sanctuaries are examples of a single phenomenon; that they served a common function; or that they had any kind of role during the funerary rites.

We should accept that the various supposedly funerary sanctuaries belonged to different gods, who might have served different functions, and cult within them may have varied. In what way, then, can we see them as examples of a single phenomenon? Grouping them under an overarching category of 'chthonian' has simply been a way for scholars to gloss over the variety clearly exhibited in the evidence. According to this established train of thought, all the gods worshipped in these sanctuaries drew their powers, whatever these may have been, from their connection with the underworld and the dead, and it is this fundamental aspect of their personality which found symbolic expression in the placing of their sanctuaries close to, or inside, cemeteries. We will address the issue from two directions. First, we will look at the relationship of these sanctuaries with cemeteries and then at whether we can really talk about the underworld gods as a group.

There is, to start with, the problem of deciding whether the proximity of a sanctuary to a cemetery is symbolically significant or not. In the case of the Thessalian funerary sanctuaries a close symbolic relationship with cemeteries can appear tenuous, both because of the distance involved in each case

between the sanctuary and the graves, and because of the presence of other features of the built or natural environment, which might have been more symbolically important than the existence of a cemetery. Take the sanctuary of Pasikrata at Demetrias. Its general location is somewhere close to tower 52, possibly near the gates through which the road that led to the port of Halykes passed. In this general area, and amidst the graves of the south cemetery, Arvanitopoulos excavated several small votive deposits. No architectural remains were discovered, however, and the question arose whether the deposits were buried inside the sanctuary or whether they were only in the general area of a nearby sanctuary that was not necessarily, therefore, amongst the graves. There are several points which the excavation reports have left unclear. The area was used as a cemetery for a long time, and the reports do not clarify the exact date of the graves found in the area of the votives. It is possible to imagine that the cemetery slowly expanded into an area that had previously been used as an annex by the sanctuary. Furthermore, the habits of refuse deposition have not been studied enough, and it should not be taken for granted that the disposal area of a sanctuary had to always be located inside the temenos and could not be found in an area slightly removed from it.⁵⁴ It is noticeable that a clay mould included in the finds has been considered as evidence for the presence of a pottery workshop. If this is true, there is plenty of evidence for pottery workshops being placed close to roads and cemeteries, without necessarily being connected with them.⁵⁵ Could it be then that the finds from the sanctuary and the workshop came from a general clearance of an area close to the cemetery?⁵⁶

In all other cases of supposed funerary sanctuaries their spatial relationship with the cemetery is even more tenuous. They are located either at the edge of it, or at some distance from it, even if that distance is not always easy to calculate due to the limited exploration of the area. According to reports, the closest graves to the sanctuary at Prodomos are at 20 metres' distance.⁵⁷ The tombs found close to the sanctuary in the south cemetery of Pherai were either much earlier (Geometric) than the sanctuary, or much later (Late Hellenistic), built on top of it after it was abandoned.⁵⁸ The dedicatory *stelai* from Phthiotic Thebes were chance finds, collected after cultivation in the general area to the

⁵⁴ For such a case see R. P. Austin (1931–2) 184, 186. See also most recently Patera (2012) 193–203.

⁵⁵ AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 486 for a pottery workshop close to the road and the cemetery at Metropolis.

⁵⁶ General clearance: Papachatzis' argument that the votives were buried for *over* five centuries in the area seems to imply that the deposits belonged to different periods. This, however, does not immediately emerge from the excavation reports.

⁵⁷ AD 39 (1984) *Chron.* 148.

⁵⁸ Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990). For doubts concerning the existence of a sanctuary in the north cemetery see section 3.4.2.

south of the ancient city.⁵⁹ The exact location of the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios at Atrax is extremely difficult to pin down.⁶⁰ If we were tempted, meanwhile, to conclude that the sanctuary of Ennodia Mykaïke at Larisa was a funerary one, located in the general area where a stele mentioning the goddess was set up, then any number of other sanctuaries in the same area, such as those of Athena Patria and Apollo Lykeios, would also have to be classified as funerary, following the same premise that any sanctuary close to a cemetery is a funerary one.⁶¹

The alternative possibility, that proximity between these sanctuaries and cemeteries is incidental, has to be seriously entertained. There are, indeed, several other examples in Thessaly of sanctuaries located on the outskirts of cities in the same broad area where the cemeteries lay. There is no reason why we should privilege in interpretation their spatial proximity with cemeteries and not with any other feature of the built or natural environment on the edge of cities: the fortification walls, the gates, buildings like *pandocheia* or *hip-parcheia*, the road that passed through, or the river that flowed nearby.⁶²

To look at the problem from a slightly different angle, the argument for the association between supposedly underworld divinities and sanctuaries located close to cemeteries, assumes that the cemetery in ancient times was a clearly delineated area which had strong funerary associations. But it is important to note here that the grave was not perceived as a liminal polluted place, at least after some time had passed from the funeral.⁶³ The grave was not supposed to be a space cut off from everyday life, visited only on special occasions. It was a spot that one should frequent and might stumble upon. A common theme of grave epigrams is the invitation to passers-by to stop and read.⁶⁴ Moreover, there does not seem to have been a word to denote the 'cemetery'.⁶⁵ Indeed,

⁵⁹ AD 32 (1977) *Chron.* 126–8.

⁶⁰ Great confusion exists concerning the exact location and finds from this sanctuary, identified thanks to a few inscribed dedications. Tziafalias (1995) 75 and P. Chrysostomou (1998) 59 mention that the *stelai* to Zeus Thaulios were found in the area of the west cemetery. P. Chrysostomou (1998) 243 mentions that two further *stelai*, dedicated to Zeus Tritodios, were also found there. But these latter, according to other reports, seem to have come from the area of the agora, or the general area of the lower city (see section 3.3.1). Finally, according to AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 238 n. 19 and Oikonomidou (1992) 377 n. 3, the *stelai* to Zeus Thaulios and a hoard of coins were found in the area of the north cemetery. The confusion seems to me to stem from the fact that the city significantly expanded during the Hellenistic period in areas which were previously used as cemeteries.

⁶¹ Helly (2010a) suggests that the epithet Mykaïke attested for Ennodia at Larisa meant 'of the graves'. For the epithet see section 3.4.2; for the reasons why the location of the sanctuary of Ennodia Mykaïke is not a straightforward issue, and for the other sanctuaries in the same area, see section 3.4.

⁶² For the area close to the walls in Thessalian cities see section 3.4.

⁶³ On the impurity of tombs: R. Parker (1983) 38–9.

⁶⁴ See e.g. CEG nos. 19, 51, 80, 108, 110, 174, 517.

⁶⁵ Other than the collective noun *ta mnemata*. Relevant is Patterson's (2006) 53ff discussion of the *demosion sema* in Athens.

the closest topographic association of any individual grave was not with the cemetery and the other graves, but with the street on the edge of which it was often placed.⁶⁶ Pausanias starts his description of the Kerameikos cemetery with the following sentence: 'In Athens outside the city, in the demes, and along the streets, there are sanctuaries of gods and of heroes and the graves of men.'⁶⁷ His perception of an environment where streets, graves, sanctuaries, and settlements are not cut off from one another may well go far back in time.

Let me now briefly address the question of whether the gods worshipped in the funerary sanctuaries should be perceived as a collective group of underworld divinities, who had something to do with death. The word most commonly used to describe them is the word 'chthonian', a term whose ancient usages do not coincide with the most popular use of the term by modern scholars (that is supposedly a group of gods, older than the Olympians, dangerous or frightening, worshipped with a particular set of rituals in a gloomy atmosphere, and concerned with death and fertility) and, thus, cannot on its own support modern categorizations of divinities.⁶⁸

In the case of the Thessalian gods worshipped in 'funerary sanctuaries', the argument for them being a category of gods with common functions and interests, having to do with death, rests on both an examination of their individual character and on the supposed cultic relations between them: Pasikrata, the argument goes, was worshipped together with Ennodia, Ennodia was worshipped together with Zeus Thaulios. Zeus Thaulios I have already discussed at length, arguing that neither are his connections with Ennodia certain nor his connection to death, which is entirely reliant on one interpretation of his enigmatic epithet. Pasikrata, however, might well have been perceived as an underworld deity. Names evoking the 'all-powerful' were often given to underworld divinities.⁶⁹ Her male equivalent, Pankrates in Athens, was depicted as Pluto, reclining on a couch and holding the cornucopia.⁷⁰ A goddess called Pasikrateia, mentioned in a fifth-century inscription from Selinous following the local deity Malophoros, was in all likelihood a local kind of Kore.⁷¹ The question that arises is whether she was worshipped together with Artemis-Ennodia because they both had a connection with death. I would argue that this was not the case, and that what brought together

⁶⁶ See e.g. *CEG* nos. 16, 39, 74, 142.

⁶⁷ Paus. 1.29.2.

⁶⁸ For the problem of chthonian gods see Fairbanks (1900); J. E. Harrison (1903) 1–31; Schlesier (1991–2); Scullion (1994); Schlesier, *DNP* 1186–90; R. Parker, *OCD* s.v. Chthonian Gods and (2011a) 80–4.

⁶⁹ Pleket (1981) 155, 173, 182–3; Vikela (1994) 77–9; Voutiras (1999) 80.

⁷⁰ For Pankrates: Vikela (1994); R. Parker (2005) 419ff, who, however, stresses that the cornucopia is a symbol of wealth-bringing gods, not underworld divinities.

⁷¹ *IG* XIV 268 ll. 5/6. For the identification with Kore/Persephone see Tod (1946) no. 37; Gàbrici (1927) 103; Zuntz (1971) 97–108, 103–4. But other identifications have been suggested, such as with Hecate (Hanell (1934) 179–80; Dewailly (1992) 146–8) or Artemis (*SEG* 46 1271; *SEG* 49 1328).

the two deities at Demetrias was their common role in the family and female sphere. It is important that her companion was invoked as Artemis-Ennodia, showing that the emphasis was on the Artemis side, and that Pasikrata was herself assimilated with Artemis elsewhere.⁷² As for Ennodia, who again I have discussed elsewhere, the evidence seems to connect her, like Hecate, with whom she was often assimilated, not with the dead in general, but with ghosts. And while, for modern scholars, the natural abode for the goddess was the cemetery and the funerary sanctuary, her name associates her with streets and, perhaps, entrances. Ennodia's sanctuaries at Pherai, but perhaps also elsewhere, were indeed located outside the city walls, close to main roads and perhaps to the gates. If they marked a border, this was not the one between city and cemetery, but perhaps a more cosmic one, like the one that Hecate seems to have marked in front of houses and sanctuaries, between a world as we know it and one that can hardly be described.⁷³

Funerary sanctuaries, which have been an important part of modern visions of Thessaly, seem, in the end, to be something of a mirage. They emerge from circular thinking that has already decided that the most important thing about a whole series of Thessalian gods is a connection with death.

So much for deconstruction; I now pass to what we can actually say about the Thessalians' attitudes to death, by looking first at what was written on the various funerary *stelai* from the area. I will begin with the Hellenistic material and progress backwards. On the basis of this evidence, the god who did have something to do with death in Thessaly, in the Hellenistic period at least, is Hermes. Hundreds of funerary *stelai* mentioning Hermes Chthonios, or representing his pillar-like image, have been found all over Thessaly (and in southern Macedonia).⁷⁴ The first *stelai* appear in the fourth century, increase in number in the third century, and continue to be used down into the Imperial period.⁷⁵ Hermes' role as *psychopompos*, escorting the dead on the journey to underworld, is well attested in Greek literature and iconography.⁷⁶

⁷² Artemis-Pasikrata is known at Ambrakia (Vokotopoulou (1971) 336–8) and Epirus (*AE* (1910) 397–8). Hatzopoulos (1987) 402–5 and (1994a) 115–19 also notes, with reference to the Thea Pasikrata of Heracleia Lynkestis (for whom see also Düll (1977) 116–18, 382 no. 210; L. Robert (1936) 134–5), that gods accepting manumissions of slaves in Macedonia also had kourotrophic functions. The identification of the Pasikrata of Demetrias with Aphrodite, on the basis of figurines representing the goddess and other figures of her circle, seems to me tenuous, given the popularity of such figurines in Hellenistic times. Even if that were so, I cannot see why she should be an Aphrodite of the dead, as suggested by Papachatzis (1958) and followed by Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 235–6, 301 n. 11, 442, who seems to believe that the association of Aphrodite and the dead was characteristic of the cult of the goddess in Thessaly (see also discussion in section 4.2).

⁷³ Ennodia's relationship to Artemis and Hecate is discussed further in section 3.4.2.

⁷⁴ Avagianou (2002a) 70 for the distribution of the evidence.

⁷⁵ Avagianou (2002a) 70, 98.

⁷⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood (1995a) 103–6, 303ff.

Hermes Chthonios must have played a similar role in Thessaly. His prominence in the Thessalian evidence, however, raises some questions: did Hermes play a more significant role in Thessalian funerary ideology? Was the passage to the underworld perceived, in the course of the Hellenistic period, as particularly dramatic? A third-century funerary stele from Atrax refers to Hermes, this time called Eriounios, leading the dead couple Dikaïos and Philista, not only to the underworld, but to the island of the pious, where the *agathoi* live.⁷⁷ Did similar beliefs about a blessed afterlife exist behind all *stelai* mentioning the god?⁷⁸ This seems a big step to take. Perhaps the dedication of the grave stele to Hermes Chthonios just reflects nebulous perceptions of the god having some general protective role, guarding the deceased in Hades.⁷⁹

Nebulousness in the interpretation of Hermes Chthonios is appropriate, given that the rest of the evidence attests to great variety in Thessalian visions of the afterlife. The forceful optimism of the Atrax epigram for the ultimate destiny of Dikaïos and Philista was certainly not shared by all Thessalians. In several epigrams the existence of a better afterlife is entertained as a mere possibility and is perceived differently. If there was a measure for piety in the house of Hades, an epigram from Demetrias reads, the earth covering Ammonios would be light.⁸⁰ Another, from Atrax, suggests that if Hades takes pity on mortals because of their *arete*, then Teleutias would not miss sunlight in the dark chambers of Persephone.⁸¹ And Pyrrhos, we read on a third-century epigram from Pherai, would come back to light, were it possible to bring back (*ἀνάγειν*) the *agathoi*.⁸² Yet other epigrams are completely silent on the matter of an afterlife existence and just express grief over loss;⁸³ an epigram from Larisa for a woman is exceptional in its denunciation of both grief and hope: what use is there of tears, when nothing can bring back the dead (*θανόντα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐγείρει*)?⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the unfaltering optimistic attitude towards the afterlife found in the epigram of Atrax for Dikaïos and Philista is not the exception that proves the rule. A third-century epigram from Demetrias asks Persephone to accept the dead Agathokleas to the meadow of the pious, because his soul is true and pure and he had lived righteously.⁸⁵ Another refers to the soul of the dead Athenaios going to the

⁷⁷ Originally published by Tziafalias (1984a) no. 76. See the remarks of Moretti in SEG 34 (1984) no. 497 and the new publication by Avagianou (2002c). For the epithet see n. 99.

⁷⁸ Avagianou (2002a) for instance intimates that Hermes Chthonios' cult should be connected with the spread of Orphic-Bacchic mysteries in the area.

⁷⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood (1995a) 271–5 for a discussion of the desire to place the *sema*, and symbolically the deceased, under the protection of monsters or gods, who had a connection with the underworld; and p. 410 for specific reference to the Thessalian cult of Hermes Chthonios.

⁸⁰ Peek (1960) no. 210.

⁸¹ CEG no. 645.

⁸² IG IX 2 429 (= Peek (1960) no. 122).

⁸³ Peek (1960) nos. 142, 190, 307; Tziafalias (1984a) 193 no. 53.

⁸⁴ IG IX 2 640 (= Peek (1960) no. 389).

⁸⁵ Peek (1960) no. 208.

sky (αἰθήρ).⁸⁶ Gerys, another doctor, from Triikka this time and a just man (δίκαιος ἀνὴρ), is expected to arrive to the place where the pious are (χωρον εὖσεβέων).⁸⁷ And Lykophron, the son of Philiskos, we are told, lives now among the heavenly stars. His origins are divine, the son of Zeus according to belief, but in truth made of immortal fire.⁸⁸ Piety, *arete*, a true and pure soul and a righteous life are, according to many of these epigrams, the keys that may allow one access to a better afterlife, however this is imagined.⁸⁹ These virtues have a moral undertone, but we do not know how precisely they were understood at this time, what made a man *eusebes* and *agathos*.

From the *stelai* set up on graves, we can progress to the texts found inside them. Six gold lamellae, dated to the fourth and third centuries, have been found in the area, at Pelinna, Pharsalos, and Pherai, while the exact origin of one is unknown.⁹⁰ These texts are very different from the ones I have been discussing so far. They take for granted the existence of a better afterlife, and contain instructions to the dead about what to do and/or say after (s)he has died in order to secure it. The tablet found at Pharsalos and that of unknown origin instruct the deceased not to drink from the fountain close to the white cypress, but to walk ahead, towards the lake of Memory, and to ask from the guards standing before it permission to quench one's thirst, telling them that they are the child of earth and the starry sky. One of the Pheraian leaves puts forward the request to join the band of initiates, having performed the rites of Demeter Chthonia and of the Mountain Mother.⁹¹ The other Pheraian text records two passwords, Andrikepaidothyrsos and Brimo, and intimates the entrance of the initiate, redeemed as he is, to the holy meadow. The two leaves found in Pelinna, both in the same grave, start with the invocation 'now you have died and now you have come into being'. They go on to advise the dead to tell Persephone that Bacchos himself has released him, followed by the enigmatic formulas 'a bull you jumped into the milk; a ram you fell into the milk', and mention wine and the destiny of the *agathoi*.

Similar texts to those found at Pelinna and Pharsalos have been found in other parts of the Greek world but the two texts from Pherai are unique. It is commonly accepted that the texts on all these gold leaves should be associated with private initiations into mysteries, which were performed by travelling

⁸⁶ IG IX 2 641 (first century BC).

⁸⁷ IG IX 2 313 (first century BC).

⁸⁸ Peek (1974a) no. 25; Merkelbach (1973); Avagianou (2002b).

⁸⁹ Chaniotis (2000) 169–70 for similar evidence from elsewhere in the Greek world.

⁹⁰ Pherai: P. Chrysostomou (1994b) 126–38 and (1998) 210–20; Parker and Stamatopoulou (2007). Pelinna: Tsantsanoglou and Parassoglou (1987). Pharsalos: AE (1950–1) 80–105; Decourt (1995) 128 no. 115. Unknown origin: Breslin (1977) 10. See in general Graf and Johnston (2007) 34–40 nos. 25–9.

⁹¹ I follow here the restoration by Parker and Stamatopoulou (2007). For other suggestions see Ferrari-Prauscello (2007); Furley (2009); Rigsby (2011).

practitioners and which promised a better afterlife.⁹² Dispute exists about whether we should associate all of them with a single movement, namely Orphism, or whether their variety points to the existence of several different and competing eschatological cults.⁹³ Even if we accept the Orphic connection, it has been rightly pointed out, still the variety of the texts, as exemplified especially by the Pheraean texts, would indicate that we have to think in terms of quite a loose movement, which encompassed various different strands.⁹⁴

How can we put an order to all these various views of the afterlife? No grave containing an orphic leaf has been found intact, with the stele set up above it, leaving frustratingly unanswered the question of how the message announced above may have matched the promise hidden within. Are the various different views mutually exclusive? Which out of all may have been more popular? And is there a correlation between particular groups of the population and particular attitudes to death? Initiation into mystery cults seems to have been relatively popular: the variety of the texts on the gold leaves attests to the existence of several initiators, and we can only assume that there must have been sufficient demand to match the variety of the services offered. But the *stelai* with just an allusion to Hermes Chthonios are also numerous. The use of gold for the leaves, on which the instructions to the dead were inscribed, indicates that initiates may have been relatively well off, whereas a simple stele mentioning Hermes Chthonios would be within the means of a much larger proportion of the population.⁹⁵ It may be worth noticing that most of the grave epigrams discussed above were set up for men.⁹⁶ It has also been suggested that the leaves were mostly associated with female graves.⁹⁷ But this is simply a rather jaundiced assumption in all cases except for that of the Pelinna burial. Perhaps we should not try to cut the evidence so precisely. Perhaps pious behaviour and initiation could be seen as two sides of the same coin: one was addressed to the community above, the other to the gods below. Even Lycophron, whose forceful public proclamation of his divine origins and blessed afterlife makes him the most likely case for an initiate, stresses in his

⁹² Similar gold lamellae have been found in other areas of the Greek world and scholars tend to associate them with itinerant priests offering initiations to private mysteries, partly because they are usually connected with Orphic-Bacchic mysteries, which we know were propagated by itinerant charismatics, partly because their wide distribution tallies with the suggestion that they were carried around by travelling practitioners, as well as because there is no evidence that the gods mentioned in the tablets had fixed eschatological cults.

⁹³ For the latter view: Seaford (1986) 9; Cole (2003) 206–7; Edmonds (2004) 29–110.

⁹⁴ Parker and Stamatopoulou (2007) 24–5.

⁹⁵ Parker and Stamatopoulou (2007) 18ff suggest that some of the furnishing of the graves that contained the lamellae might also imply that they belonged to relatively wealthy people.

⁹⁶ Philista, the only woman who is openly expected to reach the island of the blessed, is mentioned with her husband Dikaioi, a doctor.

⁹⁷ Edmonds (2004) 66ff.

epigram not initiation as such, but true knowledge.⁹⁸ The least we can conclude is that ideas and hopes about a blessed afterlife were widespread in Hellenistic Thessaly, and that access to it seems to have depended on either initiation and/or on general moral qualities, such as piety. Even if different groups of the population were more prone to adopt one view rather than the other, there is no reason to think that this was in any way a formalized funerary ideology.

Of the phenomena discussed so far, that is the role of Hermes Chthonios and the various afterlife beliefs, none can be pushed with any confidence back in time beyond the late fourth century. A fifth-century stele which just mentions the obscure epithet Brychaleios together with Hermes' regular title Eriounios in the dative is, it has been argued, a precursor of the Hellenistic monuments to Hermes Chthonios.⁹⁹ But the suggestion that it was a dedicatory inscription is equally likely.¹⁰⁰ Itinerant practitioners performing initiations were travelling around Greece from the Archaic period onwards, but about their presence and popularity in Thessaly at that time we can say very little. In the *Alcestis* Euripides mentions Orpheus, but it is impossible to be certain how relevant this was to the Thessalian atmosphere of the tragedy.¹⁰¹

Moreover, Archaic and Classical funerary epigrams are in certain respects quite different from the Hellenistic ones. Some epigrams call the dead *agathos*, as do the later Hellenistic ones.¹⁰² But there is no mention of piety, purity of soul, or righteous living. Other qualities are brought forward. Sythros from Pythion is commemorated as an archon.¹⁰³ Gastron from somewhere in Magnesia is to be remembered for his hospitality,¹⁰⁴ Theotimos from Atrax for his death in war, as perhaps also Pyrrhiadas from Kierion, who lost his life

⁹⁸ Note also that the fact that Lycophron mentions his patronymic, as well as his divine origins, runs against Edmonds' (2004) 78 argument that the identity statements of the gold tablets were countercultural. Different kinds of identity statements could well co-exist, each coming to the fore in the appropriate context. Avagianou (2002b) makes Lycophron an orphic initiate. Bernabé-Jiménez san Cristóbal (2008) 42–3 argue that the beliefs about the soul sojourning in celestial places were not Orphic but most likely Pythagorean. Comparisons could be made also with the author of the Derveni papyrus.

⁹⁹ Avagianou (1997). The epithet Eriounios, of uncertain meaning, is commonly attested for Hermes in Homer and later sources and is usually translated as 'beneficent': see Farnell (1896–1909) v. 10; Jaillard (2007) 208. But Avagianou argues it means the fast runner. The epithet Brychaleios is attested for the first time and seems to derive from the verb *βρυχάομαι*, which means 'to roar'.

¹⁰⁰ Decourt (1995) no. 69.

¹⁰¹ Eur. *Alc.* 967.

¹⁰² Decourt (1995) no. 121: a fifth-century stele from Eretria for Nikias, an *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός*. Decourt suggest it was also set up for a man dead in battle. I am not certain.

¹⁰³ Tziafalias (1985a) no. 39. I wonder, though, whether the inscription could be a dedicatory one. Sythros is described as *διαδασάμενος*, which would mean something like 'having divided' (booty, sacrifice?). This seems to me more appropriate in a dedicatory context, in which case Sythros' dedication will be a kind of *aparche* (first-fruit offering).

¹⁰⁴ Peek (1960) no. 53 (who, however, makes *φιλόξενος* a patronymic). But see CEG no. 123.

ἀριστεύων.¹⁰⁵ Menon, the son of Pothon, might have been an athlete, as seems to be implied by the expectation that had he lived, he would have brought glory to Thessaly.¹⁰⁶ The values that these epigrams stress—prowess in war, office-holding, athletic victory, and hospitality—are characteristic of an aristocratic society and they are found in Archaic and Classical epigrams from other places in the Greek world. Another difference between the Classical epigrams and those of later periods is that there is no statement, or even any speculation, about the afterlife, only reference to the grief and the glory that death has brought upon the living.¹⁰⁷

It is worth looking at the evidence of Classical Thessaly from an Athenian perspective. This will allow us to address in tandem the question of how fifth-century Athenian perceptions of Thessalian attitudes towards death might have arisen, whether they were purely a literary construct or were in some form of dialogue with Thessalian realities. In Athens a series of laws, introduced first by Solon and then perhaps by Kleisthenes, regulated the private funeral, especially the carrying out of the dead and the funerary monument. The number of women attending the funerary procession was limited to the close relatives of the dead, and there was an attempt to control the intensity of lamentations. The performance of dirges and any praise of the dead were also forbidden, and restrictions were imposed on the size and elaborateness of the funerary monument.¹⁰⁸ Correlative with these changes to the privately organized funeral was the institution of a public funeral for the war dead.¹⁰⁹ The public *ekphora* (carrying out of the corpse) was very similar to that of the privately organized funeral, restricting the participation of women. But one of the most famous elements of the public burial, the funeral oration, had no parallel in the Classical private burial: 'if he wanted an epigram by Simonides, even an aristocrat had now to die for his country.'¹¹⁰ And, according to the polis funerary ideology, death in war, in the service of one's polis, secured a better status in the afterlife.¹¹¹

Given that Athenian burial practices have often been connected with the democracy, we may wonder whether the relationship between public and

¹⁰⁵ Theotimos: Gallis (1982) 54; Tziafalias (1985b) 58; Helly (2004c) and discussion later in this section. Pyrrhiadas: *IG IX 2* 270. Decourt (1995) does not include it in the corpus of inscriptions from Kierion because he thinks it did not come from there.

¹⁰⁶ Mastrokostas (1964) 310–11 no. 1; Peek (1960) no. 81.

¹⁰⁷ Grief and glory seem not to have been compatible: glory is the outcome of a heroic death, while other deaths cause sadness. Telling is the opposition of the two in the epigram for Menon, whose untimely death prevented him from bringing glory to Thessaly, and brought instead grief to the whole city.

¹⁰⁸ For funerary legislation see in general Garland (1989).

¹⁰⁹ The relationship between private and public burial is explored from different angles by Seaford (1994) 74–92; Kavoulaki (2005).

¹¹⁰ Quotation from R. Parker (1996) 134.

¹¹¹ For the status of the war dead see in general R. Parker (1996) 135–7.

private worked itself out differently in Classical oligarchic Thessaly.¹¹² To start with, when looking at the evidence of burials one is struck by the diversity of the evidence.¹¹³ Thessalian graves show great variety in architecture, interior painted decoration, exterior sculptural decoration, and in the number and kind of grave goods. Grave types included pits, cists, periboloi, built chambers, and even tholos tombs. Tombs could be grouped in peribolos enclosures, or be covered with tumuli. They could have painted interior decoration, and use as markers sculpture and *stelai* of various sizes and types. And they could contain grave goods that ranged from a few pots to several pieces of gold jewellery. This variety, which defies any easy clear-cut patterning, might in itself be important. It conveys an impression of 'freedom' and agency.¹¹⁴ Another important difference between the Thessalian and Athenian evidence relates to praise for the dead. A famous poet like Simonides could still compose a dirge for a Thessalian aristocrat in the late sixth/early fifth century,¹¹⁵ and the commemoration on funerary *stelai* of admirable social qualities, such as hospitality, martial prowess, or athletic valour, lacks any parallels in the Athenian fifth-century evidence, although comparison could be made with Archaic material.

Because of their supposed exceptional qualities the death of these individuals had, according to the funerary epigrams, city-wide (and beyond the city) effects. Menon's epitaph plays with the contrast between the mound set up by an individual called Orestes and the effect that Menon's death had on the *πάσα πόλις*.¹¹⁶ The *astoi* and *xenoi* who mourned for hospitable Gastron, meanwhile, bring to mind the *astoi* and *xenoi* who, according to Thucydides, were invited to follow the public *ekphora* of the Athenian war dead. Even a woman

¹¹² For a re-examination of the relation between democracy and burial see Low (2010); R. Osborne (2010). See also Low (2003) for a discussion of the public funeral in non-democratic cities.

¹¹³ Did Hornblower (2002) 96 have this in mind when he noted that Thessalian burial customs were highly unusual? For the problem of bringing together all the various material and talking about 'Thessalian customs' see Morris (1998) 10–13, 36–40; Whitley (2001) 231ff.

¹¹⁴ The material has been collected and discussed by Stamatopoulou (1999). Bosnakis' (2013) 188–9 attempt to impose order, by arguing that funerary *stelai* were set up on periboloi-type of graves and were used by the non-aristocratic landholders, the upper and the middle classes, seems to me to be built on very little evidence.

¹¹⁵ Simonides PMG 23/528; 24/529 (Page). It is not clear whether these fragmentary sources refer to one dirge written for Scopas, or also to another one written for Antiochos. See in general Molyneux (1992) 122–3, 127.

¹¹⁶ Orestes' relationship with Menon is not clear. In many cases the *sema* was set up by family members: see e.g. Tziafalias (1984a) 192 nos. 47, 51 dated to the fifth and fourth century, which mention that it was set up by the mother. In Hellenistic times there is evidence for other groups setting up the monument, such as the *phrouroi* in the case of AD 20 (1965) *Chron.* 317 (= Moretti (1976) no. 100), or there are mentions of the companions of the deceased: see Tziafalias (1984a) 193 no. 53, which refers to the deceased not being able to participate in the sacrifices of the Lapiths. Note also that Polycharmos is commemorated as a *kynagos* in AD 48 (1993) *Chron.* 254 no. 10.

at Pharsalos is mourned by the whole city.¹¹⁷ None of the dirges that Simonides wrote for the sudden and unheroic death of the Scopads survives, but in his so-called ode to Scopas, quoted in Plato's *Protagoras*, Simonides famously praises the man whose only virtue is not being bad, in language that Vernant believes brought to mind Homeric diction about the 'beautiful death' of the great Greek heroes.¹¹⁸

I should devote a few more lines to a mid-fifth-century stele set up for Theotimos from Atrax, whose death at Tanagra brought glory to the city and the *ethnos*, as this brings us to discuss the subject of the commemoration of the war dead, which was central to Athens', and other cities', funerary ideology. Unfortunately we know very little about public burials in Thessaly, organized by the city or the *ethnos*. There is only sparse evidence for a Thessalian collective public burial for the war dead, either at the level of the *ethnos*, or that of the city.¹¹⁹ The little else we know about Thessalian public burials seems to concern exceptional individuals, and in almost all cases foreigners.¹²⁰ The general Pelopidas, Plutarch tells us, was buried with great honours by the Thessalian army and the various Thessalian cities.¹²¹ Hippocrates, who according to tradition was buried somewhere close to Larisa, might have also been awarded a public burial, although no certain evidence exists.¹²² Another foreigner, Erilaos from Chalkedon, who died in Thessaly in the third century, might have been buried by the city of Larisa.¹²³

Even if we accept that Theotimos' stele was part of a larger public memorial to the war dead at Tanagra,¹²⁴ it is still worth noting that it emphasizes private achievement. How common was the commemoration and acclamation of private individuals for their role in warfare in Thessaly? Was Theotimos an

¹¹⁷ Decourt (1995) no. 90. See also section 2.4.

¹¹⁸ Simonides *PMG* 37/542 (Page). Vernant (1991) 88–91. For the ode and the problems of its interpretation see Carson (1992); Most (1994) with previous bibliography.

¹¹⁹ The evidence is basically an epigram in *Anth. Pal.* 7.255 for the spearman who died defending their country at Ossa. Its date (Hellenistic?) is uncertain: Lorenz (1976) 53 no. 4; Page (1981) 129. A group burial at Hagios Georgios, close to Krannon, dated to the seventh century and which contained many weapons and parts of chariots, has been interpreted as a *polyandron* by Tziafalias (1994b), but there is no evidence that this was a public burial of the city war dead: C. Morgan (2001) 32–4. Note also the Hellenistic stele found at Scotoussa, which lists various individuals called *hippotai* from various Thessalian cities: Tziafalias (2000a) 87 no. 5; section 2.1.

¹²⁰ The only one for a Thessalian is *IG IX* 2 777 set up by the *boule* and the *demos* for an athlete and dated as late as the first century BC/first century AD. See also the anti-burial of Alexander of Pherai by the angry mob of Pherai (Theopompos *FGrH* 115 F 352; *Plut. Pel.* 28ff), for which see also section 4.2).

¹²¹ *Plut. Pel.* 33. ¹²² *Suda* ι 564.

¹²³ As suggested by A. Chaniotis in *SEG* 47 (1997) no. 735 (published in *AD* 48 (1998) *Chron.* 258–9).

¹²⁴ As Low (2003) 109 argues the public war burial was not an exclusively democratic custom. The interplay between public and private commemoration of war, however, might be different in different states.

exceptional case, much like Pelopidas in the fourth century? Or is this yet another example of the trend I have been noticing above, the blending of public and private in Thessalian epitaphs?¹²⁵ Theotimos' stele has various 'special' characteristics, which may actually indicate that in order to make sense of it we need to think more precisely about its historical context. First, Theotimos is depicted as a hoplite, not as a cavalryman as we might have expected for a Thessalian.¹²⁶ Moreover, Theotimos is an Atracian but his stele was found at Larisa, which means that when we talk about private commemoration of his death we should not think of it in terms of the interests that his family might have had in local politics. The occasion of his death, during the battle of Tanagra, is also problematic. According to Thucydides, the Thessalians (and Thucydides only mentioned Thessalian cavalrymen in his description of the battle at Tanagra) had changed sides and this has been taken to indicate dissent among the Thessalian *ethnos* and perhaps within the different parts of the army.¹²⁷ Theotimos' singling out for praise, and his portrayal as a hoplite, can make sense if we view them in the context of this ambiguous expedition abroad.¹²⁸

All the uncertainties and exceptional cases notwithstanding, we may be able to trace some differences between the Thessalian and Athenian burial practices pertaining to the grave itself, the funeral, the commemoration of the dead, and the notions of what constituted a 'beautiful death'. This dissonance in funerary practice and ideology might well have fed into Athenian perceptions of the Thessalian *φιλοψυχία* (excessive love for life).

Let us sum up. In what way can we speak of Thessalian attitudes to death, as different from those of other Greeks? Sourvinou-Inwood in her important book on Greek death attempted to explore how social attitudes to death

¹²⁵ Tziafalias (1985b) 57–60 has suggested that Theotimos was worshipped as a hero in the free agora of Larisa. The exact findspot of the stele was at a private property around 200 metres away from the square of Tachydromeio, where the free agora is traditionally located. But the stele could have come from anywhere: it was found reused together with much other material in constructions dating to Roman times. Helly (2004c) esp. 25–7 believes it was part of a public burial and brings as parallels from Athens the fourth-century Dexileos monument and that of Makartatos and Melenopos dated to the fifth century (Paus. 1.29.6; Clairmont (1983) 21, 40 no. 21e). But for a possible reconstruction of the particular circumstances surrounding the Dexileos monument see Whitley (2001) 370–2; R. Osborne (2010), who also discusses more generally the individual display or military prowess during the democracy.

¹²⁶ For the depiction of warriors on Thessalian funerary *stelai* see Stamatopoulou (1999) 169, who mentions a few *stelai* which depict cavalrymen, while in others the deceased is portrayed holding a spear. Helly (2004c) suggests that Theotimos was an aristocrat and his depiction as a hoplite might not reflect his actual military role.

¹²⁷ Thuc. 1.107.7.

¹²⁸ Note that the battle of Tanagra was also commemorated by the Thessalians at Delphi with a dedication offered, significantly perhaps, by the polemarchs. For the dedication and its possible importance for our understanding of Thessalian politics see the different opinions of: Daux (1958); Sordi (1958a) 344; Larsen (1960) 248 n. 52; Helly (1995) 229. And for Theotimos's funerary stele see most recently Bosnakis (2013) 144–5.

changed during the Archaic period and, in doing so, 'to set out the various parameters determining common assumptions and responses'. These parameters included the variety of opinions about death available at each period, the existence of eschatological cults, the popularity of these ideas and practices among particular social circles, funerary behaviour and ideology as expressed in the burial rite and on the grave monument, and the polis funerary ideology as expressed in funerary legislation and public burials. Although the emphasis in her work was on the study of changes at a Panhellenic level, Sourvinou-Inwood argued that 'circumstances, funerary behaviour, and attitudes interacted, shifted and crystallized in comparable (not necessarily the same) configurations, with variant rhythms in different places'.¹²⁹

In the foregoing discussion I have attempted to explore some of these parameters and how they operated in Thessaly. It is time to bring the various observations together. Taking Athens as a comparison we can note difference at two important levels: that of funerary ideology and the nature of available eschatological cults. We have seen that the private funeral was perhaps less regulated, especially as far as the grave/funerary monument and the praise of the dead were concerned. Moreover, we have evidence dating to the Classical period for privately organized funerals which constructed themselves as public, and perhaps for a public one which gave great prominence to specific individuals. This congruence of private and public opened up the question of what constituted a beautiful death: although death in war, in the service of one's country, is exceptional in bringing glory, the death of other individuals could also be considered beautiful. Another difference with Athens lay in the domain of afterlife beliefs. There was not, as far as we know, any fixed cult offering mystery initiations with the promise of a better afterlife in Thessaly.¹³⁰ The absence of evidence is of course no proof, but we have to progress on what we

¹²⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood (1995a) 442. Her approach has been challenged by Morris (1989), whose basic argument is that 'ideologies of death' may have changed through time, but 'personal attitudes' remained the same. Sourvinou-Inwood envisages, rightly in my view, a much more complex interaction between the two; her arguments on funerary legislation are central to that.

¹³⁰ Some scholars seem to hint that Ennodia at Pherai might have had similar functions. Ferrari-Prauscello (2007) 200 try to associate the gold leaf from Pherai mentioning Brimo with a Panthessalian cult of Ennodia/Brimo, the local Persephone, and cite Chrysostomou. But P. Chrysostomou (1998) 208–20 actually argues for the opposite: that the only connection between Brimo and Ennodia is that they are both mentioned in different stories as daughters of Demeter. A *temenos* of Plouto and Persephone is mentioned in *IG IX 2 1229*. Helly (2010b) 98 n. 20 suggested that the sanctuary was located somewhere in the north-west of Larisa, and marked an entrance to the underworld, on the ground that it could be associated with the following topographical features: the river Titaresios, which according to *Hom. Il.* 2.750–5, was a branch of the Styx (see also *Luc.* 6.375–7), and a Nyseion mentioned in *IG IX 2 521* (see *Strabo* 14.1.44–5 for the sanctuary of Acharaka, in the Maeander valley, close to Nysa and an entrance to the underworld and *Nissen* (2009) 105–33). Even if these associations are right, it does not necessarily entail that the sanctuary had a mystery cult. See *Ogden* (2001) 25–7 for entrances to the underworld.

know.¹³¹ (I argue below that the spread of private mystery cults might strengthen the case, in that the ground was left open to various religious entrepreneurs.)

The twofold lack of a strong and clear polis funerary ideology, and of a polis eschatological cult, raises the question of how, and through what channels, afterlife beliefs were articulated in Thessaly.¹³² Foreign mystery cults, such as Eleusis or Samothrace (as new evidence shows), would be an obvious option.¹³³ It is well established that Thessaly had a close relationship with the sanctuary of the Megaloi Theoi of Samothrace, to which it sent in the second century BC an official delegation,¹³⁴ while the *strategos* of the Perrhaebian Tripolis is mentioned as an initiate in a late third-century inscription.¹³⁵ While speculating about how popular initiation to the mysteries of Samothrace might have been, it is worth pointing out here that third-century dedications to the Megaloi Theoi have been found at Larisa and even at the small site at Ermetsi in western Thessaly.¹³⁶ The theme of piety reverberating through the third- and second-century funerary *stelai* matches well enough with the little we know about the Samothracian cult.¹³⁷ Knowledge and familiarity with the cult might have influenced and shaped general perceptions of the afterlife as much as the more popularly cited Orphism. The evidence, however, does not allow us to go further back than the third century BC. As for Eleusis, we have no hard evidence for any Thessalian initiates. But we should not doubt that some Thessalians would have been initiated there. Already from the Late Archaic period, there is clear evidence for Thessalians having close connections with Athens, being familiar with Athenian culture, and participating in other Athenian festivals, such as the Panathenaia.¹³⁸ The question remains about how widespread initiation was, and how seriously it was taken. Should we imagine that anyone who could afford it would think it desirable to take the road to Eleusis?

Another possible answer is that private mystery cults covered the gap and provided for the needs of the local population. We can see how an area where there might not have been a clearly formulated alternative was potentially

¹³¹ No proof: see R. Parker (2011a) 251 n. 75 for lesser mysteries citing Graf (2003).

¹³² Sparta could provide another point of comparison: it lacks evidence for eschatological cults, but unlike Thessaly there was a strong and clear polis funerary ideology.

¹³³ New evidence: the Isidoros epitaph from Athens: Dimitrova (2008) 83 no. 29; R. Parker (2011a) 253–4.

¹³⁴ Pounder and Dimitrova (2003); Dimitrova (2008) 63 no. 26 for a second-century dedication by the Thessalian league to the Megaloi Theoi. See also Cole (1984) 52, who notes that the geographical distribution of initiates, although more restricted, coincides with that of *theoroi*.

¹³⁵ Lucas (1997) 84 no. 37; Dimitrova (2008) 98 no. 35.

¹³⁶ Ermetsi: IG IX 2 264. Larisa: AE (1910) 378 no. 26. Note, however, Cole's (1984) 59 reservations about this kind of evidence on the grounds that the title Megaloi Theoi could refer to other gods than the Samothracian ones.

¹³⁷ Dimitrova (2008) 244–5; R. Parker (2011a) 253–4.

¹³⁸ Panathenaic festival: see e.g. the finding of sherds of a Panathenaic amphora at the sanctuary of Apollo at Soros.

fertile ground for the spread of Orphic beliefs, with their emphasis on individual salvation and their 'anti-social' characteristics. Nevertheless, there is no evidence for private mystery cults in the area before the fourth century and, importantly, their appearance coincides with a number of other changes in Thessalian funerary practices, such as the emphasis on pious living expressed on funerary *stelai* and the popularity of the cult of Hermes Chthonios. This may well indicate that even if private mystery cults operated in the area in earlier periods, their spread was part and parcel of a shift in attitudes to death taking place in Thessaly in the Hellenistic period.

In the change from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, the silence of the Classical evidence about the afterlife should be stressed. Some might have been initiated into mystery cults; and hopes for a better afterlife for those who died a glorious death, or who were mourned by the whole city, might have been nurtured. But these life-loving Thessalians preferred to say nothing about it and thought it wiser to forget about the promises of the afterlife. Ignoring death does not mean one can avoid it, and a number of stories set in Thessaly dramatized the frozen moment of death's sudden grasp. The Thessalians, to paraphrase Pindar, were after all no Hyperboreans, and it would be wrong for us to imagine that in focusing on life's pleasures they had found a way to keep their sangfroid at the moment of death. For all we can say, the emotional tone of a Thessalian funeral might have been more heightened than that of an Athenian one.¹³⁹ But it took a century and more, which brought with it the rise of Philip, and then his son and his successors, the liberation of the *penestai*, the impoverishment of the oldest families, the everyday presence of Macedonians and other foreigners, and, not least, the transformation of the Thessalian pastoral paradise of poetry into too often a battle ground for foreign armies, before Thessalians stated with confidence on stone that there was pleasure in another world, and that the secret lay in pious living.

6.3. PRIESTS, CHARLATANS AND CHARISMATICS

Orphic initiators bring us to discuss the existence in Thessaly of charismatic individuals, who claimed to possess special ritual skills and knowledge of the divine. They are our entrance point into 'Thessaly: the land of magic'.

¹³⁹ Plut. *Pel.* 33 might indicate that the Thessalians, unlike other Greeks of the time, were eager to touch the corpse (see R. Parker (1983) 39 n. 27). The performance of dirges down to the Classical period is also exceptional. Note, however, that their performance does not necessarily go hand in hand with that of laments. The Labyadai inscription from Delphi and Solon's law make stipulations for both, but there is nothing about dirges in the Ioulis law. For development and changes concerning the various forms of oral commemoration of the dead see Alexiou (2002) 11–23; Loraux (1986) 42–56; Derderian (2001); Thomas (2007) 161–2. For interesting discussion about how an emotionally charged funeral is not in contradiction with an acceptance of the necessity of death: Sourvinou-Inwood (1983).

Several scholars have suggested that during the fifth century a concept similar to the modern one of magic developed (expressed in the words *goeteia*, *pharmakeia*, and *mageia*), which embraced all kinds of socially disapproved religious behaviour.¹⁴⁰ The various religious specialists, whose exceptional skills included such things as knowledge of drugs and other healing practices, purification, cursing, divination, initiation into mysteries, and even the ability to communicate with the dead, to alter the weather or affect the heavenly bodies, run now greater risk of being scorned and denigrated.¹⁴¹ We are certainly dealing here with a variety of specialists, with different origins, social standing, and education, who must have operated in different milieus. A few had great prestige, and were important figures in public life; others were marginal figures whom one might meet while drinking in a tavern. Dickie's overview includes a variety of people, ranging through the elderly village midwife, the famous seer Lampon, and a man with philosophical aspirations such as the commentator of the Derveni Papyrus. What brings these various people together in the sources, often in the context of undermining their status, by denying the differences between them, is that they all claimed some form of special knowledge; many of them offered it in exchange for money; and they often had an itinerant lifestyle.¹⁴²

Claiming descent from a long line of practitioners could help boost one's reputation, and enhance one's career in this competitive environment of suspicion.¹⁴³ Claiming origin from Thessaly seems in the sources to have been a guarantee of efficiency and potency: we hear of powerful Thessalian spells, philtres, incantations, and of Thessalian witches (*pharmakides*). This position of Thessaly seems to have been exceptional. Although scholars have noticed that certain practitioners tended to come from particular areas, for instance *chresmologoi* from Akarnania and *manteis* from Elis, Thessaly is the only place in the Greek world that became proverbial for its 'magical practices'.¹⁴⁴ Much of the evidence belongs to Roman times, when Thessaly is virtually transformed into a land of magic in literature.¹⁴⁵ Thessaly's reputation for sorcery, however, can be traced back to the Classical period.

¹⁴⁰ Various suggestions have been made about which groups of the population originally shared this concept of magic and which practices were classified as such, all unofficial practices or a specific group among them? See e.g. Versnel (1991); Graf (1997a) 27; Gordon (1999) 163–5; Dickie (2001) 18–46.

¹⁴¹ More than in previous periods: for the figure of *goes* in early times Burkert (1962); for purifiers R. Parker (1983) 207ff.

¹⁴² Some of this variety is reflected in the various terms used to describe them, such as *mantis*, *chresmologos*, *iatromantis*, *goes*, *pharmakeus*, *kathartes*, *magos*. In general see Graf (1997a) 20–9; Dickie (2001) 12–16, 60–94, who believes that most of the terms were interchangeable. For *chresmologoi* see also J. H. Oliver (1950) 1–17; Nilsson (1950). For *goes*: Burkert (1962); Johnston (1999) ch.3. For *magoi*: Rigsby (1976); Bremmer (1999) 2–9.

¹⁴³ Burkert (1992) 42–4; Flower (2008) 37ff.

¹⁴⁴ Seers from Elis and Acarnania: see n. 143.

¹⁴⁵ Eitrem (1941) 60ff; Cazeaux (1979); Phillips (2002) 381–4.

Classical and Hellenistic sources construct the image of magical Thessaly by various combinations of four themes; namely the proliferation of herbs in the area, the brief but memorable visit of Medea to the area, the cult of the local goddess Ennodia, often assimilated with Hecate, and, last but not least, the female religious specialist, the Thessalian *pharmakis*, an expert in drugs, capable of bringing down the moon.¹⁴⁶ In several tragedies we hear of a goddess called Ennodia, or Einodia, presiding over ghosts and *pharmaka*. In Euripides' *Ion* Einodia, called here the daughter of Demeter, is invoked to help Kreousa's plan, the mixing of poison into the wine, to succeed.¹⁴⁷ In *Helen* Helen replies to Menelaos, who wonders whether she is a ghostly apparition sent from Hecate, that she is not a *πρόπολος* (an attendant) of Ennodia.¹⁴⁸ While we cannot be certain that the audience would have perceived the Ennodia of these passages specifically as the Thessalian goddess, and not just as a shorthand for Hecate, the Thessalian colouring is unlikely to have been missed in Sophocles' *Rhizotomoi*, a play set at Iolkos. In this play, several of the themes of Thessalian magic (Medea, herbs, and Ennodia) seem to have been brought together.¹⁴⁹ The 'Thessalian' Ennodia's association with *pharmaka* is, in any case, indisputable in the story recounted by Polyaeus about Chrysamē, priestess of the goddess and an expert on drugs, travelling to Erythrai to help Kodros during the colonization of the area.¹⁵⁰

The most infamous skill of the Thessalian *pharmakides*, other than mixing and meddling with herbs and drugs, was their ability to pull down the moon.¹⁵¹ We first hear about it in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, when Strepsiades comes up with the idea that in order to avoid paying his debts he could buy a Thessalian *pharmakis* to bring down the moon for him—the idea behind his plan being that, since debts were due at the new moon, as long as there was no moon on the sky, his creditors would make no claim.¹⁵² The Syracusan poet Sosiphanes in *Meleager* and Menander in his comedy *Thessale* also referred to it. According to Sosiphanes, all Thessalian women falsely claim to be able to bring down the moon with their incantations.¹⁵³ A tradition that a dire fate awaited those Thessalians who undertook this practice made its way into Plato.¹⁵⁴ Later scholiasts mention that they were doomed to lose their eyes and feet, or a member of their family.¹⁵⁵

Distilling fact from fiction in the image of the Thessalian *pharmakis* is not an easy task. Strepsiades' mention of 'buying' a Thessalian *pharmakis* casts her

¹⁴⁶ Cazeaux (1979) and Phillips (2002) focus only on the sources concerning the rite of bringing down the moon.

¹⁴⁷ Eur. *Ion* 1048–57. ¹⁴⁸ Eur. *Hel.* 570. ¹⁴⁹ Soph. fr. 534, 535 (Radt).

¹⁵⁰ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.43. For this passage see also discussion in section 5.6 and further later in this section.

¹⁵¹ Hill (1973) collects the relevant Greek and Roman sources.

¹⁵² Ar. *Nub.* 749–56. ¹⁵³ TGF 92 F 1 (Snell); Plin. *HN* 30.2.

¹⁵⁴ Pl. *Grg.* 513a. ¹⁵⁵ Σ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 59–61; Suda ε 2559; Zen. 3.95.

as one of those itinerant practitioners, often looked down upon for trading their skills.¹⁵⁶ But Aristophanes might well have been innovating here, part of the joke being in the transferring of a practitioner famous from hearsay, and tied to another context, into the world of Strepsiades.¹⁵⁷ Sosiphanes' claim that every Thessalian girl can do the trick envisages a wide practice. It could, though, be argued that the supposed popularity of the rite among Thessalian women serves here a rhetorical role, employed as an argument against those who may believe in its power and efficacy. But this rhetorical use does not necessarily entail that the information is wrong. We are still not told who these Thessalian women are and in what context they perform their rite. The mention of them losing their feet and eyes could urge us to imagine them as typical ugly scary witches, crawling from door to door begging for money. More could be read into this story, though, than a straightforward description of the classic physical appearance of the Thessalian *pharmakis*. Behind the story lurks, on the one hand, a belief that a few among the many self-proclaimed practitioners really do perform the task: the proof is to be found in their misfortunes; and, on the other, a belief that the act is so seriously transgressive that the gods punish it severely.¹⁵⁸ In some later sources even seemingly respectable well-off women, and not just vagabonds, are credited with the skill. Plutarch refers to a Thessalian woman with the respectable sounding name Aglaonike, learned in astronomy, who was very skilled in performing the rite;¹⁵⁹ this account also acknowledges that some might be more skilled than others, but it adds that this has nothing to do with real power.

The ability to control the firmament was also claimed by no less charismatic a figure than Empedokles.¹⁶⁰ It is a source of discomfort to find what was listed as one of the great powers of such an exceptional figure being performed, or so the sources could be read as saying, by every Thessalian crone. The mention of the rite in yet another context might help us blunt the contrast between these idealized images of Empedokles and the ubiquitous Thessalian *pharmakis*.

¹⁵⁶ Some have even imagined her as a slave: Dover (1968) notes that the word *πριάμενος* was normally used in the context of buying slaves, or metaphorically, as in corrupting them with bribes, never with the meaning of 'hiring'. He thinks that the idea that these Thessalian women were slaves should not be excluded. But see n. 157.

¹⁵⁷ In doing so Aristophanes would also be putting in play another standard Thessalian motif: that all Thessalians can be bribed and enslaved. See section 6.1.

¹⁵⁸ Garland (1995) 59–72, 99–102 for various stories which associate physical deformities both with special powers and with divine punishment.

¹⁵⁹ Plut. *Mor.* 416f–17a. See also Plut. *Mor.* 141b about Philip being bewitched by his Thessalian lover, taken by some to be the Pheraean Nikesipolis.

¹⁶⁰ 31 B111 (Diels-Kranz). According to the fragment Empedokles claimed the power to raise and quell the winds and to bring rain or drought. But in *On the Sacred Disease* control over the weather and the heavenly bodies are listed together among the powers of the practitioners whom the author attacks. See discussion further later in this section.

In Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautika* it is associated with the great sorceress Medea,¹⁶¹ and it has been suggested that the Thessalian witches, and indeed Thessaly's reputation for magic, were solely a literary construct, inspired by the myth of Medea.¹⁶²

Thinking of 'Thessalian magic' as a literary topos is definitely one correct approach to the matter. Thessalian magic certainly worked as a literary trope and we have to remember this when searching through the various texts for a path leading us to the 'real' Classical and Hellenistic Thessaly. A lot of what we hear—not least, one may suspect, the emphasis on the female witch—could be a literary construct. But limiting our vision of Thessalian magic to its life in texts, while denying it any connection with reality, seems to rest on an assumption that texts interact only with one another, and not with those that created them, the characters and 'realities' that inspired them, and the audience that enjoyed them. Coming back to scholars' suggestions of what might have inspired in the first place the reputation of Thessaly for magic, the figure of Medea cannot on its own bear the weight of explanation, because one would then have to answer the question of why the taint of magic attached itself to Thessaly and not to Corinth, with which Medea was also closely linked in myth and cult.¹⁶³ Similarly, the suggestion that the Thessalians' reputation grew because the Athenians, and perhaps other Greeks, found it peculiar that they paid so much devotion to a goddess like Hecate stumbles on the problem that Aegina, too, had a major cult of Hecate, but no reputation for magic shrouded that island.

Single focused literary explanations of Thessaly's reputation are ultimately unsatisfactory because they do not address the question of what conditions made possible in the fifth century this reinterpretation of various elements of Thessalian culture. In trying to work our way through this difficult topic from literary representation to 'reality', a set of interrelated questions needs to be asked, even if we cannot hope for clear-cut or wholly convincing answers: namely, how does the image of Thessaly as a land of powerful witches relate back to the nature of religious authority in the area? Why did the image arise and/or take shape in the fifth century? And how might it have related to more general perceptions of the area?

To start with the first topic, that is thinking via Thessaly's infamous witches about the nature of various religious authorities in the area, I quickly mention Pantalkes, the fifth-century nympholept of Pharsalos, an example of a religious specialist, but an isolated one;¹⁶⁴ such also is Satyra, the *mantis* from Larisa known from a third-century funerary stele.¹⁶⁵ And I return to the

¹⁶¹ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.533; 4.59–61.

¹⁶² Phillips (2002).

¹⁶³ Graf (1997b) for scholars' desperate attempts, as he calls them, to distinguish between two original distinct Medeas, a Thessalian and a Corinthian one.

¹⁶⁴ For Pantalkes see section 4.2.

¹⁶⁵ Tziafalias (1984b) no. 95.

‘Orphic initiators’, who left their gold leaves behind them as they travelled through the area and with whom we started this section. ‘Orphism’, if this is indeed what they taught, could potentially become a countercultural movement, asking from its adherents not just their attention at the moment of initiation, but also an ‘Orphic life’.¹⁶⁶ Did the presence of such practitioners have something to do with Thessaly’s reputation for sorcery? This suggestion would leave us with the problem of pushing back their existence to the fifth century, when the reputation of Thessaly started crystallizing; and more importantly, it is not clear how we can pass from them to the literary construct of Thessalian magic, which is all about herbs, Medea, Ennodia, and the powerful Thessalian *pharmakis*, bringer-down of the moon.¹⁶⁷

More promising, in that it may show us a way to make the crossing from Thessalian practices to their literary representation, seems to me a passage of the third-century BC traveller-writer Herakleides. It allows us a glimpse of a different kind of practitioner, men and women meddling with drugs and poisons. Herakleides refers to a family living somewhere in Magnesia, which claimed descent from Chiron and had exclusive knowledge of the medical qualities of a particular plant that grew on Mount Pelion. The knowledge, he further adds, passed in the male line, from father to son, and the family offered their services for free (*πρὸς ἄνδρα*).¹⁶⁸ Although the word is not mentioned, we could class the family from Magnesia as root-cutters (*ρίζοτόμοι*), a kind of specialists in herb-collecting and drug-concocting, about whom we know deplorably little.¹⁶⁹ We have no other straightforward testimony for such practitioners in Thessaly, but we may reasonably wonder whether herb-collecting may not have been naturally popular in an area famous for its herbs. Was Chrysame, the expert on drugs and priestess of Ennodia, who helped the Ionians colonize Erythrai, modelled on actual, private perhaps, priestesses of the goddess?¹⁷⁰ And did the Ephyraioi, who sang *Pythian* 10th in

¹⁶⁶ R. Parker (1995) 502–4 is one of the few scholars who poses the question of how Orphism was actually taught and practised, arguing that in Athens it might have made many concessions to traditional religion. There is very little to form any hypothesis about the situation in Thessaly (but see the attempt of Edmonds (2004) 43, 64ff). Perhaps relevant is the group of *boukoloi* at Atrax, dedicating in an official context a statue, if we accept, that is, Burkert’s (1993a) 267 suggestion about the term designating the main body of Bacchic initiates. But for another preferable interpretation about the group see section 3.2.3.

¹⁶⁷ Plin. *HN* 30.2 was preoccupied with the same topic, whether it was Orpheus who introduced magic to Thessaly. He dismisses the idea on the grounds that Orpheus’ own home was completely ignorant of the magical craft. It is interesting also to note, in view of what will be argued below, that Pliny thought that, had Orpheus been responsible, it would have been because of a superstition on his part derived from medicine.

¹⁶⁸ Pfister (1951) ii. 12.

¹⁶⁹ For *rhizotomoi* see Delatte (1938); Lloyd (1983) 199ff; Gordon (1999) 183–4.

¹⁷⁰ The Corinthian Timarete, *propolos* of Ennodia, whose funerary stele was found at Pella (CEG ii. 151 no. 720, late fifth/early fourth century) might have been such a priestess: Voutiras (1998) 105–7. But for other views see Sacco (1980); J. and L. Robert *BE* (1981) 314. As for what

honour of Hippokleas from Pelinna, claim special knowledge of herbs, in view of their name which connected them with Ephyra, the city rich in drugs par excellence?¹⁷¹

It is noteworthy that, judging from this sparse evidence, these practitioners do not seem to have been considered charlatans in Thessaly itself. On the contrary, one might form the impression that they were respectable figures. The family from Magnesia is described as a *genos* from the citizens (ἐν τῶν πολιτῶν γένος) and the fact that they did not receive money for their services further distances them from the stereotype of the beggar-healer.¹⁷² If the conjecture about the Ephyraioi being a family of religious specialists is correct, their performance of *Pythian* 10th is a clear indication of important religious and social status. As for Chrysame, if, as is argued above, her story formed part of a dialogue between Thessalians and the people of eastern Greece taking place in the Hellenistic period (and is not just a story concocted by others for their own consumption), then it provides further evidence that knowledge and expertise in *pharmaka* was not considered a disreputable pursuit in Thessaly.¹⁷³

We would ideally like to put the seemingly respectable families of the Magnesian root-cutters, the family of Ephyraioi, and the skilled priestesses of Ennodia into a larger picture of religious authority, public and private, in Thessaly. Families with exclusive religious knowledge and skills were to be found, either as private practitioners, or even in a few cases as holders of important public priesthoods (the Eumolpids and the other Eleusinian *gene*

the content of these cults might have been, given that Ennodia's connection with drugs and madness is well established (*Morb. Sacr.* 4), thinking in terms of healing rites for madness does not seem to me to be much of a stretch. The reason I am tempted to think about them taking place in a private rather than a public context is because we lack any parallels either for expertise in drugs as a prerequisite for public priesthood (the evidence discussed by Chaniotis (2008) for religious experts is very different), or for a public cult having such a function; the mysteries of Hecate at Aegina had for some scholars (see Johnston (1999) 144–5; Graf (2003) 252–3) something to do with curing madness, but the evidence does not seem to me very convincing.

¹⁷¹ For this group see also section 2.5. Macurdy (1919) has even suggested that a story told by Hegesandros in his lost *Dardanika*, and reported by Ael. *NA* 8.11, about Aleuas, the progenitor of the famous family, being licked by a snake could perhaps indicate his having special powers, if of a different kind, more akin to those of Melampous, the seer-healer, who according to tradition also acquired his skills when licked by a snake. Other famous figures licked by a snake were Cassandra and Helenos: Hes. fr. 261 (M/W); Porph. *Abst.* 3.4; Plin. *HN* 10.137; Ogden (2013) 138ff. But all this is very uncertain.

¹⁷² They might even have had a role in the cult of Chiron in the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios, mentioned by Herakleides a few lines above. Perhaps it was to this sanctuary that the Magnesians offered en masse apparently first fruits of herbs (Plut. *Mor.* 647a).

¹⁷³ For this story see section 5.6. Priestess of private cults were not necessarily viewed negatively, especially at that time (R. Parker (2011a) 260 n. 68). Note here, too, some coins from Trikka and Pelinna, dated to the fifth and fourth century respectively, which depict a woman with covered head carrying a casket or a pyxis. Moustaka (1983) 51–2, 126–7 nos. 133–7; Lavva (1988) 296–7 identify the figure as a nymph/*mantis*.

are an example), in other places in the Greek world. Their power and influence, however, seems to have been, in Athens at least, rather circumscribed.¹⁷⁴ Was the balance of religious authority different in Thessaly? Did religious specialists play a bigger role in religious and social life? And did their area of expertise extend beyond the narrow specialization that we can discern in the sources, that is to say mostly herb-collecting and healing? We have no reason to suppose that the expertise and authority of the family of Magnesian herbalists went much beyond their ability to cure foot pain, thanks to their long familiarity with a particular plant which grew on Mount Pelion. But with the family of the Ephyraioi, which make their only appearance in connection with a Pythian victor, we find ourselves on more slippery ground and, of course, on that of pure conjecture.

If we look at the problem of religious authority from a top-down perspective, then the close association between priests and magistrates, characteristic of the Greek polis, seems to hold well in Thessaly, too. At Hellenistic Demetrias priests co-operated with magistrates on a series of religious occasions, and some of the most prestigious priesthoods, such as that of Apollo Koropaios or Zeus Akraios, seem to have been appointed by the people. Demetrias, it is true, might have been an exceptional case, in that the synoecism might have radically transformed pre-existing religious structures.¹⁷⁵ But two recently found Hellenistic inscriptions from Mopsion, which bestow on the honorand, together with *politeia*, the right to hold magistracies and priest-hoods (*taga* and *leitorea*), testify to the same close association between priest-hood and office-holding elsewhere in Thessaly at that time.¹⁷⁶ And the Pharsalian Polydamas' political success, back in the fourth century, brought him several religious responsibilities.¹⁷⁷

There are undeniably many gaps in our knowledge, but the evidence, as it stands, allows us to maintain for Thessaly the current model of how religious

¹⁷⁴ For recent discussion concerning these issues see Dignas (2002) 246–71; R. Parker (2005) 89ff and (2011a) 43–57; the various papers in Dignas and Trampedach (2008).

¹⁷⁵ See discussion in section 4.3.

¹⁷⁶ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 67 no. 4, 68 no. 6. *Taga* and *leitorea*: it is impossible to ascertain whether *taga* refers to magistracies in general, or to the specific office of the *tagos* and, in the case that the latter is true, whether *leitorea* would also refer not to priesthoods in general but to a specific one, i.e. the eponymous priesthood of the city. For *leitorea* and related words see Lejeune (1941); Masson (1963) and (1980). My study of the use of the term *leitor* in Thessalian inscriptions as opposed to that of *hiereus*, with a view to examine whether we could be dealing here with two different kinds of offices, has not yielded any clear-cut pattern. They can be used interchangeably to designate the priests of both private cults and public ones, in official contexts, i.e. as dating formula, and in non-official contexts, i.e. in private dedications, for male and female priests. A geographical pattern seems to emerge: the communities of Perrhaibia and Magnesia used almost exclusively the term *hiereus* (and related ones), while those of Thessaly proper tend to use more the term *leitor* (and related ones), although *hiereus* can also be found.

¹⁷⁷ According to Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.2 Polydamas was responsible for religious expenditures.

authority worked in ancient Greece. There were, it is true, travelling religious specialists professing sometimes a different understanding of the divine, and there were men and women, some of old local families, specializing in herb-collecting and healing. None of these phenomena is uniquely Thessalian, although they might have been more pronounced in the area than at some other places in the Greek world. Thessaly's reputation for magic may have interacted with these phenomena and especially, as I argued, with Thessaly's traditional healing practices, but, unless we build a lot around what we actually know, Thessaly's reputation for magic does not appear as a direct reflection of the nature of religious authority in the area. We need to search for a reason, a factor which allowed the re-interpretation of Thessalian practices.

I can think of two possibilities; one places the development in Thessaly itself, the other in Athens. It could be argued that a catalytic factor which enabled the growth of the stereotype 'Thessaly is a land of magic' was the spread of Hippocratic medicine in the area. That Hippocratic doctors would have lived and work in the area, and would have, therefore, been familiar with Thessalian practices, seems a fair enough guess, given that, according to tradition, Hippocrates spent many years in Thessaly until his death; his grave was somewhere on the road that led from Larisa to Gyrtone.¹⁷⁸ Hippocrates, we should assume, did not live and work in splendid isolation, as traditional healers are often portrayed to have done.¹⁷⁹ Further evidence from the Hippocratic treatises shows that Hippocratic doctors were indeed very familiar with the area. In the *Epidemics*, it has been noticed, several Thessalian cities are frequently mentioned, including Meliboia, Pherai, Krannon, Pharsalos, and most of all Larisa.¹⁸⁰

The growth and spread of Hippocratic medicine should not be pictured as a smooth development, whereby the populace, stunned by the obvious truth of its teachings, turned its back on old practices. Lacking themselves empirical proof, the Hippocratic doctors often had to make use of rhetoric and slander to promote their cause. It has been argued that it was in the context of the development of medicine as a science, and its attempt to distinguish its own field from that of other practices, that the concept of magic first developed.¹⁸¹ Nowhere is the clash between the followers of Hippocrates and traditional healers more vividly expressed than in *On the Sacred Disease*: 'these magi, purifiers, begging-priests, frauds purify epileptics with blood as if they were polluted, using the divine as a cloak and a shield for their own helplessness in

¹⁷⁸ See also Helly (1970b) 251 ll. 21, 267–8, for the suggestion that in a third-century inscription from Larisa there might be a reference to some agricultural establishment named after Hippocrates.

¹⁷⁹ Lloyd (1983) 120 about the 'marginal' status of root-cutters, referring to Sophocles *Rhizotomoi* and Diog. Laert. 1.112 about Epimenides withdrawing into solitude to engage in collecting roots.

¹⁸⁰ Chang (2005).

¹⁸¹ Graf (1997a) 30ff. See also discussion in Dickie (2001) 20ff.

not having any useful remedy to apply.¹⁸² Fifth-century Thessaly, then, could be pictured as a vivid, turbulent even, intellectual environment, where such fiery words might well have been uttered.

It is important in this respect that the rite of bringing down the moon is mentioned in the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease*.¹⁸³ This text, which is about the causes and possible cures of madness, contains long diatribes against traditional healers and their techniques, from which the author wants to set himself apart. The ability to draw down the moon is listed as one of the various crazy skills that such practitioners claimed. Quite apart from the question of whether such a rite was ever performed, which is of no importance for this discussion,¹⁸⁴ the text enlightens us on the issue of what kind of people might have claimed to possess such a skill in fifth-century Greece.¹⁸⁵ It may well have been that the Hippocratic author had specifically Thessalian practitioners in mind. Elsewhere in the same treatise he refers to Ennodia as one of the gods, who—or so claim the healers, whom the author of the treatise attacks—can cause madness.¹⁸⁶

At approximately the same period as Hippocratic medicine spread in Thessaly, so did the cult of Asclepius, a development paralleled in other parts of the Greek world. And, in spite of the attempt of Hippocratic doctors to make things clear-cut, traditional practitioners continued to exist and in some cases, as we have seen, be respected. Were we able to look in more detail at the changes that took place, perhaps we could shed some light on the question of why it was the figure of the Thessalian female *pharmakis* that was stereotyped. Was Hippocratic medicine drawing a division between science/male practitioners versus charlatanism/female specialists? But the practitioners that the various treatises attack are not singled out as women; and Hippocratic medicine, scholars today tell us, was not closed to women.¹⁸⁷ Be that as it may, there is evidence that there was a division within the Hippocratic corpus of themes and subjects that were considered appropriate for women.¹⁸⁸

All being said, the possibility that the development of Thessaly's reputation for magic took place in Athens, because one could find in Classical Athens women claiming origins from Thessaly and the ability to draw down the moon

¹⁸² *Morb. Sacr.* 2. The translation is by R. Parker (1983) 207–8.

¹⁸³ *Morb. Sacr.* 4.

¹⁸⁴ For contemporary North African rites where women put up a performance of drawing down the moon with the manipulation of mirrors and a source of water, see Tupet (1976) 97–103; Gordon (1999) 223.

¹⁸⁵ In later sources, too, pulling down the moon is associated with herb-collecting; it could increase the potency of various herbs, which were then used in such perilous endeavours as necromancy or love magic: Lunais (1979) 221–5; Johnston (1999) 113; Gordon (1999) 223.

¹⁸⁶ *Morb. Sacr.* 4.

¹⁸⁷ See e.g. Flemming (2007) with references.

¹⁸⁸ Flemming (2007) 275–6, who suggests that some treatises were for that reason composed by men under women's names.

not only cannot be excluded but has to be seriously considered. But who exactly these women were and what was their relationship back to Thessaly is ultimately impossible for us to tell.¹⁸⁹ As we attempt to focus on the specific figure of the Thessalian *pharmakis*, bringer-down of the moon, we are drawn inevitably back to the domain of literature and imagination. We can only look at her as part of a make-believe Thessaly; a Thessaly to which I now turn.

6.4. THE ENCHANTMENT OF THESSALY

At the beginning of this book the question was posed as to whether it is possible to talk about the religion of a region in a concise way, in order to capture something of its essence, a flavour that would set it apart from other areas. The process was compared to that of building a stereotype, of picking and exalting one feature at the expense of all others, using it at times as a lens through which to view the rest of the evidence. This kind of thinking does great injustice to the wealth and diversity of the evidence, which defies easy generalizations. But stereotypes are also in some fundamental way pleasing to the mind, in that they create a feeling of coherence; they impose some form of order on the variety of human experience and render it understandable. We need to boil down an area in order to understand it and be able to compare it with others, and our own.

Magical Thessaly has been invoked by ancients and moderns. Its first appearance was made in Athenian fifth-century sources, but the thread was picked up and woven into Roman images of Thessaly as well as into those of modern times. Magic is a powerful concept, its allure lying in its malleable quality. One of the things that is magical about 'magic' is that its precise meaning changes according to context, and that it makes both a negative statement and a positive one, about the power and efficacy of the practices it purports to describe.¹⁹⁰

Let us look once again at the image of Thessaly emerging out of Athenian Classical and Hellenistic sources, with the aim of discerning how magical Thessaly could be made to fit into it. Thessaly is portrayed as a world in flux, one not yet put in order and, thus, a meaningless fairyland. The area is amazingly rich, its soil fertile, but is, at the same time, a land no one and nothing gets tied to. In this land everything shifts, nothing is exactly as we expect it, and the border between men and gods is at times still permeable. Gods are not always godlike and men are given the chance to avoid death. We

¹⁸⁹ Slaves from Thessaly, including ex-free Thessalians, must have existed in Athens: see section 6.1.

¹⁹⁰ Gordon (1999).

are in a magical universe, if magic can at the same time invoke the extraordinary power of man to affect the world around him and question the purposefulness of such an act. Life in this land, prolonged and pleasurable though it is, becomes meaningless. Its inhabitants, men and women, cannot, in the end, avoid sharing the qualities of this land's other ambiguous products. They become like horses and herbs. Thessalian men are the wealthiest of the Greeks, grand and yet, at the same time, slaves.¹⁹¹ And there are those horrible Thessalian women, who can even bring down the moon, challenging the stability of the universe and the natural order of time.

This imaginary Thessaly brings together various 'facts' about the area, such as its fertile soil, its local myths and cults, and the customs of its population, combining them in novel ways. Underlying it, I argued, was the need to deal with the ambiguous feelings the Athenians held toward the area, to give some kind of answer to the question: who are these Thessalians, our allies and traitors at once? Are they happier and better than us?

The Thessalian witch and her powerful philtres make occasional appearances in Hellenistic sources. But nothing could have prepared us for her forceful return to centre stage in Roman times. Thessaly becomes once again important for the imagination; not because it acquired some strategic position in the empire, nor because it had the cultural importance of Athens. For most Romans, Thessaly was memorable as the backdrop against which some of the most bloody of their battles had been fought. The most tremendous Thessalian of Roman literature was the terrible witch Erichtho, who rejoiced in the idea of fields scattered with dead warriors, a harvest of body parts, vital ingredients for the necromancer.¹⁹²

What is Thessaly for us today? Our perspective is to a large degree similar to that of ancient Athenians, for two reasons: because the majority of the literary sources, through which we approach the area, express the concerns of the Athenians, and because the dominant perspective of Greek history is also Athenocentric. The problem which faces us is how to incorporate the area into our glorified image of Classical Greece, envisaged as predominantly rational, cultured, and democratic. How can Thessaly, mocked for its easy wealth and witches, teach us anything about the Greek culture and spirit we have learned to admire? The solution, so far, has been to see Thessaly as representing an early and fossilized stage of Greek civilization, stuck for various reasons in its old ways. The Thessalian reputation for magic has neatly slotted into this

¹⁹¹ For the horses and men of Thessaly having similar characteristics, being generous, grand, but also spirited, see n. 19.

¹⁹² For Thessaly as a land of war: Luc. 6.395ff; for Erichtho: Luc. 6.507ff; Gordon (1999) 207–8 argues that the night witch's image resonated with the ubiquitous theme of moral and religious decline, and was a direct response to the experience of the civil wars.

model, combined with evolutionary theories of Greek religion and with the chthonian-Olympian opposition.

Now that I have tried to dispel and largely deconstruct the Thessaly of chthonian gods and fearful witches, the reader, I fear, might find in this book's Thessaly a disenchanted place. Theories may be criticized and demolished, but, when they are not replaced by something else, they tend to persist, because the basic need they were fulfilling and the questions they were answering are still there. The twin problem of creating a vivid, representative image of Thessaly and its religion beyond the details of the evidence, and of fitting Thessaly into our vision of ancient Greece, still persists. Can we come up, as we reach towards the end of this study, with a catchword, a quality that would capture something essential of Thessalian society and its religion; or, to follow Redfield, can we pick up a type of ritual, which would illuminate better than any other how this society understood itself?¹⁹³

I will put forward some thoughts on this matter in the hope that by presenting another way of thinking of Thessalian religion (or of some of its elements), and thus by multiplying the possible answers, attention will be directed to the problem itself, that of making sense of Thessaly. We should think, I would suggest, more deeply about the virtue of hospitality and about 'rites of hospitality'. Just as prominent in the sources as Thessalian magic, and more so, when we consider evidence from Thessaly itself, is the proverbial Thessalian *philoxenia*. Why is hospitality important? And why is the hospitable man often commemorated in life and death with other great achievers, such as athletes and warriors? Hospitality is a virtue, one may argue, because it allows the coexistence of various independent and potentially conflicting groups or individuals. Athletes and warriors may bring great glory to a community, but both also represent, through their extraordinary status, a potential threat, ready to throw the community into violence. Hospitality, on the other hand, appears as more of a political virtue, capable of ensuring, through its mediation of difference, cohesion. In Pindar's *Pythian* 10th it is the hospitality of the Aleuads that transforms Hippokleas' athletic victory into glory for the whole of Thessaly, and it is to them that belongs righteously the good governing of cities. Similarly, when the Pharsalians fell into strife, it was Polydamas, famous for his generosity and hospitality to citizens and foreigners alike, who ensured peace and stability and was entrusted with guarding the acropolis of the city.

Hospitality is not easy; it is an art, and thus a virtue worthy of praise. Judging from Xenophon's words, Polydamas' skill lay in that he knew how much and when to give, neither too little nor too much.¹⁹⁴ Other ill-fated

¹⁹³ Redfield (2003) *passim* and esp. 385, 408, comparing the centrality of large spectacles in Athens, initiation rites at Sparta, and marriage rituals at Locri.

¹⁹⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 6. 1.2.

Thessalians turned out not to be his match. Scopas, for instance, proved himself a bad host and paid for it. It was remembered that during some festive occasion Scopas had accused Simonides of praising the Dioskouroi more than him. This was a double insult, against his guest-poet and against the divine brothers, his honoured guests too, we may suspect, in a ritual of *theoxenia*. Punishment soon ensued and was suitable, as the roof of his inhospitable home collapsed, killing Scopas and the rest of his family. The only one to escape was his guest-friend Simonides, miraculously saved by the twin gods, who had summoned him to the door at the last minute.¹⁹⁵

Scopas' story emblemizes the danger and challenge of hospitality but also its necessity. Hospitality can be an unsettling, a revolutionary gesture.¹⁹⁶ To be hospitable means opening up to the foreign, the unknown and unexpected. There is a paradox in hospitality, in that the host has to be in a position of power; he must have something to give, but he must also be ready to allow his position to be, if only temporarily, suspended and thus potentially challenged. By putting himself in the service of his guest, and by establishing a relationship between them, a situation is created where the roles of host and guest can continuously change. Hospitality is in that sense an act of reversal, but a necessary one, in that the host cannot exist without the guest: Scopas' house is stable, as long as it is hospitable.

The complex notion of hospitality, which blurs the borders between us and them, guest and host, provided for the Thessalians—this complex grouping of cities, villages, farmers, serfs, powerful families, and ambitious individuals—a vehicle through which they could coexist with one another, maintain and yet settle their differences. In a fragmented society, which denied that all were just *isoi* and *homoioi*, the art of welcoming the foreigner might have been the grease that allowed the motion of its various parts. It also gave them an answer to the vexing problem of their origins and place in the world. Panthessalian identity, I have argued, moved between subtle memories of a military conquest and covert claims to autochthony; its power lay in transforming one into the other. This mind-twisting image of the Thessalians as, at the same time, foreign invaders, lawful inhabitants, and kinsmen of the old population was resolved through a set of stories and cults, in which the Thessalians often played host to a variety of guests.

We have seen above in the stories about Polydamas and Scopas and in Pindar's praise of his hosts the Aleuads, the importance of hospitality in Thessalian political culture. Several other Thessalian myths, cults, and gods, as well as institutions, have to do with allowing the foreigner in and play with the ambiguity of the guest/host relationship. Admetus, the Pheraean king,

¹⁹⁵ The sources are collected and discussed by Molyneux (1971).

¹⁹⁶ The concept of hospitality and its paradox has occupied various thinkers, mainly Derrida: see Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000).

opened his door twice, once to a god and then to a hero. His world was rocked both times. The cult of Apollo Leschaios allows us a glimpse of the institution of the *leschai*, communal places where the community gathered and foreigners were received.¹⁹⁷ Some of the most important Thessalian magistrates were the *xenodokoi*, receivers of foreigners.¹⁹⁸ During the festival of Peloria, this *Θεσσαλῶν μεγίστη ἑορτή*, the Thessalians invited in foreigners, prisoners, and slaves, treating as honourable guests those that their society left marginal. During the Stepteria festival and its accompanying rites of *daphnephoria*, the Thessalians escorted and received the young foreign *theoros*, his ambiguous status being reflected in his being described at times as Apollo and at times as a scapegoat. The notion of citizenship as a series of privileges which one could aspire to, and not as clearly defined legal status, as well as the existence of various groups controlled by the polis, but which maintained some form of independent existence, meant that one could be considered concurrently in some respects an insider (a citizen) and in others partly a foreigner (a *proxenos*). Important polis cults such as those in the agora and on the acropolis gave great prominence to particular groups or individuals, creating thus the impression that it was thanks to them and their *megaloprepeia* that the city en masse celebrated; or inversely, that it was thanks to the wellbeing of the guests that they could play the hosts. Last but not least, let us remember the great goddess Ennodia, standing on the road, where everyone is a foreigner.

This does not mean that Thessaly was an open society. The emphasis put on rites of hospitality, on the contrary, rather points to the care Thessalians took to maintain divisions, and only with great caution set them aside. Nevertheless, the paradox of hospitality was there; and the idea that the foreign might not in the end be so different from us, meaning that the world as we know it can be challenged, was, in a way characteristic of the Greeks, courageously allowed.

Thessaly's submission to Macedonia has been seen as a landmark in Thessalian studies: as the end of Thessalian history; the definite proof of the failure of Thessalian society; an incredible act of cowardice and treachery to the Greeks. One summer, around the middle of the fourth century, Philip marched south with his army. He was on his way to sign the treaty of Philokrates; a momentous event, the setting almost theatrical. Philip a foreigner, an honoured guest, banging on the door to be allowed in, halted his march at Thessaly, just outside Pherai, and the deal was struck in the famous lodge (*πανδοχεῖον*) of the city.¹⁹⁹ The Athenians said no. They put up a desperate struggle to defend democracy and the world they knew. The Thessalians took a different, equally difficult, decision. In 346 they opened the door and welcomed the foreigner in.

¹⁹⁷ For the institution of the *lesche*: Brelich (1969) 424 n. 269; Burkert (1993b); Buxton (1994) 40–4; Bremmer (2008).

¹⁹⁸ Babakos (1961) 48–9; Zelnick-Abramovitz (2000).

¹⁹⁹ Dem. 19.158.

Epilogue

Thessaly has been a good place for us to think about regionalism in Greek religion, about the ways that religion and society intersect, about the problems that classicists have to face as they approach these questions through particular bodies of material, and, last but not least, about the challenge of writing about these topics. These thorny issues, introduced in the first chapter of this book, resurfaced throughout, but precedence was given to Thessaly itself, to thinking about them through the facts, rather than the other way round. It is time to bring some of the broad big questions that have inspired this study back out into the open.

The relationship between religion and society is a topic that haunts this study. Religion and society are abstract entities in constant change and, in our attempt to study them by pinning them down, we sacrifice something that is intrinsic to their nature. There are problems here about how we perceive the relationship between the political and the social; or the interaction between structures and institutions, on the one hand, and the historical process as it unfolds in time and space, on the other. We should also think about the interplay of all these with the ideas and images that the people we study had in their heads about who they were; and there are, of course, our own ideas, our need to make sense of and evaluate the society we are studying.

We should not, I have argued, think of Thessaly primarily in terms of politics, either as a well-ordered or as a failed, state; neither should we reduce it to just a geographical entity of only nebulous ideological importance, where the histories of different people were randomly piled onto one another. Thessaly was an assemblage of different groupings, the poleis primary among them, which coexisted not only in common action but also, just as importantly, in conflict. Thessaly, in other words, was a place where lots of politics took place. It was a major arena, up to the Hellenistic period, within which the Thessalians competed for honour and power, the background against which individual mythical or historical events were projected and acquired some of their meaning. And, while the particular role of Thessaly as the conceptual ground where power could be gained degenerated in time, as the area became more and more entangled in the events of the broader world

around it, Thessaly remained throughout the period we have studied a mass of ideas that were good to think with. Thessaly dominated the ancients', Thessalians', and other Greeks', imagination. Thessaly is not, thus, just a good case study to examine how a broader phenomenon operated on the ground, how some aspects of Greek religion worked in practice; or just a field from which to harvest and take a closer look at some of the building blocks of Greek religion, and at some of its less 'canonical' elements. Thessaly existed alongside 'Thessalian religion', this amalgam of practices and stories which gave to the people of the area a sense of their place in the world.

The concept of the stereotype has proved important to this study, not only because it conveys the difficulty of the scholar to write about the topic without reducing it to a caricature, but also, more importantly, because it encapsulates an important aspect of the phenomenon itself that we are trying to elucidate. People understand themselves and others in terms of stereotypical images, and these imaginary concepts interact with their world, partly reflecting it and partly shaping it. The idea of the pastoral paradise, the hospitable nation, the dangerous expert on drugs, the miraculous appearance of a plain, the king who did not want to die, the god that fell into servitude, the young man who seeks gain: these are concepts that are as fundamental to our understanding of Thessaly as a detailed study of its institutions, its history, or the structures of social and religious life. They can actually help us better understand how certain institutions might have worked or why particular events took place.

The interaction between these stereotypical images and the lived dynamic reality is, of course, a complex one. The fantasy of Thessaly as a pastoral paradise started in the course of time to clash more and more with its bloodied battlefields. Other images, such as the arrival of the Thessalians or the goddess on the road, were adjusted to make sense to others as the wider world encroached on Thessaly. And as Thessaly became more and more dependent on a world beyond it, it became more and more just an idea, constructed for, or by, others. Until the area became, at last, gradually in Roman times,¹ just a nebulous notion, in which Thessalian religion as a coherent living entity lost all salience.

¹ Graninger (2011c) discusses the period of revival of local traditions following the reorganization of the Thessalian *Koinon* by the Romans.

APPENDIX 1

Thessalian Inscribed Dedications

The material is organized alphabetically according to god, but note that dedications to Isis, Sarapis, and other Egyptian gods are grouped together and are to be found under 'Isis', while those to Agathos Theos follow those made to the Theoi. The place names that are italicized refer to modern toponyms and the non-italicized ones to ancient cities. M stands for male, F for female, MF for male and female, Ms for more than one man, MP for male priest, FP for female priest, S for stele, B for base, and A for altar. (fr) stands for fragment and (ch.) for chora. Unless otherwise stated all dates are BC. The dates in parenthesis are those given by Heinz (1998) or the second author mentioned under Reference. Dimensions are in centimetres.

No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
1	Aphrodite	<i>Apidia</i>	M	6th/5th	B	30x108x9	<i>IG IX 2 271</i>
2	Aphrodite	Atrax	M	2nd	A	20x22	<i>AD 49 (1994) Chron.</i> 340 no. 16
3	Aphrodite	Demetrias	F	2nd	S	58x22x6	Heinz (1998) K196
4	Aphrodite	Gonnoi	FP	3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 17.5x25x4.3	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 75
5	(Aphrodite) Pandemos	Larisa	F	2nd	B	22x66	<i>IG IX 2 572</i>
6	Aphrodite	Larisa	F	3rd	B	13x46x46	<i>IG IX 2 571</i>
7	Aphrodite Kapouneia	Larisa	F	late 3rd	S	(fr) 37x26x4	<i>AD 42 (1987) Chron.</i> 288 no. 43
8	Aphrodite Enagonios-Ennodia Phosphoros	Larisa	F	2nd/3rd AD	S	(fr)	Chrysostomou (2008) 251 no. 8
9	Aphrodite	<i>Mikro Kesperli</i>		(2nd/1st)	S	36x37x6	<i>AE (1933) Chr.</i> 1 no. 2
10	(Aphrodite?) Ourania	<i>Mikro Kesperli</i>	M	Rom.			<i>PAE (1911)</i> 334
11	Aphrodite Peitho	Pharsalos	M	450–430	stone		<i>IG IX 2 236</i>
12	Aphrodite	Pythion	F	1st	S	35x27	<i>IG IX 2 1285</i>
13	Aphrodite Neleia?	<i>Volos</i>	FP	2nd	pillar	124x33x17	<i>IG IX 2 1125</i>
14	Aphrodite	Unknown		3rd	S	78x35x8	Heinz (1998) <i>K 194</i>
15	Aphrodite Kierion	Unknown		Hel.	ring		Decourt (1995) no. 27
16	(Apollo) Aisonios	<i>Agia (Kalamaki)</i>	M	(5th)	B	20x55x30	<i>IG IX 2 1098.</i>
17	Apollo Pythios	Argissa			poros herm	30x36	<i>AD 20 (1965) Chron.</i> 318
18	Apollo Agreus	Atrax		3rd/2nd (4th/3rd)	S	107x33x13	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 23
19	Apollo Hetdomaios	Atrax		3rd/2nd (4th/3rd)	S	80x25x10	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 24
20	Apollo	Atrax	F	2nd	S	41x32x5	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 36
21	(Apollo)	Atrax	Dauchnaphoroi	end 5th		110x29x11	<i>AD 49 (1994) Chron.</i> 340 no. 21
22	Apollo Lykeios	Azoros	MP	end 4th (2nd 1/2 3rd)	S	(fr) 46x26x5	Béquignon (1964) 396 no. 3=Lucas (1992a) 264 no. 6
23	Apollo Lykeios	Azoros	MP	4th/3rd	S	80x30x6	Habicht (1987b) 315 no. 7=Lucas (1992a) 265 no. 7

24	(Apollo) Pythios	Azoros	M?	2nd 1/2 3rd	S	(fr) 21x22x4	Peek (1974a) 11 no. 7=Lucas (1992a) 266 no. 8
25	Apollo Doreios	Azoros?	M	early 2nd	S	(fr) 28x23x3	Béquignon (1964) 397 no. 4=Lucas (1992a) 267 no. 9
26	Apollo Agreus	<i>Damasi</i>	M+Synsitoi	3rd	B	35x32	<i>IG IX 2 332</i>
27	Apollo	Eretria	M	early 5th	B	60x80x30	<i>IG IX 2 199</i>
28	Apollo Agreus	Gonnoi	Syssittoi?	2nd 1/2 3rd	S	(fr) 29x20x9	Helly (1973b) no. 159
29	Apollo Panlimnios	Gonnoi	F	2nd 1/2 3rd	S	106x27x10	<i>AD 29 (1974) Chron.</i> 571; Kontogiannis (2000) 130
30	(Apollo) Aisionios	Gonnoi	M?	late 3rd	S	33x30x5	<i>AD 29 (1974) Chron.</i> 571; Kontogiannis (2000) 134
31	(Apollo) Aisionios	Gonnoi	M?	3rd/2nd	S	33x37x5	<i>AD 29 (1974) Chron.</i> 571; Kontogiannis (2000) 134
32	Apollo?	Gonnoi	M	2nd	S	33x37x5	<i>AD 29 (1974) Chron.</i> 571
33	Apollo Aisionios	Gonnoi	M	3rd/2nd	S	40x39x5	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 70; Kontogiannis (2000) 131
34	Apollo Aisionios	Gonnoi	F	3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 30x30x4.8	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 71; Kontogiannis (2000) 132
35	Apollo	Gonnoi?	F	2nd	S	(fr) 13x13x4	Helly (1973b) no. 160
36	Apollo Aisionios	Gonnoi	Group?	4th	B	23x44x22	Kontogiannis (2000) 136
37	Apollo Aisionios	Gonnoi	M	2nd	S	49x43x5	Kontogiannis (2000) 137
38	Apollo Pythios	Gonnoi (Ch.)	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	80x70x15	Helly (1973b) no. 158
39	Apollo	Gonnoi (Ch.)	M	2nd 1/2 3rd	S	80x33x10	Heinz (1998) K 78
40	Apollo	Halos?	MP	(2nd)	stone		<i>IG IX 2 112</i>
41	Apollo	<i>Kedros</i>	MP	3rd	S	(fr) 37x27x5	<i>AD 42 (1987) Chron.</i> 271–2
42	Apollo Koropeites	Korope?	F	1st BC–1st AD	stone		<i>IG IX 2 1204</i>
43	Apollo Tempeites	Krannon	F	Hel.	S		<i>PAE (1915) 171</i>
44	(Apollo) Kerdoios	Larisa	2M	3rd (2nd)	B	28x73x35	<i>IG IX 2 637</i>
45	Apollo Tempeites	Larisa	F	1st	S	142x47x11	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 94
46	Apollo Delphaios	Larisa		3rd (4th)	S	67x44x20	<i>AD 26 (1971) Chron.</i> 303

(continued)

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
47	(Apollo) Pythios	Larisa			B	10x24x12	<i>IG</i> IX 2 588
48	Apollo	Larisa		2nd (2nd 1/2 4th)	S	(fr) 61x38	<i>IG</i> IX 2 569
49	Apollo?	Larisa	Ms	end 5th	pillar	40x43,5x16,5	Peek (1974a) 19 no. 18
50	Apollo Leschaios	Larisa (Ch.)	Dauchnaphoroi	(1st 1/2 5th)	S	208x43x21	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1027
51	Apollo Monsagetes	Larisa (Ch.)		5th	S	93x25x14	<i>AD</i> 52 (1997) <i>Chron.</i> 523 no. 19.
52	Apollo	Metropolis	F	4th c	S/B		Intzesiloglou (2002a) 111
53	(Apollo) Leukatas	<i>Mikro Kesarli</i>	Phrouroi	(2nd/1st)	S	100x75x11	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1059
54	Apollo Lykeios	Mopsion	F		S	34x40x07	García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 74 no. 16
55	Apollo	Olosson	Perrhaibians	2nd 1/4 4th	S	157x45x18	Helly (1979a) 173
56	(Apollo?)	Pharsalos	F	2nd 1/2 4th	S	82x15x8	<i>IG</i> IX 2 593=Decourt (1995) no. 64
57	Apollo	Pherai	P+dauchnaphoroi	3rd	S	55x80x10	Heinz (1998) K 75
58	Apollo	Pythion	M	early 3rd	B	17x225x39	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 31=Lucas (1992a) 437 no. 21
59	Apollo Doreios	Pythion	?	late 2nd	S	(fr) 30x19x6	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 37=Lucas (1992a) 438 no. 22
60	Apollo Doreios	Pythion					Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 76 (unpublished)
61	Apollo Doreios	Pythion					Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 76 (unpublished)
62	Apollo Pythios	Pythion	MF	1st	B	58x45x20	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 26=Lucas (1992a) 439 no. 23
63	Apollo Pythios	Pythion	Pythoiastai	2nd			Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 74
64	Apollo	<i>Skiatha</i>		5th (1st 1/2 4th)	S	31x11x7	<i>AE</i> (1932) 19

65	Apollo	<i>Soros</i>	M	3rd 1/4 4th	B	64x35x15	Milojčić (1974) 74; Leventi (2009) 301
66	Apollo?	<i>Soros</i>	F	Archaic	pillar		Milojčić (1974) 74; Mazarakis-Ainian (2009) 273 n. 33
67	Apollo Tempeites	<i>Tatari</i>	F	(2nd 1/2 2nd)			IG IX 2 1034
68	Apollo	Tempe	?	Hel. (3rd/ 2nd)	S	56x 27x14	AD 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 175 no. 1
69	Apollo Pythios	Tempe	F	Hel. (2nd 1/2 3rd)	S	59x40x12.5	AD 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 175 no. 2
70	Apollo Pythios	Tempe	F	Hel. (end 4th)	S		AD 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 175 no. 3
71	(Apollo)	Tempe	M	Hel. (3rd)			AD 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 175 no. 4
72	Apollo	Tempe		5th			McDevitt (1970) 86 no. 638
73	Apollo Kerdoios	<i>Tyrnavos</i>	M	1st (Hel.)	B?		IG IX 2 1234
74	Apollo Kerdoios	<i>Vlachogianni</i>	MF	(2nd)	B	18x32x60	Woodward (1910) 154 no. 6
75	Apollo Aisionios	unknown	M	3rd	S	64x33x9	Heinz (1998) K 86
76	Apollo	unknown	M	3rd	S	35x27x8	Heinz (1998) K 77
77	Apollo	unknown	F	1st 1/2 5th	S	86x44x17	Heinz (1998) K67
78	Ares Chalkeolochos	Atrax	M	late 3rd	stone	28x19x15	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 35
79	Artemis Throsia	Atrax	F	mid-2nd	S	22x21x4	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 59
80	Artemis Throsia	Atrax	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	(fr) 37x46x12	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 32
81	Artemis	Atrax	F	3rd	S	(fr) 35x34x5	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 56
82	Artemis	Atrax	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	33x24x9	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 57
83	Artemis	Atrax	F	end 3rd	S	42x37x5	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 58
84	Artemis	Atrax	2M	3rd	S	67x77x10	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 34
85	Artemis	Atrax	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	44x55x40	AD 43 (1988) <i>Chron.</i> 277
86	Artemis Stratia	Atrax	2M	2nd	S	36x34x3	AD 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 238 no. 15
87	Artemis Soteira	Atrax	F	2nd	S	30x26x7	AD 48 (1993) <i>Chron.</i> 256 no. 38
88	(Artemis)	Atrax	F	2nd	S	36x35x5	AD 46 (1991) <i>Chron.</i> 223
89	Artemis	Atrax	F	3rd	S	32x37x4	AD 46 (1991) <i>Chron.</i> 223

(continued)

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
90	(Artemis)	Atrax	F	3rd	S	73x54x10	AD46 (1991) <i>Chron.</i> 224
91	Artemis	Atrax	F	2nd	S	42x30x6	AD 52 (1997) <i>Chron.</i> 526 no. 54
92	Artemis	Atrax	F	3rd	S	(fr) 45x32x6	AD 51 (1996) <i>Chron.</i> 383
93	(Artemis)	Atrax	F	end 3rd (2nd 1/2 2nd)	S	47x41x5	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 73
94	Artemis Pagasetis	Demetrias?	F	2nd	S	(fr) 83x52x12	IG IX 2 1123
95	Artemis	<i>Dendra</i>	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	38x30x2.5	AA 70 (1955) 218=Heinz (1998) K 113
96	Artemis	<i>Ftelia</i>	3M 1F	2nd	S	59x103x15	IG IX 2 304
97	Artemis	Gonnoi	F	4th/3rd	S	47x66x5	Helly (1973b) no. 161
98	Artemis	Gonnoi	F	4th/3rd	S	(fr) 27x36x6	Helly (1973b) no. 162
99	Artemis	Gonnoi	F?	3rd	S	(fr) 6x14x2.5	Helly (1973b) no. 163
100	Artemis	Gonnoi	F	mid-2nd	S	21x30x7	Helly (1973b) no. 164
101	Artemis	Gonnoi	F	2nd AD	A	22x13x12	Helly (1973b) no. 165
102	Artemis Eleia?	Gonnoi	F	1st	A	25x11x7	Helly (1973b) no. 166
103	Artemis Euonymos	Gonnoi	FP	4th/3rd	S	(fr) 69x42x13	Helly (1973b) no. 167
104	Artemis Geneteira	Gonnoi	F	end 3rd	S	(fr) 34x25x10	Helly (1973b) no. 168
105	Artemis Genetaira	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	71x28x15	Helly (1973b) no. 169
106	Artemis Genetaira	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 25x16x5	Helly (1973b) no. 170
107	Artemis Geneteira	Gonnoi	F	mid-2nd	S	34x33x10	Helly (1973b) no. 171
108	Artemis Genetaira	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	S	(fr) 18x14x5	Helly (1973b) no. 172
109	Artemis Eulochia	Gonnoi	FP	1st 1/2 3rd	S	130x34x9	Helly (1973b) no. 173
110	Artemis Lochia	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	S	(fr) 48x60x6	Helly (1973b) no. 174
111	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F?	mid-3rd	S	(fr) 31x25x5	Helly (1973b) no. 175
112	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	45x45x5	Helly (1973b) no. 175 bis
113	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	3rd	S	33x30x4	Helly (1973b) no. 176
114	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 22x15x4	Helly (1973b) no. 177
115	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 60x51x3	Helly (1973b) no. 178
116	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	43x16x5	Helly (1973b) no. 179

117	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	31x36x4	Helly (1973b) no. 180
118	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 86x47x11	Helly (1973b) no. 181
119	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 24x21x10	Helly (1973b) no. 182
120	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 33x32x5	Helly (1973b) no. 183
121	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	?	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 20x23x4	Helly (1973b) no. 184
122	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F?	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 11x21x6	Helly (1973b) no. 184 bis
123	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	23x22x4	Helly (1973b) no. 185
124	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 33x18x5	Helly (1973b) no. 186
125	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	2nd	S	(fr) 32x18x5	Helly (1973b) no. 187
126	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	mid-2nd	S	28x30x6	Helly (1973b) no. 188
127	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	2nd 1/2 2nd	S	35x34x4	Helly (1973b) no. 189
128	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	B	35x29x17	Helly (1973b) no. 190
129	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	S	103x74x11	Helly (1973b) no. 191
130	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	S	(fr) 27x35x4	Helly (1973b) no. 192
131	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	S	32x36x6	Helly (1973b) no. 193
132	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st	S	37x28x6	Helly (1973b) no. 194
133	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st	S	56x62x10	Helly (1973b) no. 195
134	Artemis Eileithyia	Gonnoi	F	1st	S	33x23x5	Helly (1973b) no. 196
135	Artemis Geneteira	Gonnoi		early 3rd	S	(fr) 18x28x6	Heinz (1998) K 160
136	Artemis Locheia	Halos?			stone		IG IX 2 142
137	Artemis	Halos?					IG IX 2 1325 (Corrigenda p. xvi)
138	Artemis Chalakeitis	Larisa	M	(2nd)	S	22x24	AD 29 (1974) <i>Chron.</i> 581
139	Artemis Eileithyia	Larisa	F	3rd	S	48x47x44	AD 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 239 no. 18
140	Artemis Kerdoia	Larisa	FP	1st 1/2 2nd	S		Heinz (1998) K 166
141	Artemis Lochia	Larisa	F	3rd	S	(fr) 46x28x6	Habicht (1987b) 314 no. 5
142	Artemis Lochia	Larisa	F	3rd	S	22.7x21.5x6	Heinz (1998) K 167
143	Artemis Throsia	Larisa	M	2nd	B	89x49x27	AE (1931) 178 no. 18
144	Artemis Throsia	Larisa (Ch.)	F	early 2nd	S	(fr) 43x70x7	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 62
145	Artemis	Melitaia	?	3rd/2nd	stone		AD 27 (1972) <i>Chron.</i> 329
146	Artemis	Mikro Kaserli	Phrouroi	3rd	tablet	72x116x8	IG IX 2 1058
147	(Artemis) Phosphoros	Mikro Kaserli	Phrouroi	2nd/1st	S	72x63	IG IX 2 1060

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
148	(Artemis) Phosphoros	<i>Mikro Kesperli</i>	Phrouroi	1st	S	51x59x5	<i>IG IX 2 1061</i>
149	(Artemis) Phosphoros	<i>Mikro Kesperli</i>	Phrouroi	1st AD	S	36x31x10	<i>IG IX 2 1063</i>
150	(Artemis) Phosphoros	<i>Mikro Kesperli</i>	Phrouroi	1st BC/1st AD	S	80x68	Franke (1958) 338 no. 3
151	Artemis Ourania	Mopsion	F		S	40x23x04	García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 73 no. 14
152	Artemis Phosphoros	Mopsion	?		S	(fr)20x28x07	García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 74 no. 15
153	Artemis	Olosson	M?	2nd/1st	A	22x17x14	Heinz (1998) A 55
154	Artemis	Pharsalos	F	3rd	stone		<i>IG IX 2 239=Decourt (1995) no. 66</i>
155	Artemis en Skia	Pherai	F	4th (1st 1/2 3rd)	B	20x31x26	<i>IG IX 2 417</i>
156	Artemis (Ennodia?)	Pherai		end 4th	S	(fr) 22x16x5	Chrysostomou (1998) 190
157	Artemis	<i>Pyrgos Ithome</i>	MP		plaque		AD 51 (1996) <i>Chron.</i> 361
158	Artemis	Pythion	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	(fr) 24x16x5	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 32= Lucas (1992a) no. 24
159	Artemis Eileithyia	Pythion	F	2nd/1st	S	64x55x11	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 27= Lucas (1992a) no. 25
160	Artemis Phosphoros	Pythion	F	1st	S	36x24x11	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 38=Lucas (1992a) no. 26
161	Artemis Delphinia	<i>Tatari</i>	FP	1st (2nd 1/2 2nd)	B	22x103x67	<i>IG IX 2 1035</i>
162	Artemis	Thebes	F?	early 3rd	S/B		AD 32 (1977) <i>Chron.</i> 128
163	Artemis Locheia	Thebes	F	2nd (2nd 1/2 3rd)	S	19x16.5	<i>IG IX 2 141</i>
164	Artemis	Thebes	F	2nd	S/B		<i>IG IX 2 144</i>
165	Artemis	Thebes	F	(3rd)	stone	55x15	<i>IG IX 2 1363</i>
166	(Artemis) Agrotera?	Thebes	M	4th	stone	40x56x18	<i>IG IX 2 140</i>

167	Artemis	Thebes (Ch.)	F	2nd	S/B		IG IX 2 143
168	Artemis	Thebes (Ch.)	M	3rd	B	28x50	IG IX 2 1328
169	Artemis Akraia	Trikka	2F	3rd/2nd	Doric capital		IG IX 2 303
170	Artemis Iolkia?	<i>Volos</i>	M for FP	2nd	B	27x77	IG IX 2 1122
171	Artemis Eileithyia	unknown	F	1st 1/2 3rd	S	40x30	Heinz (1998) K 130
172	Artemis Eileithyia	unknown	?	end 4th	S		Heinz (1998) K 132
173	Artemis Eileithyia	unknown		2nd 1/2 3rd	S	(fr) 12x13x4	Heinz (1998) K 135
174	(Artemis)	unknown	F	3rd 1/4 4th	S		Heinz (1998) K 108
175	Asclepius	Atrax		Hel.			Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (1997) 30 (unpubl.)
176	Asclepius	Azoros?	MP	3rd	S/B	58x25x8	Habicht (1987b) 315 no. 6=Lucas (1992a) 269 no. 10
177	Asclepius and Hygeia	Demetrias	?	Rom.		40x15	IG IX 2 1124
178	Asclepius	Demetrias?	M	4th/3rd	pillar		Heinz (1998) A 89
179	Asclepius	Demetrias	MP	2nd	S	43x41.5x10.5	Heinz (1998) K 228
180	Asclepius and Hygeia	<i>Domeniko</i>	MP		stone		IG IX 2 348
181	Asclepius	<i>Evaggelismos</i>	MP	2nd	S	104x17x16	AD 48 (1993) <i>Chron.</i> 258 no. 62
182	Asclepius	Gonnoi	MP	mid-2nd	S	100x105x14	Helly (1973b) no. 197
183	Asclepius	Gonnoi	MP	2nd	S	(fr) 52x45x12	Helly (1973b) no. 198
184	Asclepius and Hygeia	Gonnoi	M?	3rd	S	(fr) 43x50x6	Helly (1973b) no. 199
185	Asclepius	Gonnoi			A?	45x27x15	Helly (1973b) no. 200
186	Asclepius	Gonnoi	MP	early 2nd	S	(fr) 43x60x13	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 74
187	Asclepius and Hygeia	Gonnoi	M	2nd AD	S	(fr) 56x41x12	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 73
188	Asclepius	Gonnoi	M	4th	pillar/base	120x31x26	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 83
189	Asclepioi	Krannon	M	3rd	thesauros	37x51	AD 43 (1988) <i>Chron.</i> 280
190	Asclepius	Larisa			pillar/base	150x60x38	IG IX 2 570
191	Hygeia (Panphaeita)	Larisa (Ch.)	(F?)	3rd	S	48x43x8	AE (1933) 2 no. 5
192	Asclepius	Melitaia	FM?	3rd	B	85x23	Ioannidou (1972) 50
193	Asclepius	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	MP	1st BC–1st AD	S	145x60x17	Woodward (1910) 156 no. 8

(continued)

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
194	Asclepius	Mopsion	M		S	60x81x6	García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 73 no. 13
195	Asclepius	Mopsion	F		S	33x31x4	García Ramón, Helly and Tziafalias (2007) 73 no. 12
196	Asclepius	Olosson	MP		S		Rakatsanis and Tziafalias (2004) 69 (unpublished)
197	Asclepius	Pharsalos	M	2nd	B	111x34x31	IG IX2 240=Decourt (1995) no. 70
198	(Asclepius)	Pharsalos	M	2nd	B	98x36x35	IG IX2 245=Decourt (1995) no. 71
199	Asclepius	Pherai	M	(1st 1/2 2nd)	B		IG IX 2 416
200	Asclepius	Pherai	M	3rd	S	135x55x9	AE (1913) 218 no. 2
201	Asclepius	Thebes			B		AD 46 (1991) <i>Chron.</i> 210
202	Athena Agoraia	Atrax	Archons	5th	S	150x46x23	Gallis (1974) 273–80
203	Athena	Demetrias	FP	3rd/2nd	B	14.4x19.3	Habicht (1987a) 273 no. 5
204	Athena Ilias	Echinos	city	2nd	plaque	36x35x10	AD 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 163
205	Athena Polias	Gonnoi	Phrouroi	3rd	S	62x25x7	Helly (1973b) no. 147
206	(Athena)	Gonnoi	Phrouroi	3rd	S	(fr) 22x28x7	Helly (1973b) no. 148
207	Athena Polias	Gonnoi	Phrouroi	1st 1/2 2nd	S	114x28x8	Helly (1973b) no. 150
208	Athena	Gonnoi	Phrouroi	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 26x27x11	Helly (1973b) no. 149
209	Athena Polias	Gonnoi	MP	1st 1/2 2nd	S	33x31x5	Helly (1973b) no. 151
210	Athena	Gonnoi	?	1st 1/2 2nd	S	(fr) 18x15x5	Helly (1973b) no. 153
211	Athena	Gonnoi	M?		small column	18x7x12	Helly (1973b) no. 154
212	Athena?	Gonnoi	Ms	4th/3rd	B	60x104x91	Helly (1973b) no. 155
213	Athena?	Gonnoi			A	9x8x5	Helly (1973b) no. 154a
214	(Athena) Oplophoros Pallas	Gonnoi	Ms	3rd	B	10x18x10	Helly (1973b) no. 156
215	Athena Patroa	Gonnoi	Group?	4th/3rd	S	44x35x4	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 78
216	Athena	Gonnoi (Ch.)	M	3rd	S	57x39x12	Helly (1973b) no. 152

217	Athena	<i>Skiatha</i>		5th (1st 1/2 4th)	S	32x15x7	<i>AE</i> (1932) 19
218	(Athena?) Kore Tritogenes	<i>Tatari</i>	Phylakes	3rd	B		<i>AD</i> 10 (1926) <i>Chron.</i> 49 no. 1
219	Athena Polias	Thebes	Archeskopoi	4th/3rd	pillar		<i>IG</i> IX 2 1322
220	Athena Polias	<i>Tyrnavos</i>	Poliarchoi	3rd	block	90x40x38	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1233
221	Charites	Demetrias					<i>PAE</i> (1910) 239
222	Charites?	<i>Kastri</i> <i>Livadiou</i>			S		<i>IG</i> IX 2 1278
223	Charites	Krannon	FP	end 4th (1st)	S	38x34x8	<i>AD</i> 42 (1987) <i>Chron.</i> 287 no. 26; Habicht (1994) 225
224	Daimon Athanatos	Atrax	F	2nd	S	31x25x6	<i>AD</i> 46 (1991) <i>Chron.</i> 223
225	Demeter-Kore	Atrax	M	early 2nd	S	38x39x7	Tziaphalias (1984b) no. 38
226	Mounogone	<i>Chorto</i>	FP		B		Chrysostomou (1998) 216 n. 820=Heinz (1998) A 82
227	Demeter	Demetrias	M	Hel.	B		<i>PAE</i> (1915) 192
228	Demeter	Halos	F		B	130x50x25	<i>AD</i> 54 (1999) <i>Chron.</i> 395
229	Mounogone	Krannon			A		Chrysostomou (1998) 216 n. 820 (unpub.)
230	Demeter-Kore-Despotes	Larisa	FP	1st BC/1st AD	S	(fr)53x48x17	<i>AE</i> (1910) 377 no. 24
231	Dionysus Karpios-Demeter Phylaka	Larisa	FP	1st			Arvanitopoulos (1911) 123–4
232	Dionysus Karpios-Demeter Phylaka	Larisa	FP	Rom.	stone	121x30x12	<i>IG</i> IX 2 573
233	Demeter Megalartos	Pherai	FP	2nd	S	100x45x13	<i>IG</i> IX 2 418
234	Kore	Pherai	F	4th	S		Chrysostomou (1998) 216 n. 820 (unpub.)
235	Demeter	Proerna	FP	2nd	S	104x74	<i>AD</i> 21 (1966) <i>Chron.</i> 251
236	Demeter	Proerna	F		S	54x49	<i>AD</i> 20 (1965) <i>Chron.</i> 319
237	Demeter-Kore	Pyrasos		Late Hel./Rom.	stone		<i>IG</i> IX 2 134

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
238	Demeter Panachaia	Pyrasos	F	(2nd 1/2 3rd)	S	92x62x8	<i>AD</i> 20 (1965) <i>Chron.</i> 322
239	Demeter-Kore	Pyrasos	F	2nd	S	50x55x7	<i>AE</i> (1929) 141 no. 6
240	Demeter-Mounogone	Trikka	F	2nd	S	26x15	<i>IG</i> IX 2 305
241	Demeter-Kore	<i>Tyrnavos</i>	F	2nd	S	L: 55	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1235
242	Mounogone	Unknown		2nd ^{AD}			Heinz (1998) A 81
243	Dionysus	Atrax	F	end 2nd (end 3rd)	phallos	L:41	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 54
244	Nymphs-Dionysus	Atrax	M	3rd	large stone	80x100x130	<i>AD</i> 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 238 no. 11
245	Dionysus	Larisa	2MP	(2nd)	tablet	30x27x20	<i>IG</i> IX 2 574
246	Dionysus Makedonikos	Larisa	3FP	(1st BC/1st ^{AD})	A	20X20X19	<i>AD</i> 27 (1972) <i>Chron.</i> 419
247	Dionysus Karpios	Larisa		5th	S	100x42	<i>AD</i> 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 185
231	Dionysus Karpios-Demeter Phylaka	Larisa	FP	1st			Arvanitopoulos (1911) 123–4
232	Dionysus Karpios-Demeter Phylaka	Larisa	FP	Rom.	stone	121x30x12	<i>IG</i> IX 2 573
248	Dionysus	<i>Lechonia</i>	M	1st-2nd ^{AD}	A	21x14x9	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1198
249	Dionysus Karpios	<i>Mikro Keserli</i>	Phrouroi	1st	S	(fr) 60x95x14	Mastrokostas (1964) 318
250	Dionysus	Pherai	F	3rd	S	40x25x7	<i>AD</i> 39 (1984) <i>Chron.</i> 149
251	Dionysus?	<i>Polidendri</i>	MP	2nd	B	19x40x40	Woodward (1913) 315 no. 4
252	Dioskouroi	Larisa	M	late 3rd	S	63x73x14	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 100
253	Dioskouroi	Pherai	F	3rd	S	120x37	<i>AE</i> (1930) 180
254	Dioskouroi	Pherai	M	3rd	S	134x53x9	<i>IG</i> IX 2 419
255	Dioskouroi	Pherai	M	3rd	S	79x20x8	Béquignon (1937) 91 no. 62
256	Eirene	Thebes	Syskopoi	3rd	block		<i>PAE</i> (1908) 173
257	Ennodia Ilias	Azoros	MF	end 4th	B		Chrysostomou (2008) 247 no. 2
258	Ennodia	Azoros	M	end 4th	B		Chrysostomou (2008) 248 no. 3

259	Artemis-Ennodia	Demetrias	2M	early 2nd	A		PAE (1920) 22=Chrysostomou (1998) 191-2
260	Ennodia	Gonnoi	F	3rd	S	36x19x9	Helly (1973b) no. 201=Chrysostomou (1998) 65-7
261	Ennodia Astike	Larisa	F	450-425	S/B	100x29x16	IG IX 2 575=Chrysostomou (1998) 53 no. 1
262	Ennodia Stro(g)ike Patroa	Larisa	M	5th/4th	S	48x29x7	AD 51 (1996) <i>Chron.</i> 382 no. 1
263	Ennodia Stathmia	Larisa	F	3rd/2nd	B	32x24x22	IG IX 2 577=Chrysostomou (1998) 57 no. 4
264	Ennodia Alexeatis	Larisa?		3rd AD	S	142x53	IG IX 2 576=Chrysostomou (1998) 57 no. 5
265	Zeus Melichios-Ennodia- (Poseidon?)	Larisa	M	2nd	ionic	epistylon	IG IX 2 578=Chrysostomou (1998) 55 no. 3
266	(Ennodia Ilias?)	Larisa	?	end 2nd	block	29x28x10	IG IX 2 592=Helly (2010a)
8	Aphrodite Enagonios-Ennodia Phosphoros	Larisa	F	2nd/3rd AD	S	(fr)	Chrysostomou (2008) 251 no. 8
267	Ennodia	Melitaia	F	2nd	B		Dakaronia (2001) 406
268	Ennodia	Pherai		Hel.	stone	6x6x2	Chrysostomou (1998) 26 no. 2
269	Ennodia	Pherai	F	2nd 1/2 4th	S	70x33x8	Chrysostomou (1998) 26 no. 1
270	Ennodia	Pherai	F	2nd?	S		IG IX 2 421=Chrysostomou (1998) 34 no. 4
271	Ennodia	Pherai	F	Late Hel.	S	(fr) H: 26	AD 52 (1997) <i>Chron.</i> 468
272	Ennodia Korillos	Pherai	F	2nd 1/2 2nd	S	55x26x5	Chrysostomou (1998) 47
273	Ennodia	Pherai	M?	mid-4th	S	100x34x14	Chrysostomou (1998) 44
274	Ennodia Patroa	Pythion	M	end 2nd	S	35x25	IG IX 2 1286=Chrysostomou (1998) 67-8
275	Ennodia	Pythion	M	end 3rd	S		Chrysostomou (2008) 248 no. 3
276	Ennodia Pheraia	Tatari	M	3rd	S	(fr)90x40x10	AD 10 (1926) <i>Chron.</i> 52 no. 4
277	Ennodia	Thebes	F	early 3rd	S/B	109x36x13	AD 32 (1977) <i>Chron.</i> 128=Chrysostomou (1998) 62

(continued)

Continued

No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
278	Ennodia	Thebes	F	early 3rd	S/B	69x20	<i>AD</i> 32 (1977) <i>Chron.</i> 128=Chrysostomou (1998) 63
279	Ennodia	Thebes	F	early 3rd	S/B	70x24x14	Chrysostomou (1998) 64 no. 3
280	Ennodia Patroa	<i>Volos</i>		early 4th	S	(fr)50x26x8	<i>IG</i> IX 2 358=Chrysostomou (1998) 51–52
281	Ennodia Koroutarra	Unknown		mid-4th	S	(fr)37x28x 9	Chrysostomou (2001)
282	Ge Pantareta	Atrax	M	(1st 1/2 2nd)	B	44x49x40	<i>IG</i> IX 2 491
283	Ge Eukarpia	Gonnoi	F	2nd/1st	S	(fr) 16x20x12	Helly (1973b) no. 203
284	Ge	Larisa (Ch.)	M	4th	S	H:29	<i>AD</i> 29 (1974) <i>Chron.</i> 582
285	Ge Pylaia	Pythion	F?	3rd	S	(fr) 21x14x4	Lucas (1992a) 443 no. 28
286	Harmonia	Larisa		end 5th	S	103x38	<i>AD</i> 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 185
287	Helios Basileus- Theoi Patrooi	Atrax	M	3rd/2nd	B	(fr) 23x23x5	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 68; Voutiras (1985)
288	Helios	Krannon	F	(1st 1/2 2nd)	S	59x61	<i>IG</i> IX 2 464
289	Helios	Pherai (Ch.)	M	(Hel.)	plaque	30x75x6	Béquignon (1937) 89 no. 56
290	Heracles	Atrax	Herakleistai	end 3rd	S	66x25x10	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 69
291	Heracles	Atrax	?	early 2nd	S	41x25x3	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 30
292	Heracles	<i>Chorto</i>	M	(2nd)	S	64x42x8	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1210
293	Heracles	Demetrias		3rd/2nd	A	67x65x69	<i>IG</i> IX 2 359
294	Heracles	Demetrias?	M	2nd	S		Heinz (1998) K 242
295	Heracles	Gonnoi (Ch.)	M	3rd	S	(fr) 47x36x9	Helly (1973b) no. 202
296	Heracles	Larisa	Soudai	4th	S	90x36x12	<i>IG</i> IX 2 580
297	Heracles	<i>Mikro Kesarli</i>			S	(fr)	<i>PAE</i> (1911) 333
298	Heracles	<i>Paliokastro (Olizon)</i>	M	1st	B	41x25x3	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1217
299	Heracles	Pherai	Hylouroi	early 2nd	S	(fr) 53x34x9	Kakavogiannis (1978) 319
300	Heracles	Pherai	Hylouroi	3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 66x36x11	Kakavogiannis (1978) 321
301	Heracles	Pythion	MP	1st 1/2 3rd	S	163x30x6	Lucas (1992a) 448 no. 31

302	Heracles	Pythion	15M	1st 1/2 3rd	S	53x42x11	AE (1924) 149 no. 392=Lucas (1992a) 444 no. 29
303	Heracles	Pythion	11(?)M	1st 1/2 3rd	S/B	50x23x9	AE (1924) 150 no. 393=Lucas (1992a) 446 no. 30
304	Heracles (Kraterophroun?)	Scotoussa	M	6th/5th	B	25x89	AD 19 (1964) <i>Chron.</i> 265
305	Heracles	unknown		3rd	S		Heinz (1998) K 234
306	Heracles Alexikakos	unknown		2nd	S		Heinz (1998) K 243
307	Hermes	<i>Gardiki</i>	Agoranomoi	Hel./Rom.			IG IX 2 94
308	(Hermes) Eriouneios Brychaleios	Pharsalos	F	mid-5th	S	133x53x22	Decourt (1995) no. 69
309	Hermes	<i>Polidendri</i>	M	4th	B	14x33x24	Woodward (1910) 157 no. 11=MacDevitt (1970) no. 677
310	Hermes Epekoos	Thebes?	M	Hel.?	small herm	H 28.7	PAE (1977) 61
311	Hermes Athlios	unknown		2nd AD	S	29x37x8	Heinz (1998) K 202
312	Hero Enodios	Demetrias		2nd	S		PAE (1910) 239=Heinz (1998) K 312
313	Hero Eupolemos	Demetrias?		2nd	S	24x25x13	Heinz (1998) K 314
314	Hero Oinousseus?	Krannon	F	4th	S	118x34x13	AD 45 (1990) <i>Chron.</i> 220 no. 22
315	Hero Poliphylax	Larisa?	Poliphylakes	mid-3rd	S	74x36x12.5	Helly (1977) 534
316	Hero	<i>Lechonia</i>	M	2nd	S	88x63x9	IG IX 2 1199
317	Hero Aineas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Phrouroi	1st	S	43x71	IG IX 2 1064
318	Hero Aineas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Phrouroi	end 1st	S	(fr) 99x85	Franke (1956) 183
319	Hero Aineas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Phrouroi	2nd/1st	S	80x76	Franke (1958) 337 no. 2
320	Hero Aineas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Phrouroi	2nd/1st	S	67.5x72.5x9	Heinz (1998) K 318
321	Hero Dikaioi-Heroine	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	2F		S	80x100x13	AE (1931) 178 no. 15
322	Hestia-Symmachos	Pharsalos	M	early 4th	S	70x115x7	IG IX 2 242=Decourt (1995) no. 68
323	Ino	Melitaia	M	late 3rd			AD 25 (1970) <i>Chron.</i> 241
324	Sarapis-Isis	Atrax	F		S	17x16	AD 29 (1973-4) <i>Chron.</i> 583
325	Harpocrates	Demetrias			S		PAE (1915) 160

(continued)

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
326	Isis-Sarapis-Anubis	Demetrias		(2nd/1st)	stone	10x50x40	IG IX 2 360
327	Sarapis-Isis	Demetrias	MF	2nd/1st			Vidman (1969) 47 no. 104
328	Sarapis-Isis	Gonnoi	City	4th/3rd	S	32x53x9	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 82
329	Isis-Sarapis-Anubis	Gonnoi (Ch.)	F	2nd/1st	S	(fr) 18x34x5	Helly (1973b) no. 205
330	Sarapis-Isis	Krannon	M	3rd/2nd	S	57x45x6	IG IX 2 465
331	Sarapis-Isis	Larisa	M	3rd	Doric column	H:40	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 102
332	Sarapis-Isis-Anubis	Larisa	M	2nd	thesauros	23x47x42	IG IX 2 590
333	(Sarapis-Isis)-Horus-Anubis	Larisa	Group	2nd	B	(fr)72x30x68	IG IX 2 589
334	Harpocrates	Larisa	City	2nd/1st			IG IX 2 591
335	Kabiroi	Larisa	M	2nd	B	42x70x45	AE (1910) 375 no. 23
336	Leukothea	Atrax	F	early 2nd	plaque	(fr) 28x58x10	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 33
337	Leukothea	Larisa	F	3rd	S	(fr)52x37x15	AE (1910) 378
338	Leukothea	Larisa	F	3rd	S	35x31x5	AD 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 239 no. 20
339	Leukothea	Pherai	F		stone		IG IX 2 422
340	Leukothea	Thebes	F	4th/3rd	S	(fr) 20x27x6	PAE (1908) 175
341	Megaloi Theoi	<i>Ermetisi</i>	MF	?	stone		IG IX 2 264=Decourt (1995) no. 28
342	Megaloi Theoi	Larisa	F	3rd	S	50x24	IG IX 2 581
343	Moirai	Metropolis		(2nd AD)	S	75x42	IG IX 2 282
344	Moirai Patroai	Pherai (Ch.)	M	3rd	S	24x20x7	AD 42 (1987) <i>Chron.</i> 270-1
345	Mother of Gods	Atrax	?	2nd 1/2 3rd	S	48x37x4	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 71
346	Mother of Gods Mylaia	<i>Damasi</i>	F	1st/2nd AD	S	25x28x7	AM 52 (1927) 88 no. 4
347	Mother of Gods	Larisa	M	(4th/3rd)	stone	(fr) 26x42	IG IX 2 583
348	Mother of Gods	Larisa	M	2nd 1/2 3rd	stone	19x36x8	AD 40 (1985) <i>Chron.</i> 206
349	Mother of Gods	<i>Tyrnavos</i>	FP	3rd/2nd	S	72x25x10	AE (1916) 17 no. 271
350	Mother of Gods	Unknown	?		S	(fr) 15x22x11	Heinz (1998) K 294
351	Muses	Larisa	M	5th/4th	stone	20x117x42	IG IX 2 584

352	Muses	Phauntos		(4th/3rd)	stone		IG IX 2 492
353	Nymphs	Atrax	M	1st 1/2 3rd	block	78x105x117	Peek (1974b) 21–5
244	Nymphs-Dionysus	Atrax	M	3rd	block	80x100x130	AD 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 238 no. 11
354	Nymphs	Mt Ossa	M+Children	4th	B	20x26x32	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 244 no. 1
355	Nymphs	Mt Ossa	M?	3rd/2nd	S	32x30x3	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 245 no. 3
356	(Nymphs) Oreades	Mt Ossa	F	3rd/2nd	S	26x26x4	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 245 no. 4
357	Nymphs	Mt Ossa	2F?	3rd/2nd	S	49x66x8	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 245 no. 5
358	Nymphs	Mt Ossa	?	3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 34x18x4	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 245 no. 2
359	All the (Nymphs)	Mt Ossa	?	3rd/2nd	S	(fr)23x29x4	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 246 no. 6
360	(Nymphs)	Mt Ossa	?	3rd/2nd	S	30x30x4	Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 2461 no. 7
361	Nymphs	Mt Ossa	?	3rd/2nd?			Wace-Thompson (1908–9) 246 no. 8
362	Nymphs	Pharsalos	M	1st 1/2 5th	on rock		Decourt (1995) no. 72
363	Parthenos	Demetrias	FP	3rd/4th AD	S	52x49	von Graeve (1976) 145
364	Parthenos Banbykyia	Krannon	M?	2nd	B		AD 17 (1961) <i>Chron.</i> 179
365	Parthenos	Pherai	F	(2nd)	S	36x12x5	Béquignon (1937) 91 no. 64
366	Pasikrata	Demetrias	F	3rd	S	58x42x6	PAE (1920) 22 no. 1
367	Pasikrata	Demetrias	F	3rd	S		PAE (1920) 22 no. 2
368	Pasikrata	Demetrias	FP	3rd	B		PAE (1920) 22 no. 3
369	(Pasikrata)	Demetrias	MF	3rd	B	80x20x14	PAE (1920) 22 no. 4
370	Pasikrata	Demetrias	F	1st/2nd AD	A		PAE (1912) 206–8
371	Pasikrata Epekoos	Demetrias	F	1st/2nd AD	S		Heinz (1998) K 300
372	Poseidon Patragenes	Agia (Kastri)	M	early 3rd	S	141x34x11	AD 40 (1985) <i>Chron.</i> 207 no. 32
373	Poseidon	Atrax	M	Hel.	B		IG IX 2 475

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No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
374	Poseidon	Atrax	M	3rd	tablet	38x30	IG IX 2 476
375	Poseidon	Atrax	M	1st 1/2 3rd	S	46x36x8	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 27
376	Poseidon Patrages	Atrax	M	3rd	pillar/base	112x26x15	AD 45 (1990) <i>Chron.</i> 219 no. 12
377	Poseidon Kouerios	Kierion	M	3rd/2nd	stone?		IG IX 2 265=Decourt (1995) no. 20
378	Poseidon Pylaios Kranaios	Larisa		early 4th	S	152x44x19	Verdelis (1958)=McDevitt (1970) no. 357
379	Poseidon	Larisa	?	(4th?)	S		IG IX 2 587=Heinz (1998) K 46
380	Poseidon	Larisa	M	early 3rd	B	26x51x34	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 93
381	Poseidon	Larisa	M	1st 1/2 4th			IG IX 2 585=Heinz (1998) A 17
382	Poseidon	Larisa	F	3rd	S	185x30x17	AD 43 (1988) <i>Chron.</i> 260
383	Poseidon Impsios	Larisa (Ch.)	?	Hel.	S	44x58x4	Kontogiannis (1992) 384 no. 2
384	Poseidon Impsios	Larisa (Ch.)	M	3rd	S	43.4x42.5x7	Kontogiannis (1992) 381 no. 1
385	Poseidon Impsios	Larisa (Ch.)	Group	3rd	S	(fr) 23x30x6	Kontogiannis (1992) 385 no. 3
386	Poseidon Impsios	Larisa (Ch.)	?	Hel.	S	43x26x4	Kontogiannis (1992) 387 no. 4
387	Poseidon Zeuksanthios	Larisa (Ch.)		2nd–Rom.	S	(fr) 11x19x4	Kontogiannis (1992) 387 no. 5
388	Poseidon Helikapanaios	Larisa (Ch.)	M	(1st)	S		IG IX 2 586=Heinz (1998) K 47
389	Poseidon	Larisa (Ch.)	F	mid-2nd	S	(fr) 100x95x14	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 59
390	Poseidon	<i>Ligaroremma</i>		end 5th	S	fr 60x26x10	AE (1933) 4 no. 12
391	Poseidon	<i>Kastri</i> <i>Livadiou</i>	M	2nd	S	39x30x4	AE (1923) 137=Lucas (1992a) 454 no. 39
392	Poseidon	Pherai	M	4th/3rd	S	54x19x8	Miller (1974) 246=Heinz (1998) K 35
393	Poseidon	Pherai	F	3rd			Chrysostomou (1998) 249 (unpubl.) =Heinz (1998) K 36
394	Poseidon	<i>Prinos</i>		2nd 1/2 4th	dolphin		AD 40 (1985) <i>Chron.</i> 206
395	Poseidon	Pyrasos	M	2nd/1st	S	17x21x5	Arvanitopoulos (1911) 294=Heinz (1998) K 44

396	Poseidon Patroos	Pythion	M	4th/3rd	S	(fr)17.5x22x4	Lucas (1992a) 450 no. 33
397	Poseidon Patroos	Pythion	M	early 3rd	S	(fr) 33x31x5	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 20=Lucas (1992a) 451 no. 34
398	Poseidon Patroos	Pythion	M	early 3rd	S	82x21x11	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 25=Lucas (1992a) 451 no. 35
399	Poseidon Patroos	Pythion	M	2nd 1/2 3rd	S	(fr) 29x23x8	Lucas (1992a) 452 no. 36
400	Poseidon	Pythion	M	early 3rd	S	(fr) 34x32x7	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 35=Lucas (1992a) 452 no. 37
401	Poseidon	Pythion	M	late 3rd	S	(fr) 30x35x8	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 23=Lucas (1992a) 453 no. 38
402	Poseidon	Pythion	M	2nd	S	39x30x4.5	AE (1923) 137=Lucas (1992a) 454 no. 39
403	Poseidon	Pythion	M	3rd	B	17x225x39	Tziafalias (1985a) no. 31=Lucas (1992a) 437 no. 21
404	Poseidon	Scotoussa	?	3rd	S	(fr)14x15x5	AD 48 (1993) <i>Chron.</i> 257 no. 51
405	Poseidon	<i>Skiatha</i>		5th (1st 1/2 4th)	S	33x11x7	AE (1932) 19
406	Poseidon	<i>Soros</i>		early 5th	S	130x35x15	AE (1932) 27 no. 12
407	Poseidon	Thebes	2Ms	2nd	S	34x37	IG IX 2 146
408	Poseidon	<i>Vlochos</i>	Archegeteuon	Archaic	B	108x20x43	Decourt (1995) no. 1 (unpubl.)
409	Poseidon	Unknown	M?		S	69x21x6	Heinz (1998) K 45
410	Praxidikai	Demetrias?	M	2nd/1st	S	33x39x8	Helly (1973b) no. 204
411	Themis Agoraia	Atrax	Tagoi	5th	S	185x45x22	Gallis (1974) 274
412	Themis Agoraia	<i>Chorto- Magnesia</i>		early 5th	stone	42x72x7	Arvanitopoulos (1911) 300 no. 49
413	Themis	<i>Stomio- Magnesia</i>		4th/3rd			PAE (1910) 191-2=BE 104 (1991) no. 350
414	Themis	Thebes		3rd	block		PAE (1908) 171
415	Themis	<i>Tyrnavos</i>	F	5th	stone	18x95	IG IX 2 1236=Jeffery (1990) 96
416	Theoi, Theai	Atrax		3rd	S	90x30x15	AD 49 (1994) <i>Chron.</i> 339 no. 1
417	Theoi?	Atrax	Boukoloi	3rd	S	50x41x8	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 28

(continued)

Continued

No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
418	Theoi?	Atrax	?	2nd	S	47x38x8	AD 30 (1975) <i>Chron.</i> 199 no. 20
419	Theoi	Pharsalos	M?	Rom.	stone	22x 26	Decourt (1995) no. 55
420	Agathos Theos	Larisa (Ch.)	M	2nd	S	43x38x5	AD 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 239 no. 19
421	Agathos Theos	Larisa (Ch.)		2nd AD	S	42x34x6.5	AD 43 (1988) <i>Chron.</i> 280
422	(Agathe Tyche?)	Phauttos	M	3rd/2nd	S	20x10x5	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 54
423	Agathos Theos and Agathe Tyche	unknown	F	2nd	S	32x46x8	Heinz (1998) K 268
424	Thetis?	Pharsalos	Ms	early 4th	B	44x30x59	Arvanitopoulos (1911) 301 no. 50=Decourt (1995) no. 77
425	(Zeus)	Agia	M	(5th–3rd)	S	235x53x18	AD 43 (1988) <i>Chron.</i> 284=Heinz (1998) K 2
426	Zeus Tritodios	Atrax		early 5th	B	26x54x45	Helly (1983a) 165
427	Zeus Tritodios	Atrax		3rd	S	(fr) 25x18x4	Helly (1983a) 165
428	Zeus Thaulios	Atrax	Simmidai	4th			Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918 (unpubl.)
429	(Zeus Thaulios)	Atrax	M	3rd	B	48x12x60	AD 44 (1989) <i>Chron.</i> 238 no. 10
430	(Zeus Thaulios)	Atrax	8M	2nd 1/2 4th	S	62x24x19	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 70
431	Zeus Thaulios	Atrax		end 3rd	S	42x23x6	Tziafalias (1984a) no. 67
432	Zeus Homoloios	Atrax	M	3rd/2nd	S	32x25x5	Helly (1983a) 164
433	Zeus Homoloios	Atrax		2nd 1/2 3rd	S	82x23x10	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 25
434	Zeus Kataibates	Atrax	M	4th	S	37x28	AD 48 (1993) <i>Chron.</i> 255 no. 27
435	(Zeus) Hypsistos	Azoros?	M	1st	S	47x31x8	AD 46 (1991) <i>Chron.</i> 226
436	Zeus	Azoros?	2M	3rd/2nd	pillar	26.5x17.5x9.5	Heinz (1998) A7
437	Zeus	Chorto	M	2nd 1/2 2nd	S	39x36x6	IG IX 2 1211=Heinz (1998) K 4
438	Zeus Meilichios	Demetrias	M	2nd	pillar	81x14	Habicht (1987a) 273–4 no. 6
439	Zeus Akraios	Demetrias?	MP	2nd AD	stone		IG IX 2 1128
440	Zeus Palamnios	Gomphoi		2nd AD	A		IG IX 2 291=Heinz (1998) A 9
441	Zeus Hypsistos	Gonnoi	M	1st BC/1st AD	small column	25x18x7	Helly (1973b) no. 157

442	Zeus Milichios	<i>Goritsa</i>		3rd	rock		Bakhuizen (1992) 306
443	Zeus Thaulios	<i>Kaprena</i>	3M	2nd 1/2 4th	S	96x23x55	IG IX 2 411=Heinz (1998) K 24
444	Zeus Notios	Krannon		4th	S	202x56x20	AD 16 (1960) <i>Chron.</i> 182=Heinz (1998) K 17
445	Zeus Megas	Krannon		Hel./Rom.	S	(fr) 46x50x12	AD 43 (1988) <i>Chron.</i> 280=Heinz (1998) K 14
446	Zeus Thaulios	Larisa		2nd 1/2 4th	S	65x37x18	Chrysostomou (1998) 238 (unpubl.)
447	Zeus Thaulios	Larisa		early 3rd	S	29x23x5	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 114
448	Zeus Homoloios	Larisa	Andragathidai	3rd	S	(fr) 173x42x18	Tziafalias (1984b) no. 96
449	(Zeus) Milichios	Larisa	M	3rd	S	35x41x8	IG IX 2 579
450	Zeus Milichios-Agathe Tyche	Larisa	?	1st	S	(fr) 54x85x15	AD 45 (1990) <i>Chron.</i> 220 no. 25
265	Zeus Meilichios-Ennodia- (Poseidon?)	Larisa	M	2nd	ionic	epistylon	IG IX 2 578=Chrysostomou (1998) 55 no. 3
451	Zeus-Hera	Larisa	F	2nd 1/2 2nd	S	50x41x5	AE (1931) 177 no. 13=Heinz (1998) K 3
452	Zeus Homoloios	Metropolis		(1st 1/2 5th)	S		AD 40 (1985) <i>Chron.</i> 195=Heinz (1998) K 7
453	Zeus Olympios	Metropolis		Rom.			Chrysostomou (1998) 231 n. 890 (unpubl.)
454	Zeus Perpheretas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Phrouroi	2nd 1/2 1st	S	225x52x24	Mastrokostas (1964) 316 no. 1
455	Zeus Perpheretas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Ms	2nd 1/2 1st	S	110x35	IG IX 2 1057
456	Zeus Perpheretas	<i>Mikro Kaserli</i>	Phrouroi	2nd 1/2 1st	S	67x43x8	Woodward (1910) 155 no. 7
457	Zeus Kataibates	<i>Petroporos</i>		3rd/2nd	S	56x32x7.5	AD 25 (1970) <i>Chron.</i> 282
458	Zeus Olympios	Pharsalos	M	early 4th	S	143x30x12	AD 28 (1973) <i>Chron.</i> 333-4=Decourt (1995) no. 58
459	Zeus Thaulios	Pharsalos	Anchistoi	4th	on rock		PAE (1907) 151-3=Decourt (1995) no. 62

(continued)

Continued

No.	Recipient Deity	Location	Dedicator	Date	Dedication	Dimensions	Reference
460	Zeus Soter	Pharsalos	list of M	late 3rd	stone		<i>IG</i> IX 2 238=Decourt (1995) no. 59
461	Zeus Soter	Pharsalos	Group?	3rd	B	66x31x88	<i>IG</i> IX 2 237=Decourt (1995) no. 60
462	(Zeus Soter?)	Pharsalos	list of M	3rd	tabula		<i>IG</i> IX 2 247=Decourt (1995) no. 61
463	Zeus Thaulios	Pherai		3rd/2nd	S	(fr) 27x18x5	Béquignon (1937) 87 no. 52=Heinz (1998) K 30
464	Zeus Thaulios	Pherai		4th/3rd	S	84x32x4	Béquignon (1937) 91 no. 65=Heinz (1998) K 25
465	Zeus Thaulios	Pherai		4th/3rd	S	109x35x8	Béquignon (1937) 92 no. 66=Heinz (1998) K 26
466	Zeus Thaulios	Pherai		3rd	S	37x21x10	Béquignon (1937) 94 no. 71=Heinz (1998) K 29
467	Zeus Aphrios-Thaulios	Pherai	Ms	3rd/2nd	S	30x25x5.5	Chrysostomou (1998) 232 (unpubl.) =Heinz (1998) K 31
468	Zeus Aphrios	Pherai		3rd	S	84x35x12	<i>AE</i> (1913) 219 no. 4=Heinz (1998) K 5
469	Zeus Aphrios	Pherai		3rd/2nd	S	40x25x7	<i>IG</i> IX 2 452=Heinz (1998) K 6
470	Zeus Kataibates-hero Epikrates	Pythion		1st 1/2 3rd	S	47x47x5	<i>AE</i> (1924) 146 no. 389=Lucas (1992a) 455 no. 40
471	Zeus Keraunios	Pythion	MF	Hel./Rom.	S	38x37.5x7.5	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1275=Lucas (1992a) 456 no. 41
472	Zeus Meilichios	Thebes?	F	2nd	stone		<i>IG</i> IX 2 145
473	Meilichioi	Thebes?	M	2nd	stone	35x20x6	<i>IG</i> IX 2 1329
474	Zeus Thaulios	Xylades		4th	A	58x51x35.5	Decourt (1995) no. 63

APPENDIX 2

Site-summaries of Excavated Thessalian Sanctuaries

The following list includes only those sanctuaries for which we have enough evidence to say something about their architectural layout and finds. Numerous other sanctuaries have been at times identified on the basis of scattered architectural remains. The list also includes cases for which I am not certain whether they should be identified as sanctuaries, such as the building excavated at Tempe, Chani tis Kokonas. Its aim is to present the finds not comment on their interpretation. I discuss these problematic cases in more detail in the book, whenever this is important for the argument.

Achilleio (Achaia Phthiotis)¹

The cave at the locality of Krounia in the modern region of Magnesia was excavated for a few days. The entrance, part of the roof, and the floor had been worked. In particular the entrance had an apsidal formation and steps leading to the cave were cut into the rock. Outside and east of the entrance a cistern was found cut into the rock, which communicated with a system of cisterns found in the area above the entrance. A couple of cuts in the rock in the exterior area may have been used, according to the excavators, to support an altar or a statue. Finds included lamps, loomweights, metal objects, such as iron nails, scraps of lead, iron daggers, and rings, as well as fragments of glass vessels. There were also fragments of everyday pots, mostly amphorae, plates, chytrai and pithos-like vases, a few animal bones, some sea shells, and stone tools. The excavator notes the absence of any figurines and the presence of a large number of architectural material, including blocks, pieces of columns, and tiles in the area in front of the entrance. The excavator suggests a cult use of the cave, perhaps related with the cult of Demeter at nearby Antron, in Hellenistic and Roman times.

Anavra (West Thessaly)²

The remains of a peribolos wall and of a square single-room building of small dimensions were found. It contained numerous objects, such as protomes and vessels found upside down. There were also many pits that had the remains of sacrifices and offerings. Finds included protomes, figurines, and metal objects, such as jewellery, rings etc. They date from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.

¹ AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 345–7; Agouridis, Zygouris, and Rontiri (2006).

² AR (2011–12) 91.

Demetrias (Magnesia), Sanctuary of Pasikrata³

Arvanitopoulos' excavations in the south cemetery of the city revealed pits which were full of clay figurines, marble statuettes, clay and marble altars, and *stelai*. A common type was figurines depicting women holding an offering, such as fruits, *popana*, or meat, while one example shows a woman breastfeeding. There were also figurines of children, boys wearing *kausia* and *chlamys*, many figurines and statuettes of Aphrodite, a couple which depict Artemis as a huntress, while one depicts a figure holding above her left shoulder a demonical figure. Other finds include the torso of a clay female statue of natural size, the head of a marble female statue, the figurine of a pig, a tile with an inscription to Hermes, a mould, lamps, and pots.⁴

There were several inscribed dedications to Pasikrata on altars, *stelai*, and bases;⁵ while in one case the dedication was made to Artemis-Ennodia.⁶

The finds indicate that cult lasted from the early third century BC to the third century AD.

Demetrias (Magnesia), Sanctuary of Demeter⁷

In the east part of the city of Demetrias inside the walls, at the locality Phanos, on a low hill, excavations conducted by Arvanitopoulos brought to light the lower parts of the walls of an ancient building. Arvanitopoulos also noticed that architectural members, such as drums and capitals of Ionic columns and doorsteps, had been reused in nearby buildings. Finds included around ten bases for small marble statues with dedicatory inscriptions to Kore, and more rarely to Demeter, as in one case where a man dedicated to the goddess for his daughter. There were also parts of marble statuettes, many fragments of *stelai*, the marble head of a bearded male statuette, a female head of a more than natural-size statue, and the leg of a throne with part of the clothing of the seated figure. Apart from items of sculpture there were clay figurines (the head of a bearded male is specifically mentioned), small stone triglyphs, imitations of fans (*ριπίδια*), small plaques with incised circles, a small gold tassel, mould-made skyphoi, several large amphorae and amphora-handles, some with stamps from Knidos, and tiles. The so-called decree of *astynomoi* also came from the area.

Recent excavations by Batziou-Efstathiou close to the area where Arvanitopoulos supposedly excavated revealed building remains (walls, floors, pipe, and tiles) of two phases: sherds and coins date the oldest to the third century and the other to the mid-second century. Finds included fifty-six figurines, mostly of women and children, while one is of the sacred slave-type (seated naked figure with bracelet on the right leg), 115 loomweights, two grinders, two mortar stones, two lead weights, a clay mould for a plaque with a dionysiac scene (seated naked female who has behind her a thyrsus), stamped amphora handles, a couple of which were from Knidos, and coins.

³ PAE (1912) 198–209; PAE (1915) 162–4; PAE (1920) 21–4; Arvanitopoulos (1928) 42–8; Papachatzis (1958); Batziou-Efstathiou (2010) 188–92.

⁴ The tile with the inscription to Hermes is mentioned in AD 1 (1915) *Add.* 56–7.

⁵ ID nos. 366–71.

⁶ ID no. 259.

⁷ PAE (1915) 191–2; Batziou-Efstathiou (2010) 179–88.

Demetrias (Magnesia), Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods⁸

In the east part of the city, at the property Zerva, remains of a building organized around a *peristylon* courtyard have been excavated. The columns of the *peristylon* were unfluted, Doric, and made of poros stone. Among the tiles found were several with the letters *BA* (*ΣΙΑΙΚΗ*), that is 'royal'. At the north-east part of the courtyard a large *thymiaterion* was found with two smaller ones. Close to the *thymiaterion*, but also all around the courtyard, were numerous figurines and parts of small clay altars which were decorated with various symbols. The figurines depicted deities like Aphrodite, Kybele, Ennodia, Hecate, Zeus Meilichios, and others. At some stage a wall divided the courtyard into two unequal parts. At the east end of this wall was a well. To the east of the courtyard are three elongated rectangular rooms which contained many figurines, loomweights, lamps, everyday pottery (amphorae, chytrai, and pinakia), and coins. Decorated pottery consisted of some black-glaze sherds of West Slope ware, and very few pieces of mould-made skyphoi with depictions from the Trojan War. To the south of the courtyard was a large room which communicated with the courtyard via an anteroom, while a second entrance to the east led to a rectangular space. To its west were a corridor and two narrow rectangular rooms which might have been used as a bath, since a built pipe and part of a clay lekane with a lead pipe were found here.

The building was used from the early third to the mid second century BC.

Eretria (Central Thessaly)⁹

East of the city, 300 metres from the east gate and at the foot of a small hill, the foundations of two buildings with an east-west orientation interpreted as that of a temple (7.3x21.2) and stoa were found. The nearby rock has been worked to form small (10–30 centimetres in diameter) spherical projections, described as *omphaloi*, which were often in groups of two, three, or more. Close to them were cuttings which served to adjust votive *stelai*. Two votive *naiskoi* were also cut into the rock. Blum dates the 'stoa' and the two *naiskoi* to the Classical/Hellenistic period, while she thinks that the 'temple' is older.

Evangelismos (North Thessaly)¹⁰

Arvanitopoulos reports walls of an oval structure, similar to that found on the acropolis at Gonnoi. Parts of marble *stelai* from decrees or dedications and pottery dated between the fifth and third centuries were found.

Georgiko: see Metropolis, Georgiko

Gonnoi (Perrhaibia), Acropolis, Sanctuary of Athena Polias¹¹

Excavations revealed an elliptical building whose walls were carefully made from medium-size stones up to a height of 0.94 metres, while from that point up mud

⁸ AD 44 (1989) *Chron.* 227–9; AD 45 (1990) *Chron.* 201; Batziou-Efstathiou, (1996) 22–4; Batziou-Efstathiou, (2001) 31–2.

⁹ Blum (1992) 203–8. ¹⁰ PAE (1911) 332.

¹¹ PAE (1910) 252–9; PAE (1911) 315–17.

brick was used. Parts of clay metopes, the cornice, and tiles with the inscriptions *ΓΟΝΝΕΩΝ* or with personal names (of dedicants or builders) were also found. The temple seems to have had two Doric columns in the entrance. It seems that it was first built in the Archaic period,¹² and was repaired, without changing its plan, into the fourth–third century.

At a low level was a layer which gave clay figurines, and bone and metal objects (photos show fibulae, lead pendants, bronze rings, iron knives, bone pins, and parts of metal pots). Later finds included dedicatory vases, some with inscriptions; Arvanitopoulos refers especially to a red-figure example dated to the second half of the fifth century which depicts Athena. Of Hellenistic date are numerous inscriptions with civic decrees,¹³ together with a few dedicatory inscriptions to Athena called Polias, Oplophoros, and Pallas,¹⁴ parts of a life-size marble statue depicting a female, and fragments of other marble statues and statuettes.

Arvanitopoulos also thinks that a large stone with a pyramidal top and with a projection at its bottom part for placing it in the earth might have something to do with the cult.

Gonnoi (Perrhaibia), Sanctuary of Artemis¹⁵

Close to the west wall of the city and the gate leading to Olympus, Arvanitopoulos reports the remains of a building made of small stones and several black-glazed sherds. Numerous *stelai* with dedicatory inscriptions to Artemis were also found.¹⁶ Other finds include marble and clay heads, two gold leaves, small bases, and clay tiles.

Gonnoi (Perrhaibia), Sanctuary of Asclepius¹⁷

South-west of the acropolis of Gonnoi, in the same area where Arvanitopoulos had found the stereobate of a building, rescue excavations revealed part of a paved courtyard and the walls of a large elongated building, which had at least two building phases: one belonging to the early third century and a second dating to the Roman period. The building had a north–south orientation, a width of 4.40 metres, and was divided into several rooms. Two floors were found. The Hellenistic one was made of white and black tesserae connected with mud, which were on top of a layer of large pebbles. The Roman one was of well-beaten clay.

Finds included three broken statuettes of boys (they are erroneously described as *arktoi* in the *Deltion*), the lower part of a marble statue wearing a chiton, the lower part of a relief stele showing the legs of a female and of another dressed figure, dedicatory

¹² A. Arvanitopoulos, *PAE* (1910) 252–9; *PAE* (1911) 315–17: Archaic; Van Buren (1926) 38–9: Archaic; Helly (1973a) 72–4: 650–600 BC; Kalpaxis (1976) 81–2: early sixth century; Mazarakis-Ainian (1997) 86: seventh century.

¹³ The decrees of Gonnoi are published by Helly (1973b) nos. 1–112.

¹⁴ ID nos. 205–14.

¹⁵ *PAE* (1911) 317–19; *AE* (1916) 121.

¹⁶ Arvanitopoulos mentions than in the same area a dedicatory stele to Ennodia had been found in the past, but Helly (1973) no. 201 mentions that it was found to the north of the city, but outside the city walls.

¹⁷ *PAE* (1910) 248; *PAE* (1914) 209; *AD* 32 (1977) *Chron.* 136–7; *AD* 36 (1981) *Chron.* 257–9; Arvanitou-Metallinou (1982).

stelai and bases with or without inscriptions,¹⁸ a headless statue of Asclepius (h: 0.70 metres), a tile with the inscription *ΓΟΝΝΕΩΝ*, parts of a clay pipe, and coins. From these finds it seems that the sanctuary was founded at least in the first half of the fourth century and was destroyed in Roman times.

Goritsa (Magnesia)¹⁹

Near the east gate outside the walls there is a small natural cave. About 1.50 metres north of the cave the following inscription was found inscribed on the rock *ΔΙΟΣ ΜΙΑΙΧΙΟΥ*. The inscription dates to the third century BC. It is not clear whether the cave, too, or just this spot, was sacred to the god.

Hagioi Theodoroi (West Thessaly)²⁰

Various architectural members were found in a pit. They included parts of Doric column drums and capitals, architrave, cornice, as well as parts of Ionic columns and cornice. A second pit was also found which contained mostly tiles of the Laconian type and a large number of nails. The excavator suggests that these deposits were connected with a sanctuary which existed in the area.

Two buildings were found nearby. The oldest had a north–south orientation. Along the inner side of the north wall three foundations for bases were found, as well as parts of the statue of a small girl. The second building was constructed on top and seems to have had a *T* shape, enclosing a courtyard. Only part of the stylobate was found.

In the area of the courtyard four dedicatory bases were found. The layer above the subfoundation of the second building gave fragments of children's statues, and parts of poros architectural members. Statuettes of Asclepius, Aphrodite, and Artemis were also found.²¹ The area was used for cult from the fourth to the second/first century BC.

Halos (Achaia Phthiotis), the Sepulchral Building²²

In the east part of the city (upper town) a building (10.4x8 metres) was found. Only the lower courses of the walls, which were built from small local stones, have been preserved. The excavator reports that a great number of tiles of different types were found. The building was divided by a partition wall into two equal parts. These rooms had in turn been split into two. In the rearmost compartment of the southern division a double grave was unearthed. The grave seems to have been looted and some of its finds were found scattered in and around the grave.

The finds from the building included figurines (namely standing female figures, busts, and female heads), the life-size ceramic head of a woman, a marble female head, a marble arm, a relief, and pottery, which consisted of a great many small hydriae, fragments of bowls, a lekane, a kantharos, a juglet, and an ointment pot, while

¹⁸ Helly (1973b) no. 197 and Tziafalias (1984b) no. 83 are said to come from the sanctuary.

¹⁹ G.-J.-M.-J. Te Riele, *AD* 27 (1972) *Chron.* 408–9; Bakhuizen (1992) 306.

²⁰ *AD* 40 (1985) *Chron.* 196; *AD* 42 (1987) *Chron.* 265–6; *AD* 43 (1988) *Chron.* 253–4.

²¹ The latter is mentioned in Mitropoulou (1992) 327 no. 3.

²² Reinders (1988) 137–47.

fragments of two *thymiateria* were found in the grave. Coins indicate a date between 306 and 297 BC.

Homolion (Magnesia), Near Laspochori, Acropolis²³

Excavations revealed the remains of a small temple, which is described as being similar to that of Athena Polias at Gonnoi. Clay plaques with traces of colour which must come from the metopes and the cornice, antefixes and tiles were also found. Van Buren notes that, as at Gonnoi, there is evidence for later restoration.²⁴ The excavator notes that one tile has a signature similar to tiles found at Korope, Pagasai, and Phthiotic Thebes.

Other finds include *stelai*, similar to those found on the acropolis of Gonnoi and at the cave of the Nymphs at Ossa, as well as part of the foot of a colossal clay statue. It has a sandal with relief depiction of thunder, and has been interpreted as a statue of Zeus. Pottery sherds of the fifth and fourth century are also reported.

Karpochori (West Thessaly)²⁵

A votive deposit containing standing and seated female figurines, protomes, standing and reclining male figurines, and miniature vases (oinochoae, hydriae, and craters) has been found. There are also very few animal figurines and figurines of riders.

Kedros (West Thessaly)²⁶

A few metres east of the ancient settlement (locality Chaliadia), an ancient sanctuary was spotted. It is in the broader area of the ancient cemetery and has a temple in antis with a cella divided into various rooms. Parts of a circular and a rectangular subsidiary building were also found, together with parts of a peribolos wall. Finds included female protomes and figurines. Some depict, according to the excavator, Artemis in the Bendis-type. A gold coin of Amphipolis and pottery are also mentioned. Pottery and figurines date the sanctuary to the end of the fourth and the third century BC.

East of the peribolos wall a pit filled with tiles of laconian type was found. On top of the pit was a layer with ashes and animal bones, which according to the excavator might indicate cult use after the destruction of the sanctuary.

Korope (Magnesia), Sanctuary of Apollo²⁷

Excavations conducted at the foot of hill Petralona revealed carefully built walls of 34 metres and 45 metres in length interpreted by Arvanitopoulos as the peribolos wall of the sanctuary, while Papachatzis believes they formed a stoa.²⁸ Their construction suggests, according to Arvanitopoulos, an Archaic date. Some well-worked stones are believed to have come from an Archaic temple. Arvanitopoulos suggests that this was

²³ PAE (1910) 188–9; PAE (1911) 284–7.

²⁴ Van Buren (1926) 41. ²⁵ AD 30 (1975) *Chron.* 197–8.

²⁶ AD 37 (1982) *Chron.* 232; AD 40 (1985) *Chron.* 196; AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 268.

²⁷ PAE (1906) 123–5. ²⁸ Papachatzis (1960) 11–14.

built with stone for the foundation and the lower parts of the walls, while mud brick and clay was used for the upper parts. The terracotta revetments of this temple are described as splendid and include parts of the cornice, sima, and the akroteria. Van Buren suggests that there were restorations during the fourth century, while parts of a clay gutter indicate the existence of other buildings in the sanctuary at that time.²⁹

Among the finds were numerous sherds of fine black-figure pottery dated to the sixth century, parts of large clay plaques with colourful decoration and depictions of animals, and the base of a small marble statuette of the second/first century BC.

Moreover, several inscriptions come from the area: *IG IX*² 1109 (which contains a regulation for the proper functioning of the oracle); 1110 (a sacred law concerning the sacrifice and selling of animal hides); 1202 (a sacred law); 1203 (a sacred law); 1204–5 (dedicatory inscriptions); and 1206, which is very fragmentary.

The finds indicate a use from the Archaic period (seventh century?) to Roman times.

Ktouri (Central Thessaly)³⁰

The foundations of a building (14 x 6.3 metres) have been found. In the middle of the building were two fragments of marble architectural remains which seem to come from the sima or the akroteria, and which possibly date to the Archaic period. Other finds included a series of circular terracotta plaques, weights, bobbins, fragment of a figurine (horse?), a few objects made of stone, including something that may have been a statue, part of an axe and other tools, part of a small metal arrow, a fibula, and a few glass beads. A bronze figurine of a warrior with spear and shield dating to the early sixth century may or may not have come from this building.

Latomeio (South-east Thessaly)³¹

Excavations revealed a small sanctuary. Pieces of clay metopes and the cornice indicate the existence of an Archaic temple, while tiles of fifth/fourth century indicate repairs. There was also a rectangular stone altar with much burnt animal bone, that dates in the Hellenistic period.

Many Archaic dedications were found in deposits marked by stone cairns around the altar, including iron weapons and tools, figurines, lead objects, many bronzes including spearheads and vessels, the arm of a marble statue, and much pottery, including some Corinthian material. An Archaic inscription on a bronze bowl records a dedication by a man to Heracles. There was also pottery of the sixth/fifth century and the Hellenistic period, a lamp, as well as a coin of Histiaia.

The leg of a marble kouros of natural size, a base for two kouroi, and the head of a kore had been found in the same area in the past.³²

²⁹ Van Buren (1926) 44.

³⁰ Béquignon (1932) 139–47.

³¹ *PAE* (1911) 300–1; *PAE* (1915) 157; *AD* 54 (1999) *Chron.* 405; *AR* (2007–8) 59.

³² *PAE* (1915) 157; Biesantz (1965) 29 L1.

Melitaia (Achaia Phthiotis), Sanctuary of Ennodia³³

Excavations conducted south of the church of Hagios Nikolaos, at the foot of the acropolis, brought to light a small temple with a north-east-south-west orientation. The temple had the form of an *oikos* with a pronaos, and its foundation was made of unworked stones. No part of the superstructure has survived, apart from some tiles of Laconian type. The excavator distinguishes two phases, one in the middle of the fifth century, the second at the late fourth/early third century. It was destroyed in the middle of the first century BC. Outside the east long wall was an altar with traces of burning and many animal bones.

Finds included a large number of loomweights and bobbins, iron knives, *thymia-teria*, figurines of women, larger figurines identified as Artemis, parts of statues and bases, pottery, and coins. Among the statues was that of a standing female figure, a small Hellenistic statue of a woman (height: 0.278 metres), who might have held a torch, and a hand holding a torch. A second-century base found in the cella carries a dedicatory inscription to Ennodia. The excavator suggests that an inscription to Artemis found reused at a nearby house came from this sanctuary and identifies the sanctuary with that of Artemis Aspalis, which other scholars locate at Hagios Georgios.

Melitaia (Achaia Phthiotis), acropolis³⁴

Excavations revealed the foundations of two trapezoidal buildings and a stoa dated to the late fourth century. Finds included fibulae, pins, jewellery items, such as rings and a pendant in the shape of a horse, and coins. They seem to date to the Hellenistic period. A base with a third-century dedication to Asclepius was also found.

Melitaia (Achaia Phthiotis), Hagios Georgios

Surface-survey 2.7 kilometres south-east of ancient Melitaia on a plateau of the Othrys mountain range and close to a spring has noted architectural materials, such as blocks and slabs of marble, and a limestone column reused in a modern chapel. Remains of fifty-two walls dated to the Hellenistic period and built from limestone blocks have also been spotted. Other finds include pottery of the Late Classical/Hellenistic period, which comprised black-glazed open shapes and part of a kantharos, and a fragment of figurine. There were only a very few Archaic pieces.³⁵ Manumission inscriptions had been found in the area in the past (*IG IX 2* 206, 207). Cantarelli also suggests that the word *σπαλίσιον* (= sanctuary of Aspalis) can be restored in a fragmentary inscription found reused in the chapel.³⁶ A second-century inscription which mentions the *chora* and sanctuary of Zeus Othryios was also found there.³⁷

³³ Dakoronia (2001); P. Chrysostomou (2008) 254.

³⁴ Ioannidou (1972). ³⁵ Morretta (2008).

³⁶ *AD 27* (1972) *Chron.* 329; Cantarelli (2008) 427.

³⁷ Staurogiannis (2010) 590–2.

Metropolis (West Thessaly), in the City³⁸

Arvanitopoulos excavated the stereobate of a building (length: 9.54 metres). Finds included coins, lamps, pieces of mould-made skyphoi, pots dated to the fifth/third centuries, and scraps of bronze. A bronze head, the marble statue of a seated woman, bases, and the drums of Doric columns were found in the area. He tentatively identified it with the sanctuary of Aphrodite mentioned in Strabo.

Metropolis (West Thessaly), Sanctuary of Apollo at Lianokokkala³⁹

Rescue excavations revealed remains of a Doric peripteral (5x11) temple (31.9x13.75 metres) two kilometres west of the modern village of Metropolis. It had an east–west orientation and an internal colonnade along the central axis. The excavator dates the oldest phase to the mid-sixth century. The temple underwent many changes and repairs in the following centuries.

The cella was built with stone only in the lower parts, and mud brick was used for the rest. The Doric columns are unfluted at the lower part, while the echini are decorated with floral chains in relief, and their composition is different on each capital. No stone parts of the upper part of the temple were found, only parts of the clay sima and cornice, fragments of clay sculpture from the akroteria, such as the life-size protome of a horse, and tiles of Corinthian type. It seems that all the columns and the upper part were initially from wood and clay and the columns were steadily replaced with stones ones. Some of the tiles are of worse quality than others and have been inscribed with the names of two men: they may have been used at some repair of the roof during the third or second century BC. Other stamps mention the *ethnikon* of Metropolis.

In the interior of the cella, on its central axis, is a row of five square bases for wooden columns. In the middle of the cella, immediately to the east of the central column, was a base with cuttings of varying sizes to support three objects. At a later stage a wall from mud brick separated the west part of the cella, and narrow benches from mud bricks (6.14x0.5 metres) were added along the north wall and along the partition wall between the cella and the rear room. Inside the rear room were parts of a clay chest on a stone base, while in the south-east corner a vessel with a circular hole in its bottom was set into the floor. The mouth of the pot at the floor level was covered with a stone plaque.

The most impressive find was a bronze statue which depicts a standing hoplite and can be dated to the mid-sixth century. It was found in the area of the statue base and has been interpreted as a cult statue. The right foot of another bronze statue is reported. Pieces of *stelai*, some with traces of inscriptions, were also found in the cella. In the north-east part of the cella was a stele/base dated to the fourth century with an inscription commemorating the dedication of a bronze dog to Apollo by Peithola. Other finds include a few figurines, with special mention to the figurine of a dog, an unfluted marble small column and its square base, a small Doric capital with a

³⁸ PAE (1911) 342–3; PAE (1915) 145.

³⁹ AD 49 (1994) *Chron.* 331–3; AD 50 (1995) *Chron.* 375–6; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 347–8; AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 475–6; AD 54 (1999) *Chron.* 410; Intzesiloglou (2000); Intzesiloglou (2002a).

shallow cavity to hold the plinth of a small statue, and fragments of an honorary decree of the third century BC.

The excavator reports that there might be some evidence for cult use of the site prior to the erection of the temple (mid-sixth century). The sanctuary seems to have been destroyed by fire in the second century BC, when it was abandoned.

Metropolis (West Thessaly), Georgiko, Sanctuary of Aiatos (?)⁴⁰

South of the dromos of a Mycenaean tholos tomb, one kilometre south of the village of Metropolis, and in a surface of around 530 square metres, the excavator notes an accumulation of stones, mostly limestone slabs and river stones, on top of which were placed hundreds of votives, mostly handmade figurines of riders and iron knives. There were also a few clay figurines of men and women, two bases for pilasters, miniature pots, a few coins, and tiles. The excavator also notes the existence of black soil and animal bones. Among the finds was a tile with a fragmentary inscription of the seventh or sixth century] *EAIATION*], which he restores as Aiation, i.e. sanctuary of Aiatos. The majority of the finds seem to date to the sixth and fifth century.⁴¹ It is not clear if cult continued down to the Hellenistic period.

Neochoraki (Achaia Phthiotis)⁴²

A rectangular building (12.5x5.1 metres) of the Late Geometric period was excavated at Kamila, Marmara, near the village of Neochoraki. It had a stone socle, while the superstructure was apparently constructed of mud brick. The entrance was to the south. Remains of a peribolos wall were also found. The finds include bronze fibulae, rings, and two figurines of warriors. They have been dated to the Geometric period.

Ossa (Magnesia), Cave of Nymphs⁴³

From the cave come an inscribed base, which dates to the fourth century, and seven inscribed dedicatory *stelai* of the third/second century BC. Other finds include parts of black-glazed pots and figurines of the fourth and third century, bronze fibulae, a bronze ring with a representation of Eros, and a bronze coin of the Roman period.

Pelion (Magnesia), Sanctuary of Zeus Akraios⁴⁴

Excavations revealed remains of the peribolos wall, towers, and a gate dated to the fifth century, as well as the remains of various buildings. Buildings A and B were made of small stones, while their roofs were from wood and clay. Building A was close to a cave and perhaps had an oval shape, similar to that of the temple excavated on the acropolis of Gonnoi. Building B seems to have been larger; one of its sides had a length of at least

⁴⁰ Intzesiloglou (2002b); AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 479–80; AD 53 (1998) *Chron.* 439; AD 54 (1999) *Chron.* 408–9.

⁴¹ Initially Intzesiloglou believed that the cult started in the early fifth century: AD 52 (1997) *Chron.* 479–80.

⁴² Stählin (1906) 29–30; G. Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958) 754.

⁴³ Wace and Thompson (1908–9); *PAE* (1910) 183–4.

⁴⁴ *PAE* (1911) 305–12.

11.4 metres. Building *I* might have been a stoa. Close to it were amphorae buried in earth full of ash. Two more buildings F and Z were found to the south in a separate peribolos wall. F is larger than Z and was built from carefully worked rectangular stones. The date of these buildings is not clear. Arvanitopoulos suggests a fifth-century date for the peribolos wall.

Finds included the handle of a small dedicatory spear, an iron spearhead, an iron arrow, a handle of a knife, a bronze ring, bronze pots, fragments of clay figurines, including a protome and the figurine of an eagle, many small dedicatory pots, black-glazed pots (mostly skyphoi) of the fifth and fourth centuries, clay kylikes of the fourth/third century, lamps, three pieces of dedicatory marble *stelai*, a bronze coin of Chalkida of the fourth century, and several bronze and iron nails.

Pharsalos (Central Thessaly), Hagia Paraskevi Hill, Sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios⁴⁵

On top of the hill many rocks have been worked so that in their centre a small projection is created, perhaps used to support offerings. A fourth-century dedication to Zeus Thaulios is inscribed on the rock, while a few third-century dedications to Zeus Soter also came from this area.⁴⁶ An uninscribed marble triangular stele of 1.15 metres in height was in the western part of the hill.⁴⁷ A lot of reused ancient material was found at a nearby mosque, including statue bases, architectural members, and a Doric column-capital of Archaic date. Rescue excavations revealed more pieces of Doric capital dating to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period, Hellenistic pottery, and female figurines.⁴⁸

Pharsalos (Central Thessaly), Acropolis⁴⁹

Excavations on the slopes of the acropolis revealed three votive deposits. Twenty-five protomes, sixteen seated female figures, three female figures seated on a throne (one of which is holding a deer), two standing female figures, one hydriaphoros, two reclining male figures, a flying Eros, a clay ring with four birds, a clay niche, a clay naiskos in which two figures are depicted, and an imitation of a clay bed were found in deposit 1. With the exception of the flying eros, which dates to the second half of the fourth century, all other finds date to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period.

Deposit 2 was created in a natural cavity of the rock. The deposit contained numerous clay figurines, such as figures of standing and seated women, kourotrophoi and hydriaphoroi figures and protomes, male figurines reclining or standing and holding a phiale, or spear and shield, as well as figurines of birds, pigs, and horses. There were also small clay plaques with depictions of pigs and horses, small votive pots, several broken tiles and large pots, and two bronze coins of Gyrtone and Pharsalos that date its formation to the mid-fourth century.

In the area of deposit 2 a small bronze strip with a hole and the remains of an Archaic inscription were found, together with a mould for a clay figurine.

⁴⁵ PAE (1907) 151–3; AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 260–1; AD 29 (1973–4) *Chron.* 576–7.

⁴⁶ ID nos. 459–62. ⁴⁷ AD 29 (1973–4) *Chron.* 576–7.

⁴⁸ AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 260–1.

⁴⁹ AD 21 (1966) *Chron.* 254; Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 73–8; AD 29 (1973–4) *Chron.* 578–9.

Deposit 3 was 15 metres away from a natural naiskos-like cavity in the rock, but the excavator believes it was not related to it. At the south side of the pit small cuttings were created in the rock for the deposition of the offerings. Finds included numerous figurines that depict women standing, or seated on a throne. Some figures depict a woman seated on a rock, holding her head, which is covered. To her left is a stele on which birds are standing. There were also protomes and small plaques which depicted young athletes and standing female figures. The animal figurines were very few and depicted pigs. There were also a few small pots, mostly amphoriskoi and hydriskai, broken stones, and large pots. The finds date to the late fourth/early third century.

Between deposits 2 and 3 were the remains of a large building (8.5x9.5 metres). Another building, whose date and purpose is not certain, was found east of deposit 2.

Pharsalos (Central Thessaly), Mount Karaplas, Cave of the Nymphs⁵⁰

About eighty-seven objects are reported. Pottery dates from the fourth century to the end of the Graeco-Roman period. Only three small votive lekythoi were found whole. Inside one of them was a miniature bronze pendant in the shape of a jar with a lid. There were just a few other bronze objects: a ring, a belt-hook, part of a vase, and a coin of Antigonos Gonatas. The terracotta finds were numerous. Two coarse figurines which seem to represent kouroutrophoi figures, some hydiaphoroi figures, others which represent reclining or seated women (in one case with a deer), protomes, and heads and fragments of votive plaques with depictions of women are of Archaic date. Other women's heads date to the fourth century and the Hellenistic period. A clay head, which may represent Dionysus, heads of Satyrs and Silenoi, figurines of naked young men, a figurine which represents a woman with a baby (perhaps Aphrodite and Eros), figurines of Pan, Hermes, and doves also belong to that time. Part of a stone statue was also found.

Two inscriptions were engraved on the rock: one dates to the fifth century and refers to Pantalkes dedicating something; the other is longer: it welcomes everyone to the sacred cave and lists the gifts that the various gods, worshipped together with the nymphs, gave to Pantalkes.

Pharsalos (Central Thessaly), Ambelia⁵¹

Small-scale excavations revealed several terracottas which must have come from the votive deposit of a sanctuary. There were the following types: twenty-five protomes, twenty-six hydiaphoroi, five standing female figurines, thirteen seated female figurines, one standing male figurine, 102 horses, ten pigs, seven birds, nine plaques with depictions of pigs, and parts of kernoi and small hydriae. All finds date to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period.

Pherai (South-east Thessaly), Makalorema, Sanctuary of Ennodia⁵²

The sanctuary is located in the northern part of the city south of the river called Makalorema. Cult activity starts in the Geometric period. Numerous small metal

⁵⁰ Levi (1923–4). ⁵¹ AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 143; Daffa-Nikonanou (1973) 78–83.

⁵² Kilian (1975) 168ff; Béquignon (1937).

objects were found in votive deposits.⁵³ Kilian mentions 1,798 fibulae, forty-eight pins, 394 rings of various sizes;⁵⁴ and 357 pendants of various forms.⁵⁵ There were also thirty pieces of weapons, seven daggers/knives,⁵⁶ several bronze and glass beads, a few *phalara*,⁵⁷ a bronze male figurine of a standing warrior,⁵⁸ a few bronze figurines of birds, horses, deer, dogs, and fish,⁵⁹ two bronze figurines identified as Osiris;⁶⁰ forty-three bronze vases; miniature bronze axes, and a few bobbins and spindles. The vast majority of these objects date between the later eighth and early sixth century, with only a few dating to the sixth and fifth centuries. Of Archaic date is also the head of a bovine made from trachyte stone, while several terracotta figurines of standing and seated females, some wearing a polos, date to the late sixth and early fifth century.⁶¹ From the mid-fifth century and during the fourth century honorary decrees engraved on bronze sheets were set up in the sanctuary.⁶² A relief stele which depicts a family leading a pig to an altar also came from the sanctuary;⁶³ and two fragmentary inscriptions on a base and a plaque which mention Ennodia, date to the Hellenistic period.⁶⁴

A number of other inscriptions, including dedicatory ones to Ennodia, Zeus Thaulios/Aphrios,⁶⁵ an inventory of offerings⁶⁶ and honorary decrees,⁶⁷ are often associated with the sanctuary, although their exact original location is unknown. The same uncertainty exists with some other finds, such as a statue complex of severe style which depicts the abduction of a woman;⁶⁸ a fifth-century bronze figurine depicting

⁵³ Béquignon (1937) 57 mentions that most metal objects and terracottas came from a *favissa* 11.5 metres south of the temple.

⁵⁴ The term 'ring' is used to describe a wide variety of objects, such as finger, arm, neck, or even hair rings, while rings with a diameter bigger than 25 centimetres are sometimes considered as items with premonetary value: Dakoronia (1989).

⁵⁵ There are ring, pyxis, juglet, globular, and birdcage pendants; also numerous are the so-called 'jug-stopper' pendants and others in the form of hammers, double axes, wheels, pomegranates, birds, horses, deer, and stags. Similar types have been reported at Philia, but some types, such as globular, birdcage, and bird pendants, as well as jug-stoppers, seem to have been more popular at Pherai. Pendants could have a variety of uses: they could hang from trees, or be used as neck and belt ornaments: Christiansen (1992) 57, 78. For the possible use of pyxis pendants as containers of amulets: Bouzek (1974) 24. Jug-stoppers: Christiansen (1992) 152 n. 21; Kilian-Dirlmeier (1979) 194–5 thinks they were part of the costume usually hanging from the belt. Metzler (1983) associates them with the drumsticks used by shamans in modern Nepal.

⁵⁶ For the problem of distinguishing between daggers and swords and daggers and knives: Lemos (2002) 120; Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 201–2. The two terms are often used interchangeably in the reports.

⁵⁷ The *phalara* have been interpreted as decorative pieces of belts, cymbals, shield-bosses, or parts of horse-trappings: see Snodgrass (1964) 38ff; Fellmann (1984) 99–119.

⁵⁸ Béquignon (1929).

⁵⁹ The number of animal figurines will increase significantly if we include those examples with a suspension hole which are usually classified as pendant/items of personal adornment: Kilian-Dirlmeier (1979) 165–6.

⁶⁰ Kilian (1975) 186. ⁶¹ Béquignon (1937) 74, 57–66.

⁶² Béquignon (1964) 395–412, esp. 400–12. ⁶³ Mitropoulou (1990) 74 no. 1.

⁶⁴ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 25–6. ⁶⁵ ID nos. 463–9.

⁶⁶ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 28–33 no. 2.

⁶⁷ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 33–4 no. 3; Peek (1934) 57.

⁶⁸ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 37. But Biesantz (1965) 29 L11, 112 mentions as provenance Pherai in general.

Zeus;⁶⁹ a Hellenistic relief with a depiction of a hand dedicated by a woman;⁷⁰ and another relief depicting a vulva.⁷¹ Figurines of children, hands, and feet have also been mentioned among the finds of Ennodia's temple.⁷²

The first temple, a peripteral Doric structure, seems to have been built in the Late Archaic period. Several drums of its Doric columns were found reused in the later Classical/Hellenistic temple, while further architectural material, such as column capitals, stones from its krepis, fragments of the clay sima, and the akroteria and Corinthian tiles, were found in the general area of the sanctuary. From the Classical/Hellenistic temple only part of the foundation and the krepis survive. It has been reconstructed as a 6x12-metre peripteral Doric structure.⁷³ The foundations of five structures are visible to the east of the temple. Some belong to smaller buildings, while others are bases for large votives.

During recent restoration work a rectangular structure was discovered near and parallel to the axis of the temple, and has been interpreted as a Geometric *eschara*, which was later incorporated in the temple. Also north of the temple a rectangular building used during the Hellenistic and Roman period was found. North-east of it was a deposit with clay female figurines and protomes of the Hellenistic period.⁷⁴

Pherai (South-east Thessaly), Alepotrypes, Sanctuary of Ennodia⁷⁵

Excavations revealed the remains of a building with a rectangular plan (5.35x11 metres) and a bench along the south wall. In a pit inside the building pieces of figurines and of a marble stele were found. Among the figurines were a male bearded head, a standing woman holding two rods, a figurine of a woman wearing a short chiton, boots, and a pointed cap, and shown dancing in front of a hermaic stele, a woman seated on a rock holding her head, a figurine of a horse, and another of a coiled snake. The marble stele, which dates to the late fifth century or the fourth century,⁷⁶ had relief decoration on both sides. On both sides a woman differently dressed and holding an object (a *phiale* in one case) was shown. Pottery sherds of the early fourth century were found, including fragments of a *thymiaterion*. A fragmentary mid-fourth-century marble dedicatory stele to Ennodia was found reused in a Hellenistic grave which had destroyed part of the sanctuary. The finds indicate a period of use during the Classical period.

⁶⁹ Biesantz (1965) 35 L111; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 37.

⁷⁰ Béquignon (1937) 86 no. 49 with general provenance from Pherai; Mitropoulou (1990) 75 no. 2 suggests a provenance from a temple of Sarapis and Isis. But P. Chrysostomou (1998) 37 says it came from the excavations at the sanctuary at Makalorema.

⁷¹ Mentioned by P. Chrysostomou (1998) 233 who cites Kirsten, *RE Sup.* XIX (1940) 1009. But Béquignon, *BCH* 53(1929) 507 and Forsén (1996) 87 no. 17.1 mention a similar relief as coming from the Pefkakia area close to Demetrias. Are they the same?

⁷² Children: P. Chrysostomou (1998) 111 n. 370. Hands and feet: *BCH* 49 (1925) 460.

⁷³ Østby (1990), who suggests that the building begun in the late fifth or early fourth century was left unfinished and was completed during the Early Hellenistic period.

⁷⁴ Arachoviti, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou, and Tsigara (2012).

⁷⁵ Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni (1990) 59ff; P. Chrysostomou (1998) 43–7.

⁷⁶ For the later date see P. Chrysostomou (1998) 165–9.

Pherai (South-east Thessaly), Hagios Charalambos⁷⁷

Small-scale excavations revealed a polygonal and an isodomic wall (perhaps from the peribolos of a sanctuary) dated to the fifth/fourth centuries, a Doric capital of the fourth century BC, the head of a male figurine, and another of a seated bearded man. There were also several black-glazed pots with the inscriptions *HPA*, *HP*, *PAKAEIO*. All finds date to the fourth/third century, apart from an Archaic/Classical tile with a stamp of an owl (?) and traces of letters. A base dedicated to Asclepius and a marble statuette depicting a man, whose himation leaves his chest uncovered, also came from the same area.⁷⁸

Pherai (South-east Thessaly), Malouka Hill⁷⁹

A. Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou reports remains of a tower and a sanctuary of Classical date on top of the hill. Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni mentions fragments of sculpture and figurines, among which was a seated kourotraphos figurine,⁸⁰ while Chrysostomou also reports figurines of children.⁸¹

Philia (Western Thessaly), Sanctuary of Athena Itonia⁸²

Cult activity at the sanctuary is attested from the Geometric down to the Roman period. The vast majority of finds were found in an extensive ash layer, and consist of small bronze objects.⁸³ Kilian-Dirlmeier reports: two tripods;⁸⁴ seventeen obeloi; eighty-seven bronze vases; 737 fibulae; 161 pins; 793 weapons; 272 rings of various sizes;⁸⁵ 101 pendants of various forms;⁸⁶ 280 knives/daggers;⁸⁷ six bronze male figurines;⁸⁸ sixteen bronze animal figurines, including one from Luristan.⁸⁹ There were

⁷⁷ *PAE* (1907) 158–60. ⁷⁸ *IG IX 2* 416; Mitropoulou (1994) 489.

⁷⁹ *AD 45* (1990) *Chron.* 210; Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni (1990) 59.

⁸⁰ Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni (1990) 65 pl. 1.

⁸¹ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 111 n. 370.

⁸² *AD 18* (1963) *Chron.* 135–9; *AD 19* (1964) *Chron.* 244–9, 253–5; *AD 20* (1964) 311–13; *AD 22* (1967) *Chron.* 295–6; Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002).

⁸³ Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 231, 250 suggests two possibilities for the formation of this layer: a) the ash layer is in situ and because of its apsidal shape one can imagine that it follows a sacred street; b) it was transferred there from the altar area. Intzesiloglou (2006b) 229–31 reports that small-scale excavations 200 metres north-east from Theocharis' excavations revealed a similar ash layer with similar finds but without bones, and suggests that the area might have been a grove which was burnt down.

⁸⁴ There might have been more: note the bronze horses in NY Carlsberg Glyptotek (Christiansen (1992) 64 nos. 30, 31), which possibly come from Philia and must have been soldered to a ring handle on a tripod cauldron.

⁸⁵ See n. 54.

⁸⁶ For the various types and the use of pendant see n. 55. Note that while most of the types of pendants found at Philia are found, and indeed some types are more popular, at Pherai, pendants in the shape of pomegranate seem to be a characteristic of the sanctuary at Philia: Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 63.

⁸⁷ For the problem of distinguishing between daggers and swords and daggers and knives see n. 56.

⁸⁸ Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 66–7 suggests that some of them might have been charioteers. Note also the Archaic figurine of a warrior found in the area: *AE* 66–7 (1927–8) 126–7.

⁸⁹ These include horses, lions, birds, dogs, and a deer. For the problem of what counts as an animal figurine see n. 59.

also miniature weapons and tripods, numerous glass beads, a couple of spindles and horse-trappings, as well as a few objects known as *phalara*.⁹⁰ Very few objects were made from ivory, electrum, silver, or gold. Worth mentioning is a bone plaque depicting a woman holding a lion, a faience statuette, two Egyptian scarabs that can be dated to 700–650 BC, and a gold strip in the shape of an animal head.

Some pieces, such as the tripods, obeloi, a few double axes, a cheese-grater, several rings, as well as a few knives, swords, and pins can be dated back to the Early/Middle Geometric, or even to the Proto-Geometric period. The vast majority of small metal finds date between 750 and 575 BC (1,382 pieces, while another 281 pieces could be dated between 850 and 570 BC, and 321 pieces between 630 and 530 BC). They steadily drop in number between the Late Archaic to the Late Classical period (128 pieces date between 570 and 450 BC, and 144 between 500 and 350 BC), even more during the Hellenistic period (seventeen), and rise slightly during the Roman period (fifty-seven). 1,652 items, including different kinds of weapons, such as iron lance-heads, cannot be dated with any precision.

The general chronological pattern concerns all kinds of votives, with dress ornaments and jewellery items being the most popular kind of votive in all periods. Only in the Late Archaic period, weapons seem to become more popular, but the pattern might be biased since the vast majority of weapon dedication cannot be dated with any precision.

According to Theocharis the pottery found dates mostly to the Hellenistic and Roman times, with few Geometric, Archaic, and Classical pieces. He mentions that the Geometric sherds seem to come from Iolkos;⁹¹ while the Classical pottery included a sherd of an attic red-figure kylix dated to 490–480 BC, which depicts a homoerotic scene.

A few terracotta figurines depicting women have also been found; in some cases the figure wears a helmet and is, thus, interpreted as Athena.⁹²

Bronze locks of hair, and other fragments, coming from life-size statues of the sixth century and Hellenistic period, are reported, as well as the marble head of a kouros dated to the early fifth century.⁹³ There were also bases for statues and fragments of late Hellenistic decrees, mostly of the Koinon, in one of which the name of Athena could be restored.⁹⁴

Numerous coins were also found. Almost half were issued by Thessalian cities (mostly fourth century) and the Koinon (from the second century BC to the third century AD). There are also coins from Macedonia (fourth/third century), Euboia (fourth century), Megara (third century), Halikarnassos (first century), and Chalkedon (third/second century).⁹⁵

Most of the architectural evidence dates to the Roman period, but there are signs of an early third-century building, including marble tiles and other architectural members from poros stone (drums of Doric columns and parts of the cornice). There are

⁹⁰ See n. 57.

⁹¹ AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 137; AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 246.

⁹² AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 247; AD 20 (1965) *Chron.* 312–13.

⁹³ AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 138; Kilian-Dirlmeier (2002) 113, 128.

⁹⁴ Inscriptions found at Philia: AD 18 (1963) *Chron.* 138; AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 248 (= Habicht 1976b); AD 31 (1976) *Chron.* 296; AE 66–7 (1927–8) 119–27; Habicht (1987b), 309–14; Helly (1993a).

⁹⁵ AD 19 (1964) *Chron.* 253–5.

also a few remains which can be associated with a late-fifth-century building phase, such as part of a clay cornice and a drum from a Doric column.

Phthiotic Thebes (Achaia Phthiotis), Acropolis, Sanctuary of Athena Polias⁹⁶

Excavations were conducted at the north of the acropolis, at the highest spot of the hill. Arvanitopoulos mentions that at the deeper level excavated he found a layer of black soil which had numerous Geometric bronze rings (some decorated with bird heads), large Geometric fibulae, small bronze pots, bronze figurines of birds, and fragments of Geometric pottery, mixed with Neolithic and Bronze Age finds.⁹⁷ Elsewhere he refers to a mixed layer which had finds dating from the Mycenaean through to the Archaic period, including hundreds of bronze rings, numerous fibulae, and figurines of birds, fruits, utensils, and weapons, lead rings and pendants, iron objects, a few silver and gilded pieces of jewellery, as well as numerous clay figurines depicting protomes, the clay figurines of a helmeted woman (Athena), clay reliefs and Corinthian pots, most of which date between the eighth and the sixth century, with some dating to the fifth century.⁹⁸ Recent excavations conducted by the ephorate mention that there is no Late Bronze Age and Geometric evidence, and cult seems to start in the Archaic period (sixth century).⁹⁹

Other later finds from the sanctuary include black-glazed pottery of the fifth/fourth century, some of which has graffiti;¹⁰⁰ nine bases for small statues, marble statuettes, including a marble statuette of Athena, fragments of marble *stelai* with dedicatory inscriptions of the fourth century BC to the first century AD. *IG IX 2 1322*, a fourth-century inscription on a pillar recording a dedication by the *archeskopoi* to Athena Polias, was found in the western part of the city, but very likely came from the acropolis. Arvanitopoulos also refers to bases for bronze statues found reused in the fourth-century temple. A marble head of Athena dated to the Roman period confirms long use.¹⁰¹

The remains of a fourth-century temple are visible today. Its dimensions are 9.36x11.45 metres, and it perhaps had two columns in antis. It was built with stone up to a certain height and then with mud bricks. The walls were plastered. The architrave and the pediments were from wood. The roof was made of wood and tile, some of which have some inscribed letters]OAI[. . . , restored as ΠΟΛΙΑΣ. This temple seems to have succeeded and copied in plan two earlier structures, a fifth-century and an Archaic one. Material from these older buildings was found reused in the fourth-century temple.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ *PAE* (1907) 166–9; *PAE* (1908) 171–80; *AD 49* (1994) *Chron.* 323–4.

⁹⁷ *PAE* (1907) 168. ⁹⁸ *PAE* (1908) 180. ⁹⁹ *AD 49* (1994) *Chron.* 324 refers to a deposit east of the temple with Archaic bronze pieces of jewellery and clay figurines.

¹⁰⁰ *PAE* (1908) 178.

¹⁰¹ Note that Arvanitopoulos believed that during the Roman period time the temple was transformed into a guardhouse: *PAE* (1908) 176.

¹⁰² Arvanitopoulos seems to have distinguished only two temples, a fourth-century and an Archaic one: *PAE* (1908) 178–9. But Adrimi-Sismani thinks there were three: *AD 49* (1994) *Chron.* 324, where she also refers to a fifth-century inscription which mentioned the architects of the Classical temple.

Part of the north-west wall of the acropolis was also found during the Arvanitopoulos' excavations. Some of its blocks have inscriptions with large letters: the inscriptions *ΙΑΛΑΙΣ*, *ΝΙΚΑ*, and *ΑΙΣ* date to the fourth century, while the inscription *ΕΜΙΔΙ*, and an inscription which records the dedication to Eirene by Phalaikos, Stratokles, and his *syskopoí*, date to the third century.

Phthiotic Thebes (Achaia Phthiotis), Sanctuary of Asclepius¹⁰³

South of the west walls of the city the foundations of a small temple, which had a small anteroom (1.8x5 metres), a square cella (5x5 metres), and an east-west orientation were found. Apart from tiles nothing of the temple's superstructure survives. Its entrance was in the east. Inside the cella was a stone base and a small bench along the north and west sides. The south side had collapsed and in the rubble was part of a marble base with the inscription *ΚΑΗΙΙΩ*. A rectangular footing for a statue was found a few metres east of the facade of the temple. In the interior of the temple parts of marble statuettes, including the head of a young girl and of an adolescent, the lower part of a statuette of Asclepius, a statuette of Aphrodite with Eros, parts of human members (feet, hands), clay figurines, knucklebones, and pottery sherds were found. A marble torso of the god, a male bearded head, the torso of an adolescent, two torsos of female statues, and the head of a child had been found in the area of the sanctuary in the past. There is evidence for a peribolos wall and other buildings. The coins found date from the fourth to the first centuries BC.

Prodromos (West Thessaly)¹⁰⁴

Excavations brought to light four small *oikoi* (4.60x4.19 metres), whose subfoundations were made of broken tiles. One is described as of the megaron-type while the others have the form of free-standing rooms. Clay figurines, including riders, figurines of seated females with a polos, and handmade kernoi are reported. The finds date to the late sixth/early fifth century.

Proerna (Achaia Phthiotis), Sanctuary of Demeter¹⁰⁵

Excavations revealed a long building like a stoa (30x6 metres). It has stone-built foundations and krepis, and dates to the fourth century BC. The building was divided into square rooms. Older architectural remains, perhaps of the late sixth or early fifth century, were also spotted.

Numerous figurines were found, mostly outside the 'stoa' at the south. The following terracotta types which can be dated to the Archaic period were found: twenty-three hydiaphoroi figures, twenty-four standing female (two of which hold an animal), seven kourotrophoi, fifty-six female protomes, fifty-three seated female figurines, two reclining female figurines, five standing male figurines, three reclining male figurines, two seated male figurines, one figurine of a Silenos, eleven clay plaques with depiction of pig, one with depiction of rider, eight clay imitations of throne,

¹⁰³ AD 16 (1960) *Chron.* 183; AD 46 (1991) *Chron.* 209–10.

¹⁰⁴ AD 39 (1984) *Chron.* 148; AD 42 (1987) *Chron.* 269.

¹⁰⁵ AD 20 (1965) *Chron.* 318–9; AD 21 (1966) *Chron.* 250–2; Daffa-Nikonanou (1973).

twenty-five birds, twenty-four pigs, twelve cows, sixty horses, twenty-four riders, one turtle, one kernos, 105 small hydriae, two female genitals, and one small oinochoe. To late-fifth- and fourth-century date two protomes/mascs of bearded male, four female heads, one figurine of a standing male, one figurine of Pan, a clay disc with a depiction of a woman, and a pot with a plastic depiction of a woman. There were also nine coins, and some items of sculpture. These include pieces of a marble male bust, marble bases, a second-century large pedimental stele dedicated to Demeter by the priestess Elephanta, that contains in its lower part regulations about women's gatherings. There were also a few metal finds: a bronze pot, a figurine of a deer, bronze rings, pieces of fibulae, a pin, and part of a disc.

Some further random finds might have come from the sanctuary: two torsos of female statues of Hellenistic date, part of the torso of a marble statuette, a marble stele with a dedication to Demeter by a woman called Peisis, and another stele whose inscription and painted decoration do not survive.¹⁰⁶

Pythion (Perrhaibia), Hill of Hagioi Apostoloi¹⁰⁷

The buildings of the Greek sanctuary have not been excavated, but excavations have brought to light two Roman temples dated to the time of Augustus, identified as those of Apollo Pythios and Poseidon Patroos. In the fill under the floor of the cella of the Roman temple of Apollo Pythios several older inscriptions and statues which came from the Greek sanctuary were found. Tziafalias mentions fifty-five dedicatory inscriptions, three child statues, three heads of marble statuettes, a statue of Apollo Mousagetes, two decrees of Pythion, and three letters of Macedonian Kings. The dedicatory inscriptions mention a variety of gods, such as Apollo Doreios, Asclepius, Artemis Agagylaia, Artemis Phosphoros, Zeus Keraunios, Aphrodite, and others. In the same general area, storage pithoi and dedicatory inscriptions to Poseidon Patroos have been found.

Soros (South-east Thessaly), Sanctuary of Apollo¹⁰⁸

Excavations have revealed a building complex consisting of various rooms built at different times. The main and oldest room is identified as the cella. Its dimensions are 22.42x8.33 metres, and the upper parts of its walls were built of mud bricks. The main entrance was to the east, while a second entrance existed to the north. Along the central axis of the cella was a colonnade, of which ten stone bases survive. Between the fourth and fifth base was a built *eschara* with ashes but no bones. A bench (initially 0.45, then 0.98 metres) ran across the north, south, and west sides. Numerous animal bones, mostly from goats, were found on the bench. In the south-east part of the cella is a deep groove which extends under the doorstep of the entrance into the pronaos, and ends up in a cavity under the floor which had numerous seashells. The tiles found date to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period.

¹⁰⁶ AD 20 (1965) *Chron.* 318–9.

¹⁰⁷ AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 267; AD 51 (1996) *Chron.* 364; Tziafalias (2000a) 90–1.

¹⁰⁸ Milošič (1974) 65–75; Leventi (2009) and (2012); Mazarakis-Ainian (2009) and (2012); Vitos and Panagou (2009) and (2012).

The pronaos was small (1.25x3.15 metres) and was a later addition. South of the cella were two other spaces. Under one of these was a thick layer that was rich in finds. In the south edge of this space, on top of the natural rock, a stone construction was found with vertically placed plaques supporting other horizontal ones, and at its east end another enigmatic semicircular construction. The excavator associates both with an early open-air phase of the sanctuary. Various cavities in the natural rock found all along the area of the cella are also associated with an earlier open-air phase.

All finds date from the Late Archaic to the early third century BC. Most of the finds come from the underlying filling and consist of bronze fibulae, pins, and rings, one of which has a depiction of Thetis on a sea horse, another one a figure of Eros, and a third one the figure of a komast. There are also a few bronze earrings, a bronze phiale, and a single coin of Corinth dated to the fourth/third century BC. The few objects made of lead include the figurine of a naked male (dancer?), a miniature of a couch (*κλισμός*), a pendant, a disc, and a couple of rings. There are a few bone objects, such as fibulae, pins, discs, various pendants, a glass ring with a gold decoration of a flying Nike, a silver ring, and a silver pendant. The fill also gave numerous sherds, mostly storage and cooking vessels, a few loomweights, and fragments of figurines, mostly females.

Leventi mentions Archaic female figurines seated on thrones, standing ones with polos, or holding a cist, early-fourth-century figurines of standing women, one showing a dancer with a tympanum, a figurine of Eros, of a naked female seated on a rock identified as Aphrodite, another one showing the goddess half-naked, and the head of a boy. Only one animal figurine was found depicting a bird, and a clay tablet in the shape of a lion-head which must have attached to an item of furniture. There might have been also a fragmentary clay mask.¹⁰⁹

Numerous items of sculpture including a votive relief showing two figures (a large male one, perhaps the god, and a smaller female one) and three statuettes of young boys were found in the pronaos. They have been dated to the second and third quarter of the fourth century BC.¹¹⁰ An inscribed pillar with an Archaic inscription recording a dedication to Apollo by a woman, and a fourth-century inscribed base recording a dedication to Apollo by a man in favour of two other men, presumably his sons,¹¹¹ together with the sherds of a Panathenaic amphora dated to 335 BC,¹¹² also came from the pronaos.

There seems to have been a difference in the pottery found in the various areas of the sanctuary. The pottery found in the cella and the pronaos was sparse and exclusively fine decorated ware, while that from the area south of the cella contained a lot of plain pottery, mostly cooking. There were also several drinking cups, as well as a few black-figure and red-figure craters.¹¹³

Most of the bones found in excavations came from goats and sheep (80 per cent), then follow pigs (11 per cent) and cattle (9 per cent). Only a small percentage was burnt and had cut marks.

A small square 'oikos' has also been unearthed north-west of the sanctuary (building E). It yielded only a few sherds dated from the Early Archaic to the Classical period. Its

¹⁰⁹ Leventi (2012). ¹¹⁰ Milojević (1974) 73–4; Leventi (2009).

¹¹¹ Milojević (1974) 74, who erroneously thought that the Archaic pillar was offered to Poseidon. See ID nos. 65–6.

¹¹² More sherds were found at the north-east corner of the cella.

¹¹³ Vitos and Panagou (2009).

use is unknown, but the excavator entertains the idea that it may have been the earlier cult building which, after the construction of the Late Archaic temple, was used as a treasury.

Tempe (Perrhaibia), Chani tis Kokonas¹¹⁴

A building complex with at least ten rooms of various sizes has been revealed. The walls had stone foundations, and mud bricks must have been used for their upper parts. The tiles of Laconian type have similar stamps to tiles found at Gonnoi. The floors were made of beaten earth, apart from room 5, the floor of which was made of large limestone slabs. Two rooms (3 and 6) had constructions in their centre interpreted as *escharai*, although there were no signs of burnings. In the south-west corner of room 3 was an oblong construction with four square niches one next to the other, inside one of which was a marble *naiskos* with Kybele seated on a throne with a lion on her lap and a tympanum and *phiale*, while a *thymiaterion* was found in another one. Another room had a clay plaque with a depiction of Artemis, holding a deer in her right hand. Plenty of pottery was found, with many storage and cooking vessels, black-glazed pinakia, skyphoi, kantharoi, a very few red-figure pieces, and lamps of the fourth/third century. There were also two undecorated *stelai* and two rectangular bases for *stelai*, terracotta figurines, metal finds, bone and glass objects, clay loomweights, as well as bronze coins of Larisa, Phalanna, Gyrtone, Phlious, as well as Macedonian royal issues, mostly of Kassander. It seems that the building was used from the fourth to the second century BC, when it was abandoned and used for burials.

Tempe (Perrhaibia), Sanctuary of Apollo¹¹⁵

Excavations conducted by Theocharis revealed four *stelai* with dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo dated from the late fourth to the second century BC, and remains of a Hellenistic construction, identified as an altar.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Toufexis et al. (2012).

¹¹⁵ AD 16 (1960) *Chron.* 175.

¹¹⁶ Theocharis dated all the inscriptions to the Late Hellenistic period, but Heinz (1998) suggests that some could be dated earlier. McDevitt (1970) 86 no. 638 refers to a fifth inscription which he thinks might date back to the fifth century. See in general ID nos. 68–72.

APPENDIX 3

Catalogue of Social/Religious Groups Attested in the Epigraphic Record

Atrax (Northern Thessaly)

A large dedicatory marble stele (103 x 84 x 14) dated to the end of the fourth century BC bears on its upper part the following inscription: Οἱ Ἰπποτά[δαι]. The group could be identified either as a phratry, a *genos*, or even as a private religious association, possibly connected with a cult of Poseidon.¹ The restoration, however, can be doubted. For a list of names called ἱππόται from various Thessalian cities, found at Scotoussa see Tziafalias (2000a) 87 and section 2.1.

Another group, the κοινόν τῶν Ἡρακλειστάων, is attested in a late third-century dedicatory inscription to Heracles.² The inscription lists ten names after the name of the priest. The nature of the group is uncertain.³

For the κοινόν τῶν Βουκόλων recorded on a stele of the first half of the third century BC, see section 3.2.3.⁴

A puzzling third- or fourth-century dedicatory inscription runs as follows: Ἀρχοντες ΟΠΑΟΙ Στασίδαμος/Ἀγάσιππος Βάττας/ἐστάσαεν.⁵ No satisfactory explanation for the name has been given.⁶ It has been suggested that the peculiar word ΟΠΑΟΙ was the name of a kinship group, perhaps a *syngeneia*, whose officials, each coming from a *genos*, made the dedication.

An unpublished inscription from the same city also refers to the ΟΠΑΟΙ. According to preliminary information, the group of ΟΠΑΟΙ were involved in some kind of treaty.⁷ According to García Ramon, Helly, and Tziafalias in order to be part of this group one had to be free, take part in certain activities, and be *isotimos*.⁸

The *phylai* of Atrax (Βουλεπαρίδαι, Εὐμενίδαι, Ὀδαίδαι, [Φυλ(ι)οῦ]νδαι, Ἀυρογιούνδαι, Δαμοῦνδαι, Κονθίδαι, Ἀθαναίδαι, Ἀγειμούνδαι, Πιννούνδαι, Θαμειῖοι and Ὀροβίδαι) and the *genos* of Κελαίνδαι are known from an unpublished inscription dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BC, for which see

¹ Tziafalias (1984b) 200 no. 37 identifies them as a phratry/family and suggests that it was a dedication to Poseidon.

² Tziafalias (1984a) 201 no. 69 originally read Ἡρακλει(ο)δάων, but in AD 34 (1979) *Chron.* 226 n. 20, gives the reading Ἡρακλειστάων.

³ Tziafalias (1984a) originally suggested they were a phratry. But see Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147, where they are simply described as a college.

⁴ Tziafalias (1984b) 198 no. 28.

⁵ Tziafalias (1984b) 198 no. 26: third century; Helly, *BE* (1988) no. 706: fourth century.

⁶ Tziafalias (1984b) 231 no. 26, suggested that the word ΟΠΑΟΙ might be a miswritten genitive of ὄρος (mountain) and identifies them as a phratry of shepherds. B. Helly, *BE* (1988) 706 and (1995) 33, who suggests it is a dedication to the Horai (seasons). Darnezin and Tziafalias (2007) 26 air the idea that the word came from ὄρος (border, frontier).

⁷ Darnezin and Tziafalias (2007) 26.

⁸ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 84.

also the discussion in section 2.2. The *Ἀυρογιούνδαι* were known also from a couple of honorary decrees.

The existence of a group called *Ἀρπάδαι* has been inferred from an inscription dated in the first half of the second century BC and found at the area where the agora of Atrax is located.⁹ According to the publisher, it records a boundary dispute between Aggeiai, a city in Dolopia, and another city not mentioned in the inscription. But this is not clear from the inscription, and Aggeiai could still be the name of a place around Atrax. In the description of the disputed terrain the plural genitive *Ἀρπάδων* is mentioned. The *Ἀρπάδαι* were according to Tziafalias the name of a phratry, but is could as well be the name of a village community, or refer to the property of a gentilician or a family group with that name.

A group called *Σιμιμίδαι* counting twenty members and perhaps headed by two *tagoi* is known from a fourth-century dedication to Zeus Thaulios.¹⁰

Gonnoi (Perrhaibia)

A late fourth-century stele with the following fragmentary inscription might have been dedicated by a gentilician group: ... *ΙΔΑΙ Ἀθηνῶι Πατρῶιαι*.¹¹

Kontogiannis published a fourth-century fragmentary dedication to Apollo Aisios, which runs as follows: *Οἱ ΣΥΝ* [...] *σίδαι Ἀπόλλ[ωνι]/Αἰσωνίωι*.¹² He suggested that the ending in *idai* at the beginning of the second line indicates that this was possibly the dedication of a gentilician group.

Krannon (Central Thessaly)

An inscription from Krannon preserves a list of names which are divided under the following rubrics: *Μετανδρίδαι* (eighty-eight members), *Βοιούνιδαι* (possibly forty-three), *Ὀλυμπιάδαι* (possibly forty), and *Σιμαιθίδαι* (eight).¹³ The publishers of the inscription believe that it was a list of members of a civic group. They concluded that the document is a list of phratry or *syngeneia* members, since the Simaithidai is too small a group to be a *phyle* and the Olympiadai include several members who carry the personal name Scopas and, therefore, should be considered as the wider group to which the *genos* of Scopadai belonged.¹⁴ Two objections exist: first, the purpose of the document is not clear and it is not necessary to interpret it as a complete list of all the members of the groups in question, so the possibility that the groups are *phylai* should not be excluded.¹⁵ Secondly, the argument against seeing it as a list of *gene* relies on the identification of Scopads with a *genos*; and this is not proven.¹⁶

⁹ Tziafalias (1984a) 178 no. 1.

¹⁰ P. Chrysostomou (1998) 236 n. 918; Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 147.

¹¹ Tziafalias (1984b) no. 78. ¹² Kontogiannis (2000) 136.

¹³ Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 148.

¹⁴ Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 146–7. There is some confusion in the argument: while the authors reject the idea that the groups are *gene*, later on they imply that the groups are subdivisions of a phratry, or *syngeneia*, similar to the four *geneai* of the Basaidai.

¹⁵ Decourt and Tziafalias (2001) 144, 148 entertain among other possibilities the idea that the document records the enrolment of new citizens in the civic corps of Krannon.

¹⁶ Note also the possibility that not everybody called Scopas need necessarily to have belonged to the Scopads. A *gymnasiarchon* called Aleuas is known from Pherai: Helly, Riele, and van Rossum (1998).

A *phyle* called *Ἀγελάοι* is mentioned in a third-century honorary decree, while the *phyle* of *Ὀνθυρεῖς* is mentioned in a second-century decree, but has been traditionally associated with the city of Metropolis.¹⁷

Larisa (North-eastern Thessaly)

A stele found on the acropolis of ancient Larisa and dated in the fourth or third century BC lists the names of thirty groups with a patronymic ending in *idai/adai*¹⁸: *Πε... , Βολιουνίδαι, Κατου[ί]δαι, Παλλιονίδαι, Τλάδαι, Ἀκαστίδαι, Φολλίδαι, Κραννίδαι, Επειγάδαι, Ὀξιοῦ[ν]δαι, Θροινιάται, Αὔματιάδαι, Κανάδαι, Κουκκίδαι, Ἀσυλιοῦνδαι, Κανδάδαι, Ποιδίδαι, Ἀψιδάδαι, Ὀρφίδαι, Ἰκκίδαι, Γλανκίδαι, Λισσίδαι, Σιρβύδαι, Ἀχυργίδαι, Μελαντάδ[αι], Χалаιμάδ[αι], Εὐρόνδαι, Γυλιάδαι Αἰγινυμίδαι, Φρυγαννίδαι*. The groups are certainly not *phylai*, since they are too many and in the list none of the known *phylai* of Larisa is mentioned. Scholars are divided in seeing them either as names of *gene*, or as phratries.¹⁹ For the interpretation of these names as *gene* much depends on whether one considers the Aleuads as a *genos* (in which case one has to explain their absence; of course, the list might not be a complete one; we do not know the nature of the document), or as an *oikos*.

A *phyle* called *Βοᾶτες* is mentioned in a third-century honorary decree;²⁰ and another one called *Θαμειῖοι* in an unpublished inscription.²¹

A Hellenistic inscription, which was possibly set up in the area of the agora, records the dedication to Zeus Homoloios by a group called the *Ἀνδραγαθίδαι οἱ ἐν Κυλιάδαις*.²² *Kyliadai* could be identified as a toponym; it could have been the name of a Larisean village (or deme?). In this case the *Andragathidai* could be the name of a *phyle*, a phratry, or a *genos*.²³ The fact that they are further defined as those living in *Kyliadai* would indicate that, whatever type of group they were, this cut across any territorial divisions.

A fourth-century Larisean inscription records the dedication of the *Κοινὸν τῶν Σουιδάων*, which counted twelve members, to Heracles. It is unknown what kind of *Koinon* they were.²⁴

IG IX 2 589, a second-century inscription, has been restored as follows: [Σαράπιδι Ὑσιδι] Ὡρωι, Ἀνούβιδι/[τὸ κοινὸν τῶν..] ωριαστών/.... Ἀριστοκλέους/[τὸν κτίστην

¹⁷ IG IX 2 458; Habicht (1970) 139–47.

¹⁸ IG IX 2 524. Helly (1995) 322 n. 132 saw the stele in the Museum of Volos and prefers a dating in the third century.

¹⁹ *Gene*: Meyer (1909) 236 followed by Axenidis (1947a) 73–4, argues that this is a list of those allowed access to the free agora; Sordi (1958a) 333, who suggested that the two letters *ΠΕ* in the first line stood for *Πετταλοὶ* and the twenty-nine names were the *gene* which could participate in the federal council; Helly (1995) 322 n. 132. Phratries: De Sanctis (1898) 56; Guarducci (1937) 328; Decourt and Tziaphalias (2001) 147.

²⁰ IG IX 2 513.

²¹ It is mentioned in Darmezín and Tziaphalias (2007) 25.

²² The inscription was found reused at 8 Roosevelt Street together with other inscriptions: AD 34 (1979) *Chron.* 217 no. 3.

²³ Tziaphalias (1984b) 216 no. 96, where he suggested that *Andragathidai* was the name of a phratry and *Kyliadai* that of a *phyle*; Decourt and Tziaphalias (2001) 147 call them phratry or *genos*; Darmezín and Tziaphalias (2007) 28 call them a *genos*.

²⁴ IG IX 2 580; SEG 35 (1985) no. 604. The personal name *Souidas* is attested at various Thessalian cities. Kontogiannis (1985) 119 calls them a phratry.

καὶ] ἐνεργέτην. De Sanctis has suggested the reading τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀζωριαστῶν, and Darmezín and Tziafalias see it as a dedication by an association of citizens who were originally from Azoros.²⁵

Metropolis (Western Thessaly)

For the group of the Basaidai see section 2.2. A *phyle* called Ὀνθύρεις known from a second-century inscription found at Krannon is traditionally associated with Metropolis.²⁶

Mopsion (North-eastern Thessaly)

From honorary decrees we know the names of two *phylai*, the Λυκίδαι and the]ΧΟΥ [....²⁷

Nevestiki (Magnesia)

A mid-sixth-century inscription found at Nevestiki in Magnesia concerning the construction of a building has the following text: Ἀνδροκύδης ἔφρουσε/Ὀλούρος δικαστορέυων/ἔτευξε ὁ Παισιάδας τὸ τέγος. The first publisher of the inscription has suggested that Androkydes, Qolouros, and Paisiadas were three different people, but it has convincingly been suggested that the inscription refers only to two people, Androkydes and Qolouros. Paisiadas, on the other hand, must refer to Qolouros, the person who provided the roof while he was a judge.²⁸ Jeffery and Guarducci argued that Paisiadas was a patronymic, but their suggestion has been refuted by Masson and Morpurgo-Davies, who pointed out that this form of patronymic is not attested in Thessaly and that Paisiadas must, therefore, be the nominative of an adjective denoting membership of a social group, such as a *phratry* or a *genos*.²⁹

Phalanna (Perrhaibia)

An unpublished inscription refers to the dedication by a group called ἄγχιστοι to the Patrooi Theoi.³⁰

²⁵ De Sanctis (1898) 57 no. 68; Darmezín and Tziafalias (2007) 28. Dunand (1973) ii. 51 no. 4 had proposed that it was dedication by a professional association of charioteers, the κοινὸν τῶν Συνωριαστῶν. But Lucas (1992a) 263 no. 5 asserts that the letter Z can be read on the inscription and follows thus the reading of De Sanctis.

²⁶ Habicht (1970) 139–47.

²⁷ García Ramón, Helly, and Tziafalias (2007) 67 no. 4, 68 no. 5.

²⁸ Arvanitopoulos (1929b) 216–20. Contra: Jeffery (1990) 97, 99; Guarducci (1967) 358; Masson (1968) 98–9. See also Gallavotti (1975–6) and (1979) 50, who accepts as personal names only Androkydes and Paisiadas, and argues that the word Qolouros is formed by a crasis between καὶ and δούρος, which he associates with Hesychius s.v. δλούροισιν. ἄνω τῆς θύρας στρόφιγγες.

²⁹ Masson (1965) 227–34 and (1968) 99–100; Morpurgo-Davies (1968) 91 n. 4.

³⁰ Tziafalias (2000b) 100; section 2.5.

Pharsalos (Central Thessaly)

Two inscriptions refer to a group called *Ἀγυιάται*.³¹ Both were found reused in modern private houses. The first, dated in the first half of the fourth century BC, records a dedication by the Agyiatai, when *archons* were Sosandros and Asandros: *τοῖς Ἀγυιάταις ἀνέ[θη]/καν ἀρχόντων Σοσ[άν]/δρο, Ἀσάνδρο*.³² The second inscription is dated to the second half of the fourth century and records the dedication of a certain Trochilos, *archon* of the Agyiatai, after his victory at the Pythia: *Τροχίλος ἀνέθηκεν/ἄρχων τοῖς Ἀγυιάταις/εὐξάμενος Πυθιάδα/αἶκε νικάσε*.³³ There is little we can say about the nature of the group of Agyiatai. It has been suggested that they were a local cultic organization, possibly the inhabitants of a street or a *kome*, as is indicated by their name which derives from the word *agya* (road), the ending in *atai*, and an entry in Hesychius which glosses the *ἀγυιῆται* as *κωμηῆται, γείτονες*.³⁴ But the group could just as well have been a *phyle*, a phratry, a *genos*, or a private religious organization, which took its name from the cult of the god around which it was centred: the cult of Apollo Agyieus—once called Agyiatas in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1081 and 1086)—is known in Athens and other places of the Greek world and Agyieus is also attested as a cult epithet for Zeus and Dionysus.³⁵ The *archon* of the group Trochilos, victor at the Pythian games, possibly belonged to the upper classes of society, but this tell us little about the group over which he was officiating.³⁶

For a group called *ἄγχιστοι* see section 2.5.

³¹ Mastrokostas (1964) 307–9 suggested that the Agyiatai were the gods to which the dedication was offered. But De Sanctis (1898) 66 no. 85; Helly (1995) 316; Decourt (1995) no. 75 argued convincingly against that.

³² The form *τοῖς Ἀγυιάταις* follows a form of nominative plural attested in other Aiolian dialects, but for the first time encountered in the Thessalian one: Blümel (1982) 265.

³³ Decourt (1995) no. 74, argued that the dative *τοῖς Ἀγυιάταις* depends on *ἀνέθηκεν* and, thus, Trochilos offered the dedication to his group. Contra: B. Helly, *BE* (1996) no. 1.

³⁴ De Sanctis (1898) 66; Decourt (1995) 96; Kontogiannis (1992) 387 n.27; Helly (1995) 316. For the word *agya*: Christol (1979).

³⁵ For the cult of the Apollo Agyieus in Athens: Cook (1914–40) v. 160–6; Farnell (1896–1909) iv. 148–9; Nilsson (1961) 65–83; in Arcadia: Jost (1985) 232, 483–5; in north-west Greece: Tzouvara-Souli (1984). For the cult in general see also Gaifman (2012) 271–89. For Zeus Agyieus at Chios: Graf (1985) 32 n. 101. Other possibilities exist: note that Pausanias 10.5.7 mentions that a hero called Agyieus built together with Pagasos the first temple of Apollo at Delphi. Pagasos might have a Thessalian connection and be related to the city Pagasai. Dr J. Coulton suggested to me that they might have been responsible for the maintenance of a particular street. See e.g. Pouilloux (1983) 217–19, who argues that *agya* was the technical name of the road that led to the stadium of Delphi. Contra: Aupert (1979) 174.

³⁶ Fourth-century lavish dedications by Thessalian athletes, such as the statues of Agias from Pharsalos (*IG IX 2 249*), and Polydamas from Scotoussa (Paus. 6.5.1), both made by Lysippos, and the much-discussed Daochos monument at Delphi for which see most recently Jacquemin (1999) 436 no. 391; Jacquemin and Laroche (2001), which commemorates both athletic victories and political office, might indicate that participation in sports was still during that period in Thessaly a pastime of the upper classes. But see Decourt (1995) no. 96, who suggests that Trochilos competed at some local Pythia, because of the humble nature of the votive. But this might not have been the sole offering.

Pherai (South-eastern Thessaly)

For the groups of Sorsikidai and Kotilidai that may or may not have come from Pherai see section 2.1. The full text on the inscription is the following: *Εὐεργέται Χαλκιδεῖ/ Πετθαλοὶ ἐδώκαιεν προ/ξενίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀ/[τέ]λειαν καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ γενε/ᾱι προστατευόντων Σορ/σικιδάων καὶ Κωτιλιδάων.*

Scotoussa

A late fourth-/early third-century honorary decree mentions the *phyle* *Οἰλυκίδαι*.³⁷

³⁷ AD 43 (1988) *Chron.* 282.

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Subject Index

- Achilles
contingent of in the *Iliad* 220
heroon (?) of Achilles at
Pharsalos 176 n. 77
importance of at Pharsalos 175–6
prayer to Zeus Dodonaïos 187
theoria to his tomb at Sigeion 175 n. 75
threatening to return to Phthia in the
Iliad 266, 267
- Acropolis, Athenian
dearth of female inscribed dedications 28
as *epiphanestatos topos* 110 n. 54
Peisistratos surrendering it to the
Athenians 111
- Acropolis, Thessalian
at the edge of several cities 102 n. 12
as *epiphanestatos topos* 110
dearth of female inscribed dedications 28
and houses of local aristocrats? 87 n. 153
layout of 102–4
the Pharsalians consigning it to
Polydamas 108, 111
symbolic importance of 100, 108,
110–11
temples built on 110 n. 53
and treasury of public or sacred money 104
see also Argissa, Atrax, Demetrias,
Evangelismos, Homolion, Krannon,
Larisa, Melitaia, Nevestiki, Pharsalos,
Pherai
- Acropolis, Thessalian, cults of 102–125, 299
‘acropolis’ and ‘periacropolitan’ 103–4
and Asclepius? 144, 146
and Ennodia? 148–9
and particular groups or individuals 108,
110–11, 114, 159, 299
see also altar of the Twelve Gods, Athena
Polias, Zeus Thaulios, Demeter,
Dionysus Karpios, Heracles
- Admetus
and Apollo, close relationship with 164
n. 13, 171, 173 n. 61, 242, 244, 266–7
and Heracles, close relationship with 171
and hospitality 173, 266–7, 298–9
fear of death 266–7, 268
founds sanctuary of Apollo at
Eretria 171 n. 47
as a name of priests of Apollo at
Thera 171 n. 47
- afterlife beliefs
omitted from regional studies of religion 4
shift in attitudes in Hellenistic period 212,
284–5
Thessalians’ attitude to 13–4, 207–8,
267–8, 274–5
see also burial, death attitudes to, funerary
epigrams, gold leaves
- Agathe Tyche, *see* Tyche Agathe
- Agathos Theos, *see* Theos, Agathos
- Agia
inscribed dedications from 20, ID nos. 16,
372, 425
- Agora, Thessalian
access to the ‘free’ agora 70 n. 69, 126–7,
349 n. 19
called ‘free’ 126
called *limen* 126–7
called ‘sacred’ 202
commercial 126–8
lay out 127–8
in oligarchic cities 126
as a symbolic place 100, 110 n. 54, 135, 202
see also Atrax, Demetrias, Gonnoi, Kastro
Kallithea, Larisa, Pharsalos, Pherai, Triikka
- Agora, cults of 128–40
change in Hellenistic times 131, 160
and particular groups, individuals 159–60, 299
see also Apollo Kerdoos, Artemis Iolkia,
Artemis Soteira, Athena Agoraia, Hestia,
Themis Agoraia
- Agoraioi gods 129
- agyia
meaning of 132–3
as the name of a road at Delphi 351 n. 35
see also Hestia
- agyiatai, group at Pharsalos 133, 351
- Agyieus, cult title of various gods 351
- Aiatos, father of Thessalos
date of tradition reported by
Polyaenus 221–2, 227
hero cult at Georgiko 180, 334
marriage with Polykleia, symbolism
of 83–4, 184
role in the Thessalian invasion 84, 184
- Aineas (hero)
and the Ainians 190
and the *phrouroi* 106 n. 33, 146
portrayed as Asclepius 146

- Ainians
 as Aioliens 224 n. 53
 awarded citizenship by Phalanna 75
 closely associated with the
 Perrhaibians 189
 and the dance *karpaia* 119
 and Dionysus Karpios 119–20, 189–90
 and the Dotian plain 189
 and hero Aineas 190
 and Neoptolemos' cult at Delphi 242
 as Pelasgians in myth? 188 n. 151
- Aiole (Magnesia), incorporated to
 Demetrias 198
- Aioliens
 and Athena Itonia 225, 252
 awarded *politeia* by the Thessalians 248
 and brother-sister marriage 84 n. 136
 and colonization of Erythrai? 253–4
 fighting against the Boiotians 224
 identified with the Ainians 224 n. 53
 identified with the Boiotians 221, 223–4
 identified with the Magnesians on
 Maeander 251 n. 198
 and Mytilene 252
 identified with the Thessalians? 224
 not having *phylai* 78 n. 107
 honoured by Larisa 250
 as kins of the Thessalians 251
 living originally in Thessaly 221
 migration of 223, 224 n. 56
 and Zeus Homoloios 94
 and Zeus Olympios 248, 251
- Aitolians
 as Aioliens 224 n. 53
 bestowing citizenship on women 61 n. 37
 and Delphi 246–7
 expansion of in Thessaly 64 n. 44,
 164, 223
 influence on Thessalian local
 traditions 210
 living in Thessaly 210
- Akrisios
 death of 194
 as a founder of Larisa 104, 194
 tomb of at/around Larisa 104,
 194, 195
- Alcestis
 heroon of at Pherai 171 n. 48
 and the Karneia festival 171 n. 47
- Aleuads, of Larisa
 being a *genos*? 349
 and the federal *tagia* 57 n. 16
 Heraclid origins of 222
 hospitality of 297
 intermarriages with other Thessalian
 families 82
 inviting Pindar 194, 252 n. 206
 and political power 69, 193, 236, 297
 reworking Thessalian mythology 195 n.
 195, 224 n. 58
 as tyrants at Larisa 169 n. 40
 wealth of 261
- Aleuas the Red
 as founding hero 55 n. 8
 becoming king of Thessaly 241
 being licked by snakes 291 n. 171
 historicity of 55 n. 8, 56 n. 11, 59 n. 30
 and 31
 matronym of 84 n. 138
 reforms of 55 n. 8, 59 n. 30
 son of Thessalos 224
- Alexander of Pherai
 death and burial of 168, 281 n. 120
 and Dionysus Pelekos at Pagasai 167
 hero cult of 167–8
 and Pagasai 167–8
 religious policy of 171–2
 wife of 82
- Alos (Magnesia), incorporated to
 Demetrias 198
- Altar(s)
 as dedications 17
 in houses 44, 88, 89, 206
 at Latomeio 331
 at Melitaia, sanctuary of Ennodia 332
 at Philia 35 n. 106, 228, 339 n. 83
 at Tempe 345
 of the Twelve Gods at Pherai 48, 49, 130,
 134, 149, 151, 174
- Ambelia (Pharsalos), votive deposit 21, 121,
 122–3, 176, 336
- Ambrakia
 Artemis-Pasikrata, cult of 274 n. 72
 sending *proxenoi* to Itonos 252
- Amphanai
 identified with Soros 162, 165
 incorporated to Demetrias 165, 198
 as Thessalian settlement 165
 tomb of Kyknos 165
- anchistoi* 90–1, 113
- Antiphos, son of Thessalos
 coming to land of Pelasgians 222–3
 being king of Kos 220
 tomb of at Ephyra 222
- Anubis, dedications to ID no. 326, 329, 333
 see also Egyptian gods, Sarapis
- Aphrodite
 and death? 183 n. 126, 269, 274 n. 72
 inscribed dedications to 22, 24, 25, ID
 nos. 1–15
 likes sacrifice of pigs 96, 183
 priestesses of 114, 287

- prominent in western Thessaly? 181, 183–4
and war 184
women rituals for 85 n. 144
see also Metropolis, Pharsalos
- Aphrodite, cult titles
Anosia 183
Enagonios ID no. 8
Kapouneia ID no. 7
of the Kierians 183, ID no. 15
Neleia 203–4 n. 242, ID no. 13
Ourania ID no. 10
Pandemos ID no. 5
Peitho 174–5, ID no. 11
- Apollo
and agoras 135
and exchange 138–9
and health 145, 146, 177
and Hermes 137, 138
and initiation rites 138
inscribed dedications to 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,
ID nos. 16–77
and men 23, 135
and *metis* 138–9
oracular sanctuaries of 167 n. 31,
182 n. 120
and Poseidon 13, 92, 139, 238 n. 124
priests of 244 n. 158, 292
purification of at Thessaly 242, 245
and sea faring 165–6, 211
servitude to Admetus 242 n. 144, 267
and temples in myths 40 n. 123, 45 n. 146
and trade 137 n. 223
votive reliefs of 246
and women 23, 190 n. 171
see also Deipnias, Delphi, Eretria,
Metropolis, Soros, Stepteria, Tempe
- Apollo Aisonios ID nos. 16, 30, 31, 33, 34,
36, 37
and fishermen? 165 n. 24
and sea faring 138 n. 224, 165 n. 24, 211
- Apollo Hekatombios
and the Basaidai group 92–4
festival, similarity to Apatouria? 93–4
and hecatombs? 93
priests of 64
sanctuary of at Metropolis 67 n. 54, 68, 181
n. 110
sanctuary of at Ttylichnai 67 n. 54, 68 n. 58
- Apollo Kerdoos 135–40, ID nos. 44, 73–4
not connected with trade 137–8
and the *dekate*? 138
links to Delphi 139, 244
meaning of the epithet 136–140
and men 135
and Thessalian *megaloprepeia* 140, 160
sanctuary at Larisa as *epiphanestatos*
topos 110 n. 54, 127, 135, 250;
in the ‘free’ agora 127, 135;
not in *limen* 127
sanctuary at Scotoussa by the walls 141
status of dedicants 140
- Apollo Koropaios
and health 146
oracular sanctuary of 167 n. 31
priest of 292
sanctuary of at Korope 203, 330–1
- Apollo Lykeios ID nos. 22, 23, 54
and military forces at Larisa 142
sanctuary at Atrax as *epiphanestatos*
topos 110 n. 54
- Apollo Pagasaioi 165–7
as amphichion cult? 166, 168
and the Argonautic expedition 164
n. 13, 165
on coins of Pagasai 165
in [Hesiod]’s *Aspis* 163, 164 n. 13, 166
and oracles? 167
sanctuary at Soros? 166
- Apollo (?) Phyllios
at Ichnai? 182
oracle of? 182
- Apollo Pythios ID nos. 17, 24, 38, 47, 62,
63, 69–70
at Larisa 141
at Pythion, sanctuary of 92, 110 n. 54,
247, 343
at Tempe, dedications to 190 n. 171
see also Delphi, Tempe
- Apollo, cult titles
Agreus ID nos. 18, 26, 28
Delphaios 142, ID no. 46
Doreios 184 n. 129, ID nos. 25, 59–61
Hetdomaios ID no. 19
Kataibasios 93 n. 186
Koropeites ID no. 42
Leschaios 191, 299, ID no. 50
Leukatas ? 106 n. 33, ID no. 53
Mousagetes 191 n. 173, ID no. 51
Panlimnios 42 n. 133, 138 n. 224, ID no. 29
Patroos? 91 n. 173
Proernios 105, 110 n. 54
Promantas 142
Techetas 142
Tempeites 190 n. 171, ID nos. 45, 67
see also Apollo Aisonios, Apollo
Hekatombios, Apollo Kerdoos, Apollo
Koropaios, Apollo Lykeios, Apollo
Pagasaioi, Apollo Phyllios, Apollo
Pythios
archescopoi 106, 107, 341

- archon(s) 128, 133, 217 n. 18, 278, 351
 Ares, dedication to ID no. 78
 Argissa
 acropolis, Athena Polias 104
 coins of 196 n. 205
 and Epaphos 195
 identified with Gremnos Magoula 104, 196
 n. 205
 inscribed dedications found at 18,
 ID no. 17
 more important than Larisa
 originally? 195–6
 known as Leontinoi 188
 and the Lapiths Leonteus and
 Polypoites 188
 phylai 60 n. 34
 Argonautic expedition 165
 see also Zeus Hetaireios
 Aristotle
 and the *archomenos polites* 70–1
 on citizenship 69
 on public religion and oligarchy 86 n. 150
 on the Thessalian *ethnos* 9–10, 12, 55 n. 8
 Arne
 identified with Kierion 179, 221, 227
 as a mythical city 221 n. 36
 natives of 224 n. 55
 nymph depicted on coins of Kierion 179,
 221, 227
 and the Thessalo-Boiotian wars 154, 179,
 221, 254
 Artemis
 and childbirth 23, 151
 dedications to 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 34–5, 46,
 ID nos. 79–174
 and healing? 146 n. 280
 and horses 153
 and men 23 n. 68, 24
 iconography of 152, 246
 omitted from the Pheraean altar of the
 Twelve Gods 48, 151
 and rites of passage 47, 151, 204, 211
 and women 23, 24, 28, 30
 see also Ennodia, Gonnoi, Melitaia
 Artemis Iolkia
 on coins of Demetrias 202 n. 233
 cult at Demetrias 202–3
 cult at Iolkos 203
 priestess of 203 n. 238
 setting of decrees in her sanctuary 110
 n. 54, 202
 temple of at Demetrias 37, 45, 202
 Artemis Pagasetis
 dedication by *nebeusasai* 151, 203–4
 development of cult over time 204
 Artemis Phosphoros 146 n. 280, 343, ID nos.
 146–50, 152, 160
 on federal coins? 154 n. 342
 and the *phrouroi* 106 n. 33
 and the Thessalian invasion? 154
 Artemis Throsia ID nos. 79–80, 143–4
 dedications by *nebeusasai* 151, 204 n. 246,
 212 n. 288
 Artemis, titles of
 Agagylaia 343
 Agrotera? ID no. 166
 Akraia 151, 212 n. 288, ID no. 169
 Chalakeitis ID no. 138
 Delphinia ID no. 161
 Eileithyia 23, 151, ID nos. 111–134, 139,
 159, 171–3
 Euloch(e)ia 23, 151, ID no. 109
 Euonymos ID no. 103
 Geneteira 23, 151, ID nos. 104–8, 135
 Kerdoa 137 n. 222, ID no. 140
 Loch(e)ia 23, 151, ID nos. 110, 136,
 141–2, 163
 Ourania ID no. 151
 en Skia ID no. 155
 Soteira 110 n. 54, ID no. 87
 Stratia ID no. 86
 see also Artemis Iolkia, Artemis Pagasetis,
 Artemis Posphoros, Artemis Throsia
 Asclepius 142–7
 children statues dedicated to 144
 early cult at Daphnous? 146 n. 275
 and healing 144
 inscribed dedications to 22, 23, 24, 26, 28,
 ID nos. 175–201
 location of sanctuaries 144
 often depicted on coins 142 n. 246, n. 250,
 n. 251, 143 n. 258, n. 260, 145 n. 273
 origins of cult 145, 146 n. 275
 as a Panthessalian deity 253–4, 255, 256
 priests of, prominent as dedicants 23, 24, 28;
 serving as eponymous 143–4
 public importance of cult 143–44
 Soter 143 n. 258, 145
 spread of cult within Thessaly 145–7
 votive limbs dedicated to 144
 and women 24, 28
 see also Gonnoi, Krannon, Melitaia,
 Pharsalos, Phthiotic Thebes
 associations, private 124, 211 n. 285, 347–52
 see also thiasoi
astos 78
atagia, *see tagia*
 Athamas
 descendants of, ritual at Halos 95,
 134 n. 206
 myth of depicted on skyphos 164 n. 13
 Athena
 on coins mostly of western Thessalian
 cities 105, 178–9, 180

- inscribed dedications to 22, 24, 25, 28, **ID**
 nos. 202–220
 Athena Itonia 225–34, 251–2
 as old amphictionic cult? 231
 and dedication of fibulae 35, 234;
 tripods 227; weapons 35, 233
 not depicted on early federal
 coinage 226 n. 64
 distribution of cult 229–31
 and foreign *theoriai* 226, 230, 251–2
 as goddess of invasions and/or
 migrations 251–2, 255
 influences depiction of coins in
 W. Thessaly 180
 interest of the Thessalian Koinon in her
 cult 226
 and militarism? 35, 183, 233–4
 and military achievements 226–7, 233
 and the Ormenidai group 94–5, 234
 as Panthessalian goddess from early
 times 226–7, 228–9, 232–3
 as protectress of poetry? 234 n. 103
 as protectress of young heroes 233
 and ritual of *hoplophaniai*? 106 n. 31
 sanctuary at Achaia Phthiotis 229–30
 sanctuary at Boiotian Koroneia 221, 230
 sanctuary at Philia 30–1, 35, 56 n. 13,
 227–8, 339–41
 sanctuaries at various Thessalian
 cities? 231
 and ship-building 234
 worshipped by the Boiotians at Arne 221,
 225, 230
 see also Itonos
 Athena Polias 104–11, 210 n. 27, **ID** nos. 205,
 207, 209, 219–20
 and armed parades 106
 centrality of men in her cult 108–9, 159
 change through time 108
 dedications to 105–10
 fines paid to 104
 and houses of ruling families? 87 n. 153
 and magistrates 107–8, 159
 and *peplophoria* ritual? 109
 cult by *perioikoi* 105–7
 and the *phrouroi* 106–7
 priests of being male 108–9
 temples of 45, 46 n. 152, 110 n. 53
 and women 108–9
 see also Argissa, Gonnoi, Krannon, Larisa
 Phthiotic Thebes
 Athena, cult titles
 Agoraia 128–9, 130–1, **ID** no. 202
 Hoplophoros Pallas 106, **ID** no. 214
 Ilias **ID** no. 204
 Kore Tritogenes 107, **ID** no. 218
 Lageitara 142
 Patria 92, 141, 272
 Patroa 91 n. 173, **ID** no. 215
 Tharsys 142
 see also Athena Itonia, Athena Polias
 Athens
 ambivalent relationship to Thessaly 259,
 260 n. 5, 296
 restoring Orestes 236, 265
 see also battle of Tanagra, peace of
 Philokrates, Peloponnesian war
 Atrax
 acropolis 102 n. 12
 agora, cults of Athena, Dionysus, Themis,
 and Zeus Tritodios? 128–9, 272
 n. 60, 348
 displays decrees in Apollo Lykeios'
 sanctuary 110 n. 54
 expanding in Hellenistic period 209
 groups attested at 347–8
 inscribed dedications from 21, 26, 27
 komai 63 n. 42
 konthinarchontes 62–3 n. 41
 and *kynegoi* 205, 211
 and Lapiths 189, 190
 marble quarries 27 n. 74
 nymphs, sanctuary of 43, 46
 phrouroi 106, 107, 110 n. 53
 'twelve tribes' decree 61–3, 68, 70
 Zeus Thaulios, sanctuary of 129 n. 163,
 272 n. 60
 Azoros (Perrhaibia)
 inscribed dedications from 21
 mansion of royal *epistates* 87 n. 155
 Bacchylides, ode for Larisean Aristotle 132
 Basaidai, *see syngeneia*, Apollo Hekatombios,
 Metropolis
basilike chora 200 n. 225
 battle of Tanagra 216, 236, 282
 Boibe lake, birth of Asclepius 42, 145, 192
 Boibe, settlement incorporated in
 Demetrias 198
 Boiotians
 as Aioliens 221, 223–4
 fragile identity of? 257 n. 220
 in stories about Thessalian invasion 154,
 179, 221, 223, 230, 254
 syngeneia ties with Larisa
 in wars against/with the
 Thessalians 232 n. 94
 as uncivilized as the Thessalians 262 n. 18
boukoloi, group at Atrax 118, 129,
 290 n. 166
 Bounarbasi 196
 'bringing down the moon' 287–9, 294–5

- burial
 dirges 280, 281, 285 n. 139
 emotional tone 285
 graves, types of 280
 laments 285 n. 139
 legislation for 279–80
 practices, highly unusual? 260 n. 4
 private 280–2
 public 281
 of the war dead 278–9, 281–2
see also afterlife beliefs, death, funerary
 epigrams, gold leaves
- cakes
 called: *daraton* 261 n. 8; *mattyē* 261 n. 8,
 263 n. 21; *oinoutta?* 117 n. 91
 in the cult of Demeter Megalartos 120 n. 109
 represented on stone 43 n. 139, 44, 88–9
 as a specialty of Thessaly 261 n. 8
 Callimachus hymn to Demeter, relevance to
 Thessaly 95 n. 197
 cavalry men, role of 54 n. 6, 56 n. 11, 58–9, 70,
 282 n. 126
see also *hippeis*, *hippotai*
- caves, as cult places 41–2
 cemetery, as a delineated area? 272–3
 Centaurs, *see* Lapiths, Chiron
 Charites 43 n. 138, 142, 152 n. 326, ID nos.
 221–3
 Chiron
 as ancestor of a family of rootcutters 290
 at cave of nymphs on Mt Karaplas,
 Pharsalos 176–7
 cave of on Mt Pelion 203
 as a giver of wisdom 176, 177
 and healing 146–7
 and offering of herbs by Magnesians? 290
 n. 172
 Chorto (Magnesia)
 inscribed dedications from 21, ID nos. 226,
 292, 412, 436
 chthonian gods, 12–5, 147, 268, 270,
 273–4, 197
see also Demeter Chthonia, Hermes
 Chthonios, Thessalian religion
 Chyretiai (Perrhaibia)
 Asclepius: dedications to 143 n. 256;
 eponymus priest of 143 n. 256
 identified with Domeniko 143 n. 256
 sanctuary of on the acropolis? 144
 citizenship
 cultic 71 n. 72
 half-citizens 75–7
 importance of in Thessaly 71–9,
 208–9, 299
 passive 70–1
- cloth
 as dedication 34–5
 of the *kynegoi* 200, 205
 making of 56 n. 13, 80 n. 117
 offered by Dyseris 109 n. 52
 on a relief of Echinus 34
- coins
 common depictions of city-nymphs 43
 no depictions of river gods 42 n. 133,
 181 n. 109
 as evidence for local mythology 164 n. 13
 as evidence for polis interest in a cult 99
 federal 154 n. 343, 226, 234–7, 238,
 254 n. 217
 Petraios issue 234–7
taurokathapsia issue 192–3, 234 n. 104,
 236 n. 118, 249 n. 188
 conflict, role in Thessalian society 59, 214–7,
 256, 301
 craftsmen
 not allowed entrance in the free agora 126
 evidence for 56
 Critias, spending time in Thessaly 117 n. 92,
 259, 265 n. 36
- Daimon Athanatos, dedication to ID no. 224
 Damasi, inscribed dedications from 21, 47–8
 n. 160, ID no. 26, 346
- dance(s)
 and Athena Itonia? 234 n. 103
 and Athena Polias 106 n. 31
 and Dionysus 118–19
 called *karpaia* 119
 and the ‘leading men’ of Thessaly 118
 and the *penestai* 120 n. 107, 265 n. 37
 Daochos, monument of at Delphi 245,
 351 n. 36
- death, attitudes to 266, 267, 268–285
 ‘beautiful’ death 280–1, 282
 different from Athens 279–80, 282–4
 and particular groups of the
 population 277–8
 in previous scholarship 13–4, 259–60, 268
 shift in attitudes in Hellenistic times 212,
 278–9, 285
 in stories set in Thessaly 266–7
see also afterlife beliefs, burial, funerary
 epigrams, gold leaves
- dedications 17–37
 chronological variation 19, 24, 26, 30–1, 33
 and commemoration 29–30, 102
 and competition 36
 disposal of 271
 an indicator of the popularity of
 gods? 27–30, 102, 110
 geographical variation 19, 24–7, 30

- in favour of somebody else 23
 inscribed 17–30, 102, 108–10
 motives for 23, 211–12
 inventory of 150 n. 316
 names for 22, 211–12
 and religious mentality 22–3, 211–12
 and sex of dedicant 22–4, 28, 36, 109
see also altars, fibulae, statues, *stelai*, tripods, weapons
- Deipnias
 identified with Glauke/Platykambos 191
 rite at 191–2, 197, 244
- Delphi, and Thessaly 241–7
 during the Aitolians' expansion 244, 246–7
 amphictiony, Thessaly's role in 215, 242, 247
 connected with each other in various stories 241–2, 245–6
 cult of Neptolemos 242–3, 245, 247
 dedications at by Thessalians 176, 245, 282 n. 128
 in the fourth century 244–5
 Jason's organization of the Pythian games 172, 245, 246
 mythic/ritual links with Thessalian Apollo cults 139, 190, 191–2, 244, 255
 popularity of in Thessaly 243, 246
 Stepteria festival 190, 191–2, 243–4, 245–6, 247
 Theoxenia festival 242
- demarchs 63 n. 42, 157 n. 362, 201 n. 229
- demes, at Demetrias 63 n. 42, 199 n. 218, 201–2 and n. 229, 203, 208
- Demeter
 and citizenship 122–3
 and Dionysus 115
 and Ennodia 152 n. 330, 283 n. 130, 287 n. 147
 and fertility 120–1
 horses figurines, dedicated to 121–23
 inscribed dedications to 22, 23, 24, 120, 121, 123, **ID** nos. 225–242
 and marriage 47, 122, 204 n. 246
 and men 23, 120 n. 113
 mystery cults of? 13, 283 n. 130
 and *nebeusasai*? 204 n. 246
 Thesmophoria festival 121, 122
 and women 23, 85 n. 144, 120, 122–3
see also Ambelia (Pharsalos), Demetrias, Karpochori, Larisa, Pharsalos, Proerna, Pyrasos
- Demeter, cult titles
 Chthonia 276
 Megalartos 120 n. 109, **ID** no. 233
 Panachaia **ID** no. 238
 Phylaka 114, 120 n. 110, **ID** nos. 231–2
 Plout(e)ia 120 n. 111, 142
- Demetrias 197–209
 acropolis, military use of 199
 agora sacred 199, 202
 afterlife beliefs of population 207–8
 citizenship, importance of 208–9
 demes of 63 n. 42, 199 n. 218, 201–2 and n. 229, 203, 208
 display of decrees 110 n. 54
 heroon of Demetrios Poliorketes 199, 201
 houses 87 n. 155, 206
 inhabitants, origins of 199–200
 institutions of 131 n. 182, 199 n. 218, 200
 Iolkos, relationship to 201–2
komai of 201 n. 229
kynegoi 200, 205
 layout of 199
 Macedonia, ritual links with 204–5, 206
 palace 199, 202
phylai at? 60–1 n. 34
 priests/stesses, appointment of 203, 206, 292
 proxeny decrees 72, 208–9
 syncretism 207–8
 synoecism of 198
 synoecism, impact on religion 165 n. 20, 197–209
 territory 198
 uniqueness of 209–12
- Demetrias, cults of
 Aphrodite Neleia 203–4 n. 242
 Apollo Koropaios 146, 167 n. 31, 203, 330–1
 Apollo Pagasaioi? 165 n. 20
 Artemis Ennodia 147, 269, 273–4
 Artemis Iolkia 202, 203
 Artemis Pagasetis 203–4
 Asclepius 143 n. 258, 145
 Demeter 121, 122, 200, 326
 Hera 47–8, 50
 Heracles 205
 household cults 206
ktistai and *archegetai* 146, 201–2, 203
 Mother of the Gods 206–7, 327
 Pasikrata 207, 268–9, 270, 271, 273–4, 326
 by private *thiasoi* 206–7
 Sarapis 207
 Zeus Akraios 203, 206, 292, 334–5
 Zeus Hetaireios 204 n. 248, 205
- Dendra
 archaic frieze from 196
 dedication to Artemis **ID** no. 95
- dinner parties, *see* symposium
- Dion, sanctuary of Zeus 248–9
- Dionysus 114–120
 in the agora of Atrax? 129, 131
 and the *boukoloi* 118, 129

- Dionysus (*cont.*)
 clustering of evidence in NE Thessaly 116–7
 and dancing 110–12
 and Demeter 115
 and dramatic performances 118 n. 95, 167 n. 36
 inscribed dedications to 22, 23, 24, 116, ID nos. 243–51
 myths of 116
 participation in his festivals 117–20, 159
 not so popular? 13, 115 n. 77
 and viticulture 116–17
 and women 118
- Dionysus Karpios
 and the dance *karpaia* 119
 importance of in Roman times 190
 at Gomphoi 114
 at Larisa, on acropolis 114
 and Larisa's religious territory 192, 195
 at Mikro Kaserli, Dotian plain 106 n. 33, 115, 189–90
 and the *phrouroi* 106 n. 33, 190
 worshipped by Ainians and Magnesians 119–20, 189–90
- Dionysus Pelekos, at Pagasai
 and Alexander of Pherai 167–8, 172
 epithet of 167 n. 33
- Dionysus, cult titles
 *Iyggios 115
 Makedonikos 114, ID no. 246
 *Thyios 115
see also Dionysus Karpios, Dionysus Pelekos
- Dioskouroi
 famous cult at Pherai 173 n. 63
 inscribed dedications to 22, 23, 26, ID nos. 252–5
 and Scopas death 298
 and sea travelers 155, 173
 and war 173
xenia celebration by Jason of Pherai 173
- Dodona
 no evidence for *theoria* to 188
 Mondaiaans consulting it 130, 188 n. 148
 at Scotoussa 187–8
- Doliche (Perrhaibia)
phyle 60–1 n. 34
 sanctuary of Themis 130 n. 179
- Domeniko, *see* Chyretiai
- Dorians
 in Hestiaiotes 184, 222
 war with Lapiths 189 n. 157
- Dotian plain
 and myth of Asclepius 145, 192
 and myth of Erysichton 231 n. 87
 and traditions about previous occupants 120, 189–90
- Echecrates, of Larisa
 the first to dedicate at Delphi 241
- Echecratidas, of Pharsalos
 expulsion of 236
 inviting Anacreon 175
- Echecratids, of Pharsalos
 and the federal tagia? 57 n. 16
 intermarriages with other Thessalian families 82
- Egyptian gods, spread of cult 211
see also Anubis, Harpocrates, Horus, Isis, Sarapis
- Eirene, at Phthiotic Thebes 106 n. 35, ID no. 256, 342
- Elateia
 founded in Hellenistic times 209
 identified with Mikro Kaserli? 106
 and Lapiths 189
see also Mikro Kaserli
- Eleusinian mysteries
 Thessalians being initiated in? 284
- eleutheria*, name of dedication 22–3, 190 n. 171
- Empedokles, controlling the firmament 288
- Ennodia 147–158, 169–74, 253–4
 and Artemis 48, 147, 148 n. 291, 151–3, 207
 and cemeteries 148, 156, 269–72
 and childbirth? 151
 and child protection 150–1
 and cross roads 155
 and death 148, 155–6, 269, 274
 and Demeter 152 n. 330
 and drugs 155–6, 287
 and families 151, 157
 festivals of 157–8
 and gates 156 n. 356
 and healing? 146
 and Hecate 147, 148 n. 292, 155–6
 and horses 153
 in houses? 157 n. 358
 iconography of 148 n. 292, 152, 154 n. 344
 and kinship groups 150
 and madness 154, 290 n. 170
 and magic 147, 155–6, 287, 289
 and marriage? 151
 and migration 154
 and mystery cults 283 n. 130
 origins of cult 169–170
 as Panthessalian deity 172–3, 253–4, 255, 256
 and Pasikrata 207, 269, 273–4
 and Pheraian politics 169–74

- as Pherai's patron divinity 100 n. 54,
170–1, 197
priestess of 151, 154, 157, 253, 290
n. 170, 291
and protection over animals 153
public importance of cult 148–50, 158
and purification 155–6
and roads 42–3, 154–155, 156, 299
sacrifice to 156 n. 352
status of worshippers 14 n. 38, 156–7, 170
and the Thessalian invasion 154, 254
in villages? 157
and warfare 154, 173–4
and Zeus Meilichios 112, 151
and Zeus Thaulios? 112–13
see also Larisa, Melitaia, Pherai
- Ennodia, cult titles
Alexeatis 157, **ID** no. 264
Artemis Ennodia 147 n. 288, 207, 269,
273–4, **ID** no. 259
Astike 150, 157 and n. 358, 192, **ID** no. 261
Ilias 148 n. 293, **ID** no. 257
Korillos 151 n. 321, **ID** no. 272
Koroutarra 151 n. 321, **ID** no. 281
Mykaike 142, 150, 153, 156 n. 355, 272
Osia 156
Patroa 50, 91 n. 173, 150, 192, **ID** nos.
274, 280
Pheraia 148 n. 294, **ID** no. 276
Phosphoros **ID** no. 8
Polias? 148 n. 293
Stathmia 151, 153, 156 n. 356, **ID** no. 263
Strogike Patroa **ID** no. 262
- Epaphos 50, 142, 194–5
ephebes
and the *hylouroi*? 124
and the *phrouroi*? 106
ephebes, royal
and the *kynegoi*? 205
- Ephyra
at Krannon 185
rich in herbs 96 n. 202, 185, 261–2
in Thesprotia 96 n. 202, 185, 222, 261–2
tomb of sons of Thessalos 222, 262 n. 15
- Ephyraioi 96, 290–1
epigamia, a special honour 71, 72 n. 78,
82–3
epinomia, a special honour 72 n. 76, 76
epiphanestatoi topoi, *see* sanctuaries
epistates, at Thessaly 87 n. 155, 200
n. 225, 218
- Eretria (Achaia Phthiotis)
dedication to Apollo **ID** no. 27
sanctuary of Apollo? 44, 88 n. 158, 171
n. 47, 327
- Erichto 296
- Erysichton 231 n. 87, 234
Erythrai, links with Thessaly 154, 155, 253–4
ethnicity, *see* Panthessalianism
ethnos 7–10, 214–6
see also conflict, poleis, Thessalian *ethnos*
- Euhydriion, *see* Ktouri
- Eurai (Magnesia)
founded in the Hellenistic period? 209
grapes on coins 116
incorporated in Demetrias? 198 n. 209
and viticulture? 117
- Euripides
Alcestis 266–7
Andromache 264–5
links with Thessaly 118 n. 95, 264 n. 28
- Eurylochos
evoked by Jason? 245
role in the First Sacred war 244
uses hellebore 262 n. 15
- Eurymenai (Magnesia)
grapes on coins 116
incorporated in Demetrias? 198 n. 209
and viticulture? 117
- Eurypylos, king in Homer
popularity of tradition 179
- Evangelismos
acropolis, temple on 110 n. 53, 196, 327
dedication to Asclepius 143, 144,
ID no. 181
exegetes, at Demetrias 200 n. 224
- fibulae, as dedications 30, 31, 34–5, 109, 158,
229, 234
- forts 114, 173, 176, 181
see also villages
- funerary epigrams 212, 275–9, 280, 281
see also afterlife beliefs, burial, death,
Hermes Chthonios, gold leaves
funerary sanctuaries, *see* sanctuaries
- Ge, dedications to 22, 119 n. 102, 190, 191
n. 173, **ID** nos. 282–5
- gene 61–9, 347–52
- Glaphyrai, incorporated in Demetrias 198
- Glauke/Platykambos, *see* Deipnias
- gold leaves 276–7
see also Orphism, afterlife beliefs, death
attitudes to
- Gomphoi
Dionysus Karpios, eponymus priest of 115
Ennodia, mentioned in oath 148 n. 293,
250 n. 303
Hera depicted on coins? 47 n. 157
inscribed dedication from **ID** no. 440
Odysseys on votive relief 184–5
sympolity with Thamiai 209

Gonnoi

- acropolis, sanctuary of Athena Polias 31, 45, 105–6, 108–9, 110 n. 53, 327–8
- agora 127
- Asclepius, sanctuary of 143, 144, 146, 328–9
- Artemis, sanctuary of 35, 328
- common hearth 131
- honorary decrees from 73–4, 131
- house of local aristocrats? 87 n. 153
- kinship groups 91 n. 174, 348
- importance in archaic period 196
- inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 26, 27 and phratries? 60 n. 33
- phrouroi* 106–7
- prytaneion* 131 n. 182
- syngeneia* ties with Kos 251 n. 199
- syngeneia* ties with Magnesia on Maeander 251 n. 199
- tagoi* of 69–70
- Gounitsa, sacred law 104 n. 21
- grain
 - Thessaly exporting it 250, 252 n. 205, 259 n. 3, 261
 - Thessaly importing it 75 n. 92
- Gremnos Magoula, see Argissa
- Gyrtone (ancient)
 - and Lapiths 188
 - and Phlegyans 189, 190
 - tomb of Hippocrates 293
- Gyrtone (modern), see Mopsion
- Hagioi Theodoroi, sanctuary at 31, 41, 144, 146, 329
- Hagios Antonios, sanctuary of Zeus 248–9
- Hagios Georgios (Krannon), group burial 281 n. 119
- Haimon, father of Thessalos 223
- Halos
 - household cult of Zeus Ktesios? 88 n. 156
 - inscribed dedications from 20, 21, ID nos. 40, 136–7, 228
 - local mythology of 210 n. 281
 - sepulchral building 329–30
 - synoecism of 209
 - see also Athamas
- Harmonia, dedication to 25, ID no. 286
- Harpocrates, dedications to 22 ID nos. 325, 334
 - see also Egyptian gods, Sarapis
- healers, see rootcutters
- healing cults, other than Asclepius 146–7
- hearth, common 131 n. 183
- Hecate, see Ennodia
- hekataia* 148 n. 292, 152 n. 326

Helenos, cult at Scotoussa 188

Helios, dedications to 22, ID nos. 287–0

Hera 46–50

- cult at Demetrias 47–8
- cult at Larisa 47–8, 50, 194
- lack of material evidence for 47–8
- and marriage 47
- not mentioned in the altar of Twelve Gods at Pherai 48–9
- neglected by Pelias 49
- prominence in mythology 49–50, 194
- replaced by Themis? 48, 130
- sharing powers with Poseidon 49

Heracles 123–5

- and Admetus 171, 267
- as ancestor of the Thessalians 221–3
- as a civilizing hero 124, 235 n. 108
- dedications only by men 24, 124, ID nos. 290–306; of statues of *kouroi* 125
- draining the Thessalian plains 124, 235 n. 108
- fight with Kyknos at Pagasai 166
- and the *hylouroi* 124
- and the *kynegoi* 205
- and private associations of men? 124, 348, 349
- and the public sphere 124–5
- and warfare 125
- see also Kierion, Latomeio, Pherai, Scotoussa

Hermes

- Brychaleios 177, 278
- Chthonios 208, 274–5, 277, 278, 285
- Eriounios 177–8, 275, 278
- and health 146
- inscribed dedications to 22, ID nos. 307–11
- heroes/heroines
 - Dikaïos ID no. 321
 - Enodios ID no. 312
 - Eupolemos ID no. 313
 - and healing 146
 - Heroine ID no. 321
 - Oinousseus 117 n. 91, ID no. 314
 - Politophylax ID no. 315
 - Symmachos 134, ID no. 322
 - see also Aiatos, Aineas, Akrisios, Alexander of Pherai, Helenos, Ionios Epaphos, Ptotesilaos, Thessalos

Hestia, cult of in an oligarchy 131–5

- and families 132, 133–4
- in the middle of the *agylai* 132–3
- political aspects of 131, 134
- and private fortune 132, 134–5
- in public buildings 131
- in neighbourhoods 133
- on votive relief from Pharsalos 133–4

- Hestiaiotes
 links with Larisa 222, 236 n. 118
 population groups associated with 184–5,
 189 n. 157, 193 n. 183, 222
- hiereus* 292 n. 176
 see also *leitōr*, priests
- hieromnēmones*, federal and local 136 n. 216, 141
- hipparch* 132
- hipparcheion*, at Larisa 141, 142, 186 n. 139
- hippeis* mentioned in treaty with Athens 58
- hippotai* in inscription from Scotoussa 58,
 281 n. 119
- Hippocrates
 grave of 293
 living in Thessaly 293
 public burial of 281
 ‘sheds of Hippocrates’, at Krannon 186
- Hippocratic doctors
 and accusations of magic 293–4
 practicing in Thessaly 185, 293
- Hippocratic medicine
 and women 294
- homogeneia* 251
 see also *syngeneia* ties, *theoriai* foreign
- Homole Mt, cult of Zeus and Pan 41 n. 128
- Homolion
 acropolis, temple at 41, 110 n. 53, 330
 Asclepius, eponymus priest of 143, 144
epistatai at 218 n. 24
 incorporated in Demetrias? 198
 phratry? 60 n. 33
syngeneia with Kos 251 n. 199
 and viticulture 117
- honorary decrees 71–9
 change through time 77–9
 of Demetrias 72, 208–9
 emphasis on names of magistrates,
 proposers 37 and n. 113
 links to dedication 37
 origin of honorads 74 n. 85, 75–6
 placement of 37, 110 n. 54, 127
 reason for award 74–5
 scrutiny process (*dokimasia*) 75
 topographic variation 72, 76–7, 82 n. 128,
 208–9
 variety of honours awarded 71–74
 see also citizenship
- hoplites
 acquiring citizenship at the end of fifth
 century? 56 n. 11, 70
 in Aleuas’ reforms 55 n. 8, 56 n. 11
 as a defined class? 54 n. 6, 58–9, 70
 depicted on a funerary stele 282
 role at the battle of Tanagra? 282
 role in Thessalian history 54 n. 6, 59
 statue of a hoplite at Metropolis 181
- horses
 created by Poseidon 121, 234–5, 237–8
 dedicated to Demeter 121, 122–123
 in Ennodia’s iconography 152–3
 and fertility 121, 261
 and Thessalian marriage ceremonies 83, 122
 in Thessalian mythology 121 n. 119, 234–9
- horses, Thessalian
 associations of in literature 260–1
 similar in character to Thessalian men 262
 n. 19, 296
- Horus, dedication to ID no. 333
 see also Egyptian gods, Sarapis
- hospitality, importance of for Thessalian
 society 297–9
 perceived negatively 260 n. 5, 263
 and Pherai 173
 as a political virtue 278–9, 297–8
 as a revolutionary gesture 298, 299
 rites of 231 n. 87, 299
 and Thessalian identity 298
 see also *megaloprepeia*
- household cults 87–90, 97, 157 n. 358, 206
- houses 87–9
 status of inhabitants 87, 140 n. 237, 141
 n. 238, 155 n. 348
- hylouroi* 124
- Hypereia fountain, see Pherai
- Ichnai
 city in Macedonia 182
 location in Thessaly 182 n. 116 and 117
 see also Themis Ichnaia
- Ino, dedication to 22, ID no. 323
- Io 50
- Iolkos
 and the Argonautic expedition 165 n. 19
 controlled by the Aleuads 193
 and the cult of *archegetai* and *ktistai* 201–2
 and the cult of Artemis Iolkia 202–3
 identified with Dimini 162–3; with Palia
 Volou 162–3
 incorporated to Demetrias 198, 201
 and the Pelasgians 193 n. 183
- Ionios Epaphos, see Epaphos
- Isis 207, 211, 212 n. 88, ID nos. 324, 326, –33
 see also Egyptian gods, Sarapis
- isopoliteia* 71–2
 see also citizenship, honorary decrees
- isotimia* 61, 64, 68, 72–4, 76
 see also citizenship, honorary decrees
- Ithome, see Thamiiai
- Itonios, month 230 n. 86
- Itonos, hero 229 n. 80, 231 n. 92, 233
- Itonos, toponym
 city in Achaia Phthiotis 229, 230

- Itonos, toponym (*cont.*)
 destination of foreign *theoriai* 226, 230, 252
 mythical city 229 n. 79 and n. 80
 place of publication of decrees 226, 250
 problem with its identification 230
- Jason, of Pherai
 elected tagos of the Thessalians 217
 evoking famous Thessalian figures 245
 as mild tyrant 167, 172
 name giving ceremony for his son 89–90, 253 n. 208
 organization of Pythia 172, 245–6
 wealthy mother 56 n. 13, 80
 wife Theban? 82 n. 129
xenia to the Dioskouroi 173
- Jason, son of Aison 223, 224
 assisted by Athena Itonia 233–4
 father of Thessalos 223, 224
 on Larisean coins 193
 sacrificing to Zeus Hetaireios 205
- judges, office of
 access to 62, 70 n. 66
 and building works 42
- Kaineus, the lapith
 and Atrax 189
 and Gyrtone 188
 as personal name 190
- Kallithera (W. Thessaly)
 houses 87–8 n. 155
 new settlement at 209
- Karpochori (W. Thessaly) votive deposit 122, 178, 330
- Kasthanaia (Magnesia) incorporated to
 Demetrias 198
- Kastro Kallithea (Achaia Phthiotis)
 agora 88 n. 158, 128 n. 158
 built in Hellenistic times 209
 houses 88
 identified with ancient Peuma? 209
- Kedros (SW Thessaly)
 dedication to Apollo **ID** no. 41
 identified with ancient Orthos 269 n. 53
 sanctuary at 41, 269, 270, **330**
see also Orthos
- Kelaitha (W. Thessaly) 179
- Kierion
 acropolis 102 n. 12
 dedications to: Aphrodite of the
 Kierians? 183, **ID** no. 15;
 Poseidon Kouerios 42 n. 133, **ID** no. 377
 depicts on coins: Arne 179, 227;
 Asclepius 142, 143; Athena 105,
 178, 180
 identified with mythical city Arne 179,
 221, 227
 sanctuaries in its *chora* 144 n. 263, 179–80,
 181, 182
 sets up decrees in Heracles sanctuary 110
 n. 54, 125
 traditions about Thessalian
 invasion 179–80, 221, 227
 kinship groups
 cults of 87–97, 113–14, 130 n. 179
see also gene, syngeneiai, phratries
kome 63 n. 42, 201 n. 229
see also demes, villages
 Kondaia 116
 Kore, also called Mounogone 120 n. 113
 Korope
 incorporated to Demetrias 198
 sanctuary of Apollo 203, **330–1**
see also Apollo Koropaios
- Kos
 awarded *politeia* by Thessalians 248
 being Thessalos motherland 221
 claiming Asclepius came from
 Triikka 254
 cooperating with Thessalians in First Sacred
 War 250
 ruled by the sons of Thessalos 220
 sending *theoria* to Itonos 252
 sharing in cult of Zeus Olympios and
 Thessalos 248
syngeneia ties with Magnesia 251 n. 199
syngeneia ties with Perrhaibia 251 n. 199
syngeneia ties with Thessaly 250
 kouros statues, as dedications 125, 331, 340
 Krannon **185–7**
 acropolis, cult of Athena? 104–5
 being once ancient Ephyra 185
 important cult of Zeus? 186 n. 142
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21
 festival open to all 100–1
 groups attested at **348–9**
 houses 87–8 n. 155, 89 n. 164
 monument to Charites? 43
 as a ‘mountain’ city 186–7
 palace of Scopads? 87 n. 153
phylai 60, 67–8 n. 57
 relief depicting Ennodia 153, 153 n. 344,
 sets up decrees in sanctuaries of: Apollo
 Proernios 105; Asclepius 105 n. 24,
 185–6; Athena 105
 two crows as a badge 186, 253 n. 209
 warm springs at 144 n. 262
 weather ritual 186; depictions of on
 coins 186, 253
see also Hagios Georgios (Krannon)

- Kronia (festival), as a parallel to the Peloria festival? 240–1
- Ktouri
 Archaic sanctuary at? 86 n. 154, 331
 dependent on Pharsalos? 178
 identified with ancient Euhydrión 178
- Kybele, see Mother of the Gods
- Kyknos, see Amphanai, Heracles
- kynegoi* 200, 205, 211
- landed property
 awarded with citizenship 76
 no big land property at all? 56 with n. 11 and n. 13
 called *hippotia* 58
 inventories of 55
 mostly at the hands of few? 54–5
 owed by phratrises 60 n. 33
 owed by women 80
 redistribution of 55–6
- Lapiths
 associated with the rivers Peneus and Titaresios 42 n. 132, 189
 depicted on coins 190
 fight with Dorians of Hestiaiotis 189 n. 157, 222
 Larisa, no strong connections with 191 and NE Thessaly 188–91
 moving to SE Aegean 250
 as personal names 190 and n. 167
 term used to describe companions 190
- Larisa 191–7
 Acropolis: cults of Demeter 120 n. 110; Dionysus Karprios? 114; Zeus Thaulios 111; in geometric and archaic periods 195–6; sanctuary of Athena Polias 104, 110 n. 53; size of 103
 adopting cults of other Thessalian cities 192
 agora, commercial 128 n. 157
 agora free: cults of Apollo Kerdoos? 135; Zeus Homoloios? 94 n. 195, 349; heroön of Theotimos? 282 n. 125; location of 127 n. 155
 Akrisios, tomb of 104, 194 n. 187, 195
 and Argive gods and heroes 193–4, 222
 being the centre of the *taurokathapsia* coin union 192–3
 citizenship awards, mass bestowal of 76–7, 78
 control over Iolkos 193
 groups attested at 349–50
 Hestiaiotis, links with 222
homogeneia ties with Magnesia on Maeander 251
 houses at 87 n. 154
 inscribed dedications from 21, 26
 not very important in early times? 195–7
komai of 63 n. 42
 Lapiths, no strong connections with 191
 nymph Larisa, attention in fifth century 193
 Pelasgian Argos, identified with 194–5
 and Pelasgians 193
phratrises 60 n. 33
phylai 60, 63–4
politophylakes of 107–8
 reworking of its traditions in early fifth century 195–7
 sanctuaries close to the walls 141–2
syngeneia ties with Akraiphia, Boiotia 251
syngeneia ties with Alexandria at Troas 250–1
 territory, religious 191–3
 and village Deipnias 191–2
 see also Aleuads
- Larisa Kremaste
 acropolis 110 n. 53
 as Pelasgian Argos 194–5 n. 193
- Latomeio, sanctuary of Heracles 31, 125, 163, 331
- leitōr(eia)* 74, 76, 292 n. 176
 see also *hierēus*, priests
- Leotychidas' expedition 163, 193 n. 184, 236
- lesche* 299
- Leukothea 42, 211, ID nos. 336–40
- Limnaion, see Vlochos
- lytron* 22, 211
- Macedonia
 few inscribed dedications from 27
- Macedonian occupation
 and loss of control over the *perioikoi* 223
 impact on Thessaly 210 n. 279, 214, 218, 246–7, 256
 see also Demetrias, Peace of Philokrates, Philip
- magic, reputation for 260, 267, 285–295
 and Ennodia 287, 289
 and herbs 287, 290
 and Hippocratic medicine 293–4
 and Medea 287, 289
 and orphism 289–90
 and religious authority 291–3
 in Roman times 296
 see also bringing down the moon, *pharmakides*
- magistracies, access to 69–70
- Magnesians
 awarded citizenship by Phalanna 75
 becoming *penestai* 119 n. 105, 223
 and the dance *karpaia* 119

- Magnesians (*cont.*)
 offering first fruits of herbs 291 n. 172
 participating in cult of Zeus Olympios? 251
syngeneia ties with Kos 251 n. 199
 as Thessaly's previous inhabitants 220, 223
- Magnesians on the Maeander
 awarded *politeia* 248
 being Aiolians 251 n. 198
homogeneia ties with Larisa 251, 250–1
 participating in cult of Zeus Olympios and Thessalos 248
syngeneia ties with Gonnoi 251 n. 199
- marriage 82–4
 brother–sister 84 n. 136
 and *epigamia* awards 82–3
 marking turning points of Thessalian history 83–4, 184
 monogamous 82
 rites of passage to 203–4
 wedding ritual 83
see also Artemis, Demeter, Ennodia, horses
- meat
 exported to Athens 259 n. 3
 large Thessalian portions 263
see also symposium
- Medea
 bringing down the moon 289
 and Ephyra 185, 262
 as mother of Thessalos 223
 and Thessaly's reputation for magic 287, 289
- Megaloi Theoi 211, 284, ID nos. 341–2
- megalorepeia* 36, 134–5, 140
- Meliboia (Magnesia)
 depicts grapes on coins 116
 established in the third century? 209
 and viticulture 117
- Melitaia
 acropolis, sanctuary of Asclepius? 110 n. 53, 143 n. 257, 144 n. 264, 146, 332
 Artemis Aspalis 332
 Ennodia, sanctuary of 150 n. 312, 332
 friendly to Pheraean tyrants 167 n. 35
 inscribed dedications from ID nos. 145, 192, 267, 323
 sanctuary at Hagios Georgios 332
 Zeus Othryios, sanctuary 41 n. 128
- Men (Anatolian deity) 211
- Menon, of Pharsalos
 character of 139, 264
penestai of 56 n. 14, 139, 266 n. 40
- Menonidai 266 n. 40
- mesidios archon* 108 n. 46
- Methy lion (W. Thessaly)
 depicts Eurypylos on its coins? 179
 identified with modern Myrine 236
 and the Petraios coinage 235, 236
- Metropolis
 as a backward city? 66–8
 depicts on its coins Dionysus 116; river god 42 n. 133, 181 n. 109
 houses 87 n. 155
 inscribed dedications from ID nos. 51, 343, 352–3
 meaning of name 181 n. 109
phylai at? 67 n. 57
 pottery kilns 128
 relationship with the group of the Basaidai 64–68, 92–4
 relationship with community of Onthyrion 67 n. 57, 96
 sanctuary of Aiatos (Georgiko) 31, 44, 180, 184, 221–2, 334
 sanctuary of Aphrodite 96, 110 n. 54, 183, 210 n. 277, 333
 sanctuary of Apollo (Lianokokkala) 37, 39, 41, 45, 180–1, 333–4
 synoecism 66 and n. 53, 209
 synoecism's impact on cults 96, 210 n. 277
 traditions about memorable wars 180–1, 183, 221–2
see also syngeneia
- Mikro Kesarli
 dedications by the *phrouroi* 106, 107
 dedication by the *synklitai* 211 n. 285
 importance in Roman times 190
 and local traditions of the Dotian plain 189–90
see also Elateia
- Minos, in funerary epigrams 208
- Moirai Patroai 91 n. 173, ID no. 344
- Mondaia
 consulting Dodona 130, 187 n. 148
 Themis, sanctuary of 110 n. 54, 130
- Mopsion
 Asclepius, sanctuary of 143 and n. 261, 136 n. 280, 154 n. 433
 citizenship awards 60, 61, 73–6
 identification with modern Gyrtone 196 n. 203
 inscribed dedications from ID nos. 54, 151–2, 194–5
 and Lapiths 189, 190
 named after Mospsos 189
phylai 60, 61, 350
- Mother of the Gods
 inscribed dedications to, 22, 24, ID nos. 345–50
 on a relief from Pherai? 151
 sanctuary at Demetrias? 206–7, 327
 sanctuary at Tempe? 211, 345
 spread of cult 38, 211
- Mother Oreia (Mountain Mother) 276
see also gold leaves

- Mounogone, as a name for Kore 120 n. 113
 Muses, dedications to 22, 25, ID nos. 351–2
 Myrine *see* Methylon
 mystery cults
 no evidence for fixed one 283 and
 n. 130, 284
 private 276–7, 284–5
 spreading in Hellenistic times? 285
 see also Eleusinian mysteries, Samothrace,
 Orphism
 mythology
 and cult 12, 87, 164, 166, 219
 omitted from some regional studies
 164 n. 14
 read as history? 12–3, 166 n. 26, 183 n. 151,
 224–5
 mythology, Thessalian
 assessing its popularity 164 n. 13
 and place identity 164
 reworked 81, 195 n. 195, 210 n. 281,
 224 n. 58
 Mytilene
 connections with Krannon? 253 n. 209
 philia with Thessaly 254 n. 19
 receives grain from Atrax 252 n. 205
 sends *theoria* to Itonos 252

nebeusasai 203–4, 211
 necromancy, no evidence for 185 n. 136
 see also Erichtho
 Neoptolemos
 cult at Delphi 242–3, 245, 247
 in Euripides's *Andromache* 264, 266
 Nevestiki (Magnesia), temple on
 acropolis? 45
 nobility, hereditary
 no evidence for 56–7, 59
 nympholept, at Pharsalos 177, 289
 Nymphs
 Achilleio, cave 41 n. 128, 325
 Atrax, sanctuary 43 n. 137
 and healing 46, 146
 inscribed dedications to 22, 24, 25, ID nos.
 244, 353–362
 kourotrophic 23 n. 63
 lay out of sanctuaries 43
 Mt Ossa, cave 334
 more investment in their cult than
 elsewhere? 41 n. 128, 43 n. 137
 Pharsalos, cave on Mt Karaplas 176–7, 336
 popular on Thessalian coins 42–43, 291
 n. 173
 private involvement 43, 46

 Odysseus, on votive relief 184–5
 oligarchy
 and citizenship 11, 53–4, 69–71, 208–9
 and burial practices 279–82
 and religion 11, 53–4, 71, 85–97, 100–2
 and women 84–5
 see also citizenship, hospitality, poleis
 Olosson (Perrhaibia)
 Asclepius as eponymous priest 143 n. 256
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, ID nos.
 55, 153, 196
 and Lapiths 188
 votive relief of Apollo 246
 Olympus Mt, *see* Dion, Hagios Antonios
 Onthyriion, *see* Aphrodite, Metropolis
 Ormenidai, *see* Athena Itonia
 Ormenion
 localization 95 n. 198
 Orphism 275 n. 78, 276–7, 284–5, 290
 Orthos
 Athena and Skyphios on its coins 105, 180,
 237 n. 121
 see also Kedros
 Othrys Mt
 cult of Zeus Othryios 41 n. 128, 332
 as the stronghold of the Titans in myth 41
 n. 128
 Ossa Mt, cave of Nymphs 334

 Pagasai 165–9
 and the Argonautic expedition 165
 being a 'dependent polis' 167
 and Dionysos Pelekos 167
 as the *epineion* of Pherai 165 n. 21, 167
 famous cult of Apollo 165–7
 flourished under Alexander of
 Pherai? 167–8
 incorporated in Demetrias 165 n. 20, 198
 and Kyknos 166
 'slaves from Pagasai' 261
 at Soros? 165 n. 16
 see also Soros
 Pagasos, mythical architect 45 n. 146, 241,
 351 n. 35
 Pan
 on Mt Homole 41 n. 128
 on Mt Karaplas 177
 Panthessalianism, and religion 214–215 and
 n. 12, 218–9, 254–7
 see also *ethnos*, hospitality, Thessalian
 ethnos, Thessalian religion
 Parthenos, dedications to ID nos. 363–4
 Pasikrata
 assimilated with Artemis 274 n. 72
 connection with the underworld 268–9, 273
 cult outside Thessaly 273, 274 n. 72
 identification with Aphrodite? 269, 274
 n. 72

- Pasikrata (*cont.*)
 kouroutrophic functions 270
 relationship with Ennodia 269, 273–4
 sanctuary at Demetrias 270, 271, 326
 syncretistic cult 207
- Patrooi, gods 89 n. 165, 90–2
- peace of Philokrates,
 as a landmark in Thessalian history 299
- Peirasia (W. Thessaly)
 depicts Athena on coins 105, 180
 as Homeric Asterion 179
 identified with modern Sykiai 179 n. 99
 identified with modern Vlochos 181 n. 114
- Pelagian Argos 50, 194–5
- Pelasgians
 at Larisa 193, 194–5
 moving to SE Aegean 250
 and the Peloria festival 240–1, 255
 at Scotoussa 188
 at Thessaly in general 193 n. 183, 200–1
- Pelagiotis, inhabitants of
 mixture of Lapiths and Perrhaibians 190
 n. 170
- Pelasgos
 grandfather of Thessalos 223
 and nymph Larisa 193
 and the Peloria festival 240
- Pelias 49, 235, 238, 267
- Pelinna
 few inscribed dedications 27, ID no. 457
 gold lamellae 276
 and Larisa 193, 222
 and Pharsalos 178 n. 95
- Pelion
 Chiron and Zeus Akraios, sanctuary
 of 203, 334–5
 and herbs 185, 290
- Peloponnesian war 216, 264
- Peloria, festival 239–41
 comparable to Kronia? 240–1
 local celebrations 239
 and Panthessalianism 241, 255
- Pelor(os), giant 240
- penestai*
 in Athens 266 n. 40
 emancipation of 223 n. 52
 ethnic origins of 221, 223
 as half-citizens 76–7
 in private armies 56 n. 14, 58 n. 23
 and religion 107 n. 40, 117–20, 239, 255–6
 similar to their masters 265–6
 status of 115
- perioikoi*
 and Dionysus Karpios 119–20
 as enemies or kins of the Thessalians 119
 n. 105, 220, 223, 251, 256
 status 2, 223 n. 51
see also Perrhaibians, Magnesians
- Perrhaibians
 awarded citizenship by Phalanna 75
 close connections with Ainians 189
 and the cult of Zeus Olympios? 251
 in Homer 189, 220
 minting *taurokathapsia* coins 193
 as *penestai* of the Thessalians 119 n. 105,
 223, 251
syngeneia ties with Kos and Magnesia on
 Maeander 251 n. 199
see also perioikoi
- Persephone, sanctuary of 42 n. 133,
 283 n. 130
- Perseus
 gate named after at Scotoussa 141, 188
 coming to Larisa 194
 on coins of Larisa Kremaste 194–5 n. 193
 in Pindar's *Pythian* 10 194, 253 n. 207
- Persian Wars 216, 259, 264
- personal names
 after Lapiths 190 and n. 167
 after rivers 42 n. 133
 Petraios 238 n. 127
see also theophoric names
- Petraia, festival 234–9
 aetiological myth 235, 237–9
 chariot races 235
 constructing the past 239, 241, 255
 and 'federal coinage' 235–7
 panthessalian importance 235, 237–9, 256
 place of celebration 237 n. 120
 popularity of 238 and n. 127, 256
see also Poseidon Petraios
- Petroporos, *see* Pelinna
- Peuma, *see* Kastro Kallithea
- Phakion 150, 154
- Phalanna (Perrhaibia)
 Asclepius, eponymus priest of 143 n. 256
 dedication of the *anchistoi* to the Theoi
 Patrooi 90, 350
 dedication to Apollo Kerdoos 135–6, 140
 dedication of *poliarchoi* to Athena
 Polias 107
 common hearth of 131
 mass bestowal of citizenship 75–6
 sets up decrees in sanctuary of Athena
 Polias 110 n. 54
 special rules for the *astoi* 78
see also Tyrnavos/Tatar
- Pharkadon
 depicts Athena on coins 105, 180
 and *taurokathapsia* coins 193, 222 n. 43
temenos of Athena Itonia? 231
- pharmakides*, Thessalian 287–95

- Pharsalos 174–9
 as Achilles' homeland 175–6
 acropolis: consigned to Polydamas 108, 111;
 layout of 102–3, 110–11; votive
 deposits 31, 122–3, 176, 178, 335–6
 agora 127 and n. 155
 and Aphrodite Peitho 174–5, 184
 depicts Athena on coins 105, 178–9, 180
 gold lamellae 276
 groups attested at 90, 133, 351
 half-citizens of 75–7, 177–8
 Hestia on a votive relief 133–4
 as Homeric Phthia 175
 houses 44 n. 142, 87 n. 154, 88–9
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 25
 monumental buildings at 127 n. 155, 141
 n. 239, 142 n. 245
phylai 60
 reputation of 174–5
 rural sanctuaries of 122, 176–8
 religious territory of 11, 178–9, 197
 sanctuary of Asclepius 88 n. 158, 142, 144
 and n. 270
 sanctuary of the nymphs on
 Mt Karaplas 42, 43, 176–8, 336
 sanctuary of Thetis in its chora 176
 sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios 43–4, 92, 112
 n. 64, 114, 176, 335
 as a stable moderate oligarchy 169
 n. 40, 174
 treasury of 104
 and viticulture 117 n. 91
see also Ambelia, Echecratids, Daochos,
 Meno, Polydamas, Xylades
- Phauntos
 dedication by *nebeusasai* 211
 inscribed dedications from 10, 21, 211
 n. 284, ID nos. 352, 422
phyle 60
 sets decrees up in its agora 110 n. 54
- Pheidippos, son of Thessalos 220, 222, 252
- Pherai 169–74
 acropolis: altar of the Twelve Gods 48, 174;
 cult of Heracles 123–4; location 103;
 statue of Athena 105; temple 110 n. 53
 agora 127
 Alcestis, heroon of? 171 n. 48
 Apollo, special relationship with
 171, 244
 Ennodia, patron divinity of 170–1
demes? 63 n. 42
 as the hospitable city 173
 Hypereia fountain 127 n. 155, 172 and
 n. 53, 235 n. 106
 gold lamellae 276
 groups attested 57–8, 352
 houses 87 n. 154 and n. 155, 89
 and n. 164
 and imperialism 57–8, 167, 169–70, 172–4,
 236, 256
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 25–6
pandocheion 155, 173, 299
 and the Petraios coinage? 236
 potters' quarter 128
 proxeny decrees from 73 n. 85, 78 n. 106,
 162 n. 4
 sanctuary of Asclepius in the *chora*? 144
 n. 262
 sanctuary of Asclepius (?) at Hagios
 Charalambos 142, 339
 sanctuary of the Dioskouroi 173–4
 sanctuary of Ennodia at Alepotrypes 174,
 269, 270, 271, 338
 sanctuary of Ennodia and Zeus Thaulios (?)
 at Makalorema 30–1, 35, 112–3, 158,
 172–3, 229, 269, 270, 336–8
 sanctuary on Malouka Hill 174, 339
 and *stasis* 174
 territory of 162 n. 4
 and tyranny 38 n. 118, 169–70, 171–2
see also Alexander, forts, Jason, Pagasai
- Pheres 171
- Philia, *see* Athena Itonia
- Philip, of Macedon
 intervention in Thessaly 164, 209, 218, 223,
 247 n. 176, 266, 299
 as *tagos* of the Thessalians 84, 218
 Thessalian weddings of 84
- Phlegians 189, 190, 191
- Phokians, wars against 221, 223, 226, 232
- phratries 60
see also syngeneia
- phrouroi* 106–8, 190
- Phthia 175, 179, 187, 259, 266
- Phthiotic Thebes
 Acropolis: sanctuary of Athena Polias 31,
 40 n. 125, 41, 44, 45, 46 n. 152,
 105–6, 109, 110 n. 53, 210 n. 277,
 341–2
 inscribed dedications from 20–1
 sanctuary of Asclepius 143 n. 257, 144,
 146, 342
 sanctuary of Ennodia 269, 271–2
 synoecism of 209
 synoecism's impact on cults 210 n. 277
- phylai* 60–9, 72–4, 76, 77, 78, 81
 religion of 96–7
- Phylake, city in Achaia Phthiotis 120 n. 110,
 210 n. 177
- phylakes* 107–8
- Phyllos (Western Thessaly) 182
see also Apollo (?) Phylleios

- Plouto
 sanctuary of 42 n. 133, 283 n. 103
- poleis
 in *ethne* 7–10, 215–6
 ‘fragility’ of 11
 individuality of 12, 160, 161–4, 197
 number of in Thessaly 161
 population of 162
 and the private ‘opérateur’ 56 and n. 14, 139–40
 role in Thessalian history 54, 56, 58, 59 and n. 31, 301
 size of 161–2
 and synoecism 66–7, 198, 209–10
 territory of 161, 162 n. 4
see also citizenship, conflict, oligarchy, villages
- poliarchoi* 107–8, 200 n. 221
- polis cults 99–102, 158–60
- polis religion 6–7, 10–12, 53–4, 160
see also oligarchy, polis cults
- politeuma* 74 n. 89
- politophylakes* 107–8, 200 n. 221
- Polydamas, of Pharsalos
 in charge of the acropolis 104, 111, 114
 in charge of the public money 36–7, 134–5
 funding sacrifices 36–7, 292
 meeting with Jason 178, 217
megalo-prepeia and political success 69 n. 64, 297, 298
 in what office? 69 n. 64, 108, 169 n. 40
- Polydamas, of Scotoussa 187, 351 n. 36
- Polykleia (sister of Aiatos), as the first ruler of Thessaly 83, 84, 184
- popana* *see* cakes
- Poseidon
 division of *timai* with Hera 49, 238 n. 124
 dolphin statuettes dedicated to 42 n. 130
 hairlocks dedicated to 42 n. 133
 honoured by Pelias 49, 238
 inscribed dedications to 22, 25 **ID** nos. 372–409
 sacrifice open to all 238
- Poseidon Petraios
 benevolent and unchallenged in Thessaly 238
 creating the first horse 235, 237–8
 father of Pelias 238
 splitting the Tempe mountain 235, 237–8
see also Petraia festival
- Poseidon, cult titles
 Helikapanaios **ID** no. 388
 Impsios 49, **ID** nos. 383–6
 Kouerios 42 n. 133, **ID** no. 377
 Patragenes 42 n. 130, 91 n. 173, **ID** nos. 372, 376
 Patroos 91 n. 173, 92 n. 183, **ID** nos. 396–9
 Pylaios Kraniaios **ID** no. 378
 Zeuksanthios 49, **ID** no. 387
see also Poseidon Petraios
- Praxidikai, dedication to **ID** no. 410
- priests/esses
 appointment of 74, 203, 207, 292
 authority of 289–93
 eponymous 143–4
 in inscribed dedications 22, 23, 24, 28
 and magistrates 74, 201, 292
 names of 292 n. 176
see also Aphrodite, Apollo Koropaios, Asclepius, Athena, Ennodia, Sarapis, Zeus Akraios
- private armies 56 n. 14, 139, 216
- Prodromos, sanctuary at 41, 181, 269, 270, 271, **342**
- Proerna
 inscribed dedications from 21, **ID** nos. 235–6
 sanctuary of Demeter 31, 120, 121, 178, **342–3**
- Protesilaos 267
 cult at Phylake 210 n. 277
- proxenia*, *see* honorary decrees, citizenship
- prytaneion*
 in Thessalian cities 131 n. 182
 ritual at the *prytaneion* of Halos 95, 97, 134 n. 206
- purification
 and Ennodia 155–6
 and Zeus Meilichios 112
 and Zeus Thaulios? 112, 114
- Pyrasos
 cult of Demeter 13, 210 n. 277
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, **ID** nos. 237, 238–9, 395
 synoecism with Phthiotic Thebes 210 n. 277
- Pythion, Perrhaibian city
 name of 247 n. 176
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21
 sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and Poseidon
 Patroos 92, 110 n. 54, 247, **343**
- regionalism and religion, approaches to 2–6
see also Panthessalianism and religion, Thessalian religion
- Rhadamanthys 208
- Rhizous (Magnesia)
 depicts grapes on coins 116
 established in third century? 209
 synoecism with Demetrias 198
- rite(s)
 of hospitality 297–9

- of initiation 138, 203–4, 211
 - of reversal 238 n. 125, 239–41
- rivers
 - importance of 42
 - Peneus 42 n. 132 and 133
 - Titaresios 42 n. 132 and n. 133, 283 n. 130
 - see also* river gods
- river gods, only once depicted on coins 42
 - n. 133, 181 n. 109
- roads, importance of 42–3
 - see also* Ennodia
- rootcutters 147, 290–1
- Sacred wars 215 n. 11, 241, 242, 244–5, 250, 262 n. 15
- sacrifice
 - to Athena Itonia open to the Ambrakians 226, 234, 252
 - of a cow to the *archegetai* of Demetrias 191
 - of the descendants of Athamas 95, 134 n. 206
 - division of meat 91 n. 9, 136, 278 n. 103
 - funding of 36–7, 202
 - of hecatombs to Delphi 172, 245, 246
 - of human hecatombs to Apollo 93 n. 186
 - in an oligarchy 86 n. 150
 - of Pelias to Poseidon open to all 238
 - of pigs to Aphrodite 96
 - sacred law about from Korope 331
 - of unshorn goat to Ennodia and Zeus 156 n. 352
 - wedding sacrifice 83
 - to Zeus Hetaireios by the Macedonian King 205
 - to Zeus Olympios open to kins of the Thessalians 248
 - to Zeus Peloros with slaves and foreigners 239–40
- Samothrace
 - initiation in mysteries 284
- sanctuaries 37–46
 - aesthetic impact of 45, 102
 - as *epiphanestatoi topoi* 110 n. 54
 - funding of 45–6
 - funerary 156, 268–74
 - monumentalization of 37–40, 44–6
 - and the natural environment 41–44
 - placement of 99–100
- Sarapis
 - inscribed dedications to 22, 23 n. 63, 24, 212 n. 288, **ID** nos. 324, 326–333
 - introduction of cult, role of priests 207
 - priest of appointed by the city 207
 - sanctuary at Demetrias as *epiphanestatos topos* 110 n. 54
 - spread of cult 211
 - synklitai* of 211 n. 285
- Scopads, of Krannon
 - being a *genos*? 348
 - dirges for by Simonides 280 n. 115, 281
 - hereditary access to the *tageia*? 57 n. 16
 - house celebrations 89
 - intermarriages with other Thessalian families 82
 - ‘palace’ of at Krannon? 87 n. 153
- Scopas
 - being a bad host 298
 - evoked to by Jason 245
 - ‘ode to Scopas’ by Simonides 281
 - demise of 89, 281, 298
- Scoutoussa 187–8
 - gate called *auros Chadaphoros* 116, 117
 - gate called Perseia 141, 188
 - hometown of Podydamas 187
 - inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 25, **ID** nos. 304, 405
 - as a kaleidoscopic city 188, 197
 - original location of Dodone 187–8
 - Pelasgo Argive traditions 188, 195
 - and the Petraios coinage 235, 236
 - phylai* 60, 352
 - sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos 135, 141
 - sanctuary of Helenos 141, 188
 - sanctuary of Heracles 125
 - and the *taurokathapsia* coins 193
 - villages of 97 n. 207, 117 n. 93
- sea, in Thessalian worldview 42 and n. 130, 176 n. 79
- Sepias, incorporated to Demetrias 198
- Socrates, refusing to go to Phthia 259, 266
- Soros
 - acropolis 110 n. 53
 - fortifications 167 n. 34
 - house of local aristocrats? 87 n. 153
 - inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 25, **ID** nos. 65–6, 406
 - sanctuary of Apollo 31, 41, 44, 45, 166–7, 203, 343–5
 - see also* Pagasai
- Spalauthra (Magnesia)
 - displays decrees in sanctuary of Artemis Soteira 110 n. 54
 - synoecism with Demetrias 198
- Sparta, compared to Thessaly 115, 257, 259, 263–5
 - see also* Leotychidas expedition, Peloponnesian war
- springs, importance of 42–3
 - see also* Hypereia fountain, Krannon, nymphs
- statues, as dedications 18, 28, 31, 107, 118, 140, 149, 169, 228
 - of Achilles and Patroklos 176
 - of Apollo at Delphi 241

- statues, as dedications (*cont.*)
 of Apollo at Tempe? 246
 of athletes 187
 children statues 144, 166
 of Homer 176
 of a hoplite at Metropolis 181, 332
 of kouros statues 125, 331
 of Larisa nymph 43 n. 137, 193 n. 45
 of Pelopidas 245
- stelai*
 as dedications 17–19, 34–5
 forms and sizes of 18
 in houses 89
 local variation of 25–6
 painted 19
 and relief decoration 19
 as sacred markers? 44, 141–2
see also inscribed dedications
- Stepteria, festival, *see* Delphi
- stereotypes, importance of 15–6, 260, 295, 302
- strategoï*
 at Demetrias 199 n. 218
 as Macedonian officials 218 n. 24 and n. 25
 of Perrhaibian Tripolis 284
 of Thessalian koinon 238 n. 127
- Sykiai, *see* Peirasia
- symposium, Thessalian
 acquiring Panthessalian importance 89–90, 97, 252 n. 206, 253 n. 208
 being corruptive 265–6
 being garish and vulgar 263
 evidence for in houses 87–8 n. 155
penestai dancing at 265 n. 37
 Scopas' ill fated one 89, 281
 as a *topos* in literature 263, 265–6
see also cakes, meat, Thessalians
- syngeneia*, group in Thessalian cities 64–9, 93–4, 347, 348
- syngeneia* ties, with other cities 247–54
- tag(i)a*
 and *atagia* 59 n. 31, 216–7
 in the Basaidai document 63–6, 68
 civic office, access to awarded 72–3, 74, 76, 217 n. 18, 292
 federal office 217 n. 18
see also *tagos*, conflict
- tageusasa* 65 n. 48, 204 and n. 246
- tagos/oi*
 called *prostatauontes* 57 n. 18
 civic officials 57 n. 18, 127
 coming from the same families 69–70
 dedicating to Themis 25, 128–9, ID no. 411
 denoting anyone holding an office 65 n. 48
 federal officials 57 n. 16
 and the Labyadai group at Delphi 67 n. 56
 not known in Demetrias 200 n. 221
 officials of groups 65 n. 48, 113, 348
 replacing the *basileis* ? 70 n. 69
see also magistracies, *tag(i)a*
- taurokathapsia*
 coins 192–3, 236, 249 n. 188
 competitions 249 n. 188
- taurotheria*, *see* *taurokathapsia*
- Tempe
 Apollo gets purified at 242, 245–6
 important landmark 41–2
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 25, ID nos. 68–72
 laurel from 45 n. 146, 241, 243 n. 149
 sanctuary of Apollo 42, 190–1, 204–5, 345
 sanctuary of Mother of the Gods (Chani tis kokonas)? 211, 345
 splitting of 42, 235, 238, 239–41
see also Stepteria festival
- temples, *see* sanctuaries
- tetrads
 creation of 55 n. 8, 179 and n. 37
 Hestiaiotes 189 n. 157, 193 n. 183, 222 n. 42 and n. 43, 236 n. 118
 Pelasgiotes 188, 190 n. 170, 194 n. 193, 236 n. 118
 Phthiotis 236 n. 188
 Thessaliotes 179, 221, 227, 236 n. 118
- tetrarchos/oi* 69, 218 n. 24
- Thamiai (W. Thessaly)
 dedication from ID no. 157
 sympolity with Gomphoi 150, 209
 and *phyle* called Thamieioi? 63–4
- Themis 128–131
 Agoraia 129–131
 being a very old deity? 48 n. 165
 and commerce ? 130
 Ichnaia 129, 130, 182
 inscribed dedications to 22, 24, 25, 44, ID nos. 411–5
 and marriage? 49, 130
 and oracles 130 n. 178
 and politics 49, 129–30
 replacing Hera? 48–9, 130
 sanctuary at Mondaia 110 n. 54, 130, 187 n. 148
 as wife of Zeus 48, 49 n. 166, 130
 worshipped with Apollo (?) Phylleios 182 n. 115
 worshippers of 24, 129, 130 n. 179
- Theoi, dedications to ID nos. 416–9
 Theoi Patrooi, dedication to 90, 91 n. 173, ID no. 287
see also Patrooi gods

- theophoric names 16 n. 46, 47 n. 156,
 211 n. 285
see also personal names
theoria, Thessalian to Sigeion 174 n. 75
theoriai, foreign coming to Thessaly 95, 226,
 228, 230, 248, 252
see also Stepteria festival
 Theos Agathos, dedications to 212 n. 288, **ID**
 nos. 420–2, 423
 Thesprotia, as Thessalians' country of
 origin 185, 194 n. 191, 221, 222
see also Ephyra
 Thessalian *ethnos* 213–20, 301
 ideological importance of 10 and n. 32,
 197, 218–9, 256–7, 301
 as a failed state? 10, 214, 216–7, 301
 importance of regional groups 56–9
 as a type of state? 9–10, 59 and n. 30–1,
 213–8, 301
see also conflict, *ethnos*, ethnic identity,
 hospitality, stereotypes
 Thessalian invasion 179, 184, 227, 241,
 251–2, 254
 Thessalian religion
 coherence of 12, 302
 homogeneity of? 12, 197
 in previous scholarship 12–15, 260 n. 4,
 267–8
 problem of describing it 14–6, 295–99
see also Panthessalianism, regionalism and
 religion, stereotypes
 Thessalians
ethos of 14, 139–40, 262–8
 myths of origins 185, 210, 220–5, 239–241
 travelling abroad 210–11, 284
 Thessalos 154, 220–4, 248–51, 254
 Thessaly
 borders of 1–2
 covered by water in the past 42 and n. 130,
 176 n. 79, 235, 239–241
 important landmarks 41–2
 as a land of noblemen 265–6
 as a land rich in herbs 261–2, 287
 as a land of slaves 261, 265–6
 as a land of war 296 n. 192
 as a pastoral paradise 260–1
 as a very fertile land 260, 262
 Thetis
 on coins of Larisa Kremaste 194–5 n. 193
 cosmological significance of? 176 n. 79
 depiction of on a ring 344
 in myths 264, 267
 sanctuary at Pharsalos 176
 and the sea 42, 176 n. 79
 Thetonion
 honorary decrees from 78 n. 106
hylouroi 124 n. 131
 and Pharsalos? 178
thiasoi 206–7
see also associations, private
thymiateria
 found in houses 88 n. 156, 206
 in sanctuaries 327, 330, 332, 338, 345
thyas 136
 treasury
 of Athena Polias at Argissa 104
 public 104
 of Themis at Mondaia 130
 Triikka
 Asclepius, sanctuary of in free agora? 144,
 145, 146
 and Asclepius' sons in Homer 145, 184,
 220
 depicts Asclepius on coins 143
 depicts Athena on coins 105, 180
 honorary decrees from 73 n. 85
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, 46, 212
 n. 288, **ID** nos. 169, 240
 and Lapiths 189
 nymph/mantis on coins 291 n. 173
 and the *taurokathapsia* coins 193, 222 n. 43
 tripods, dedicated at Philia 18, 30, 33, 36, 228,
 229, 339
 Tyche Agathe, dedications to 22, 113 **ID** no.
 423, 450
 Tyrnavos/Tatar
 identified with ancient Phalanna 107 n. 41
 inscribed dedications from 20, 21, **ID** nos.
 67, 73, 161, 218, 220, 241, 276, 349, 415
 village(s)
 of Larisa 157, 191
 more in western Thessaly? 183
 at Orphana? 56 n. 13
 of Pharsalos 76 n. 101, 121
 relationship with cities 63, 76, 117 n. 93,
 123, 177 n. 88
 of Scotoussa 97 n. 207, 117 n. 93
 three at least in every city? 97 n. 207
see also forts, *kome*
 Vlachogianni 135, 307 no. 74
 Vlochos
 dedication from 181, **ID** no. 408
 being a defense settlement 181
 identified with ancient Limnaion or
 Peirasia? 181 n. 114
 walls
 gates 116, 141
 sanctuaries at 141–2
see also Ennodia
 water, *see* sea, in Thessalian worldview

- weapons, as dedications 30, 31, 33, 35, 36,
 125, 154, 228, 229, 233, 234, 331, 337,
 339, 340, 341
 witchcraft, *see* magic
 witches, *see* *pharmakides*
 women, Thessalian 79–85
 and afterlife beliefs 277
 and citizenship 61, 81, 86
 and commemoration at death 81, 277,
 280–1
 and dedication 23, 24, 28, 85, 108–9
 and marriage 82–5
 and *phyle* membership 61, 81
 in Polyaeus' stories 80–81
 and property rights 80
 as rulers of Thessaly 84
 sold in slavery 85, 288 n. 156, 295 n. 189
 see also *pharmakides*

xenodokoi 62, 299
Xylades 21, 92, 114, 176
 see also Pharsalos

Zeus
 cult at Dion 248–9
 cult at Hagios Antonios 248–9
 worshipped in houses as Ktesios? 88 n. 156
 inscribed dedications to 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,
 28, ID nos. 425–474
 and groups of men 23
 see also Peloria festival
Zeus Akraios,
 sanctuary of on Mt Pelion 41 n. 128, 203,
 334–5
 sanctuary at Demetrias? 110 n. 54,
 213 n. 240
 priest of 292
Zeus Homoloios
 and kinship groups 94
 importance of cult 94
Zeus Meilichios
 cave of at Goritsa? 41
 and families 113
 and Ennodia 149, 151, 156
Zeus Olympios 248–51
 foreign *theorai* to 250
 as god of the Thessalians and their
 kin 251, 255
 local cults of 248 n. 183
 location of central sanctuary 248–50
 participation of *perioikoi*? 251
Zeus Thaulios 111–14
 and the *anchistoi* 90
 different from Zeus Meilichios 113
 and kinship groups 91–2, 113
 meaning of epithet 111
 and purification? 114
 sanctuary of at Atrax 129 n. 163, 269 n. 52,
 272 n. 60
 sanctuary of at Pharsalos 43–4, 88
 n. 158, 335
 and warfare 114
 worshipped on the acropolis 92, 97, 111
 worshipped with Ennodia at Pherai? 112–3
Zeus, cult titles
 Aphrios ID nos. 467–9
 Hetaireios 204 n. 248, 205
 Hyperdexios 142, 194
 Kataibates 19 n. 55, ID nos. 434, 457, 470
 Keraunios ID no. 471
 Hypsistos ID nos. 435, 441
 Megas 186 n. 142, ID no. 445
 Notios 186, ID no. 444
 Olympios 13, 42, 248–50, 251, 255, 256
 Othryios 41 n. 128
 Palamnios ID no. 440
 Perpheretas 106 n. 33, 107 n. 40, ID nos.
 454–6
 Phonios 111
 Soter ID nos. 460–2
 Tritodios 43 n. 134, 129, ID nos. 426–7
 see also Zeus Akraios, Zeus Homoloios,
 Zeus Meilichios, Zeus Olympios, Zeus
 Thaulios

Select Index of Sources

Literary Sources

Ael.

NA. 8.11 55, 224, 291

12.34 83, 122, 153

VH 3.1 42, 243

Aesch.

PV 830 194

Σ Aesch.

Eum. 27 139

Aeschin.

3.110 9

3.183–5 29

Akusilaos

FGrH 2 F 22 189

Alciphr.

3.11 137

Alcman

fr 8 (Calame) 262

Alexis

fr 196 (Kassel-Austin) 261

Alkaaios

fr 325 (Cambell) 230, 231, 233

Anacreon

VII (Page, *FGE*) 109

fr 107 (Diehl) 175

Anaxandridas

FGrH 404 F 5 242

Andron of Halikarnassos

FGrH 10 F 16 184, 193

Anth. Pal.

6.136 85, 109

6.142 175

7.255 281

7.544 117

9.21 260

9.405 182

9.743 227

11.259 261

Antigonos. Car.

Hist. Mir. 15 186

Antiochos

FGrH 29 F2 104, 194, 195

Antiphanes

fr 36 (Kassel-Austin) 261

fr 249 (Kassel-Austin) 263

Ap. Rhod.

Argon. 1.13–4 49

1.40–1 191

1.57–65 188

1.65 189

1.238 165

1.318 165

1.403–4 165

1.411 138, 165

1.524 165

1.721 234

3.66–74 49

3.533 289

3.1086 261

4.59–61 289

4.241–3 49

4.1781 165

Σ Ap. Rhod.

Argon. 1.57 189

1.551a 229

3.1242 139

3.1244a 237

4.59–61 287

Apollod.

Bibl. 1.9.8 49

1.9.16 49

2.4.4 104, 194

2.7.7 184, 189

Epit. 6.15 222–3

Apollodoros

FGrH 244 F 154 194

F 179 185

Ar.

Nub. 749–756 287

Plut. 520–4 261

Vesp. 1270–4 117, 265

fr 507 (Kassel-Austin) 263

Σ Ar.

Nub. 749 262

Plut. 179d (Chantry) 85

Archemachos

FGrH 424 F 1 119, 221, 265

Archinos

FGrH 604 F 1 84

Arist.

- Ath. Pol.* 3.5 142
 19.6 111
 [Oec.] 1346b 7–13 29
 1349a 9–13 29
Poet. 1448a 63
Pol. 1261a 9
 1262a 260
 1275b 78, 263
 1275b 18–20 69
 1276a 9
 1277b–1278a 70
 1278a 71
 1284a 9
 1285b 9
 1292b 70
 1293a 70
 1305b 108
 1306a 10, 108, 174
 1306a 10
 1310b 9
 1319b 86
 1321a 86
 1331a 126
 1331b 124, 128
 fr. 497 (Rose) 10, 55
 fr. 498 (Rose) 10, 55
 fr. 640 (Rose) 222, 262

Armenidas

FGrH 378 F 1 229

Ath.

- 27e 261
 42c 186
 47b 263
 110d 261
 112f 261
 114b 261
 127b 261
 127c 261
 259f–260a 120
 264a 119, 121
 265b 119
 350a 262
 418c–e 262
 527a 175, 262
 572d–e 205
 589a 85
 624c 224
 639c 238
 639d–640a 235, 239
 662f 261

Bacchyl.

- Od.* 9.52 132
 14 36, 235
 14b 36, 132–3, 261

Baton

FGrH 268 F 5 235, 239–41

Callim.

- Ap.* 49–50 173
Cer. 24–5 193
 74–5 94–5, 231, 234
Dian. 259 147
 fr. 18 (Pfeiffer) 165
 fr. 87 (Pfeiffer) 191
 fr. 260, 60 (Pfeiffer) 189
 fr. 408 (Pfeiffer) 186
 fr. 593 (Pfeiffer) 139
Σ Calim.
Cer. 73–5 229

Charax

FGrH 103 F 6 55, 222

Crates

fr. 21 (Kassel-Austin) 263

Dem.

- 1.22 216, 223, 264
 2.11 223
 6.22 223
 11.1 178
 13.23 56, 58, 139
 18.271 9
 19.36 178
 19.158 155, 173, 299
 23.199 56, 58, 139
 24.202–3 84
 25.55 84

Dio Chrys.

Or. 78.20 187

Diod.

- 4.4.1 119
 4.18.6–7 124, 235
 4.37 222
 4.37.3 184, 189
 4.37.4 95, 230
 4.42.1 165
 4.54–5 223
 4.58.6 222
 5.50.2–5 116
 14.82 85, 266
 14.92.3 227
 15.75.1 167
 17.16 249
 19.53.8 224
 20.110.3 209

Diog. Laert.

- 1.112 293
 2.25 262

- Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*
 1.17.3 193
 4.25 234
- Dionysios Skytobrachion
FGrH 32 F 14 223
- Dissoi Logoi*
 90.2.11 (Diels-Kranz) 265
- Empedokles
 31 B111 (Diels-Kranz) 288
- Ephippus
 fr 1 (Kassel-Austin) 261
- Ephoros
FGrH 70 F 95 167
 F 119 187, 224
 F 142 187
- Eriphus
 fr 6 (Kassel-Austin) 263
- Etym. Magn.*
 108, 47 49
 409, 28 49
 473, 42 121, 235
 479, 46 229
 646, 39 165
- Eur.
Alc. 1–7 242
 447–451 171
 588–596 261
 967 278
 995–1005 171
Andr. 14 264
 129–130 261
 210 264
 211 264
 445ff 264
 1229 261
 1236ff 266
El. 815–16 263, 265
Hel. 570 147, 287
HF 389 165
Ion 1048 147, 287
Phoen. 1006 114
 1407–1413 264
 Σ Eur.
Phoen. 1408 93
- Eust.
Il. 2.729 189
- Hegemon
FGrH 110 F 1 224
- Hekataios
FGrH 1 F 14 193
- F 133 221
- Heliod.
Aith. 2.34–3.10 242
 6.7 137
- Hellanikos
FGrH 4 F 52 221
 F 91 193, 194
- Herakleides
 ii.12 (Pfister) 203, 290, 291
- Herakleides Pontikos
 fr 137ab (Wehrli) 167
 fr 163 (Wehrli) 224
- Hermippus
 fr 42 (Kassel-Austin) 263
 fr 63 (Kassel-Austin) 261
- Hdt.
 1.56 184, 221
 1.57 193
 5.87–8 34
 5.94 193
 6.72 163, 236
 6.127 82
 7.129 42, 235
 7.172 216
 7.176 221, 260
 7.197 95, 131, 134
 7.233 232
 8.22 223
 8.27–8 232
 9.122 262
- Herod.
 2.97–8 254
 7.74 137
- Hes.
Theog. 426 121
 633 41
 fr 23a (M/W) 147
 fr 54b-c (M/W) 242
 fr 87 (M/W) 189
 fr 261 (M/W) 291
 fr 319 (M/W) 187
- [Hes.]
Scut. 70 165
 181 189
- Hesych.
 ϵ 1270 93
 θ 149 114
 θ 843 116
 ι 645–6 49
 ι 1103 116

Hesych. (*cont.*)

ι 1153 182

κ 863 119

μ 865 266

ν 170 204

ν 742 116

π 8 165

φ 293 147

φ 848 67

Hieronymos of Kardia

FGrH 154 F 17 193

Hom.

Il. 1.264 191

2.87 8

2.494–510 221

2.676–9 220

2.681–759 1, 220

2.695 210

2.696 229, 261

2.729–31 184

2.734–6 179

2.738–47 188

2.748–55 42, 189, 283

9.363 266

Od. 1.261 96, 185

2.328 96, 185

10.526 8

Hyg.

Fab. 14.45 188

145.2 193

Poet.Astr. 2.37 165*Hymn. Hom. Ap.*

94 182

217–8 189, 220

247 40

Hymn. Hom. Asc.

2–3 189

Hymn. Hom. Merc.

319 188

495 188

Hymn. Orph.

28.6 137

29.2 121

32.1 121

40.16 121

Isoc.

4.70 9

8.117 216, 262

15.155 262

15.298 260

Istros

FGrH 334 F 5 94

Kineas

FGrH 603 F 1 185, 186

F 2 187

Kritias

88 F 8 (Diels-Kranz) 262

F 31 (Diels-Kranz) 262, 263, 266

Luc.

6.365ff 42

6.375–7 283

6.395ff 296

6.507ff 296

Lucian

Pro Imag. 19 187*Salt.* 14.1 118*Tim.* 41 137

Lycoph.

Alex. 207 137

617 139

Σ Lycoph.

Alex. 129 182

1180 155, 171

Lyc.

Leoc. 117 127

Menander

TGF 92 F 1 (Snell) 287

Mnesimachus

fr 8 (Kassel-Austin) 263

Morb. Sacr.

2 294

4 291, 294

Myrsilos of Lesbos

FGrH 477 F 5 253

Nikol. Dam.

FGrH 90 F 54 230

Paus.

1.4.4 247

1.13.2 35, 95, 227, 231

1.29.2 273

1.29.6 282

1.44.3 121

2.1.8 176

2.2.4–5 85

2.7.7 242

2.9.6 113

2.10.7 147

2.17.4 242

2.23.5 147

2.24.1 193

2.33.2 139

- 3.7.9 163, 236
 3.11.9 129
 4.36.1 193
 6.5.1 187, 351
 6.5.2 85, 167, 266
 7.3.6 251
 8.25.4 121
 8.42.1 121
 9.8.5–7 41, 94
 9.14.2 232
 9.25.4 129
 9.40.3 242
 10.1.3–11 232
 10.1.10 226
 10.5.3 139
 10.5.7–13 45, 241, 351
 10.13.5 176
 10.16.8 241

 Pherekydes
FGrH 3 F 1 176
 F 12 104, 194
 F 35a 242
 F 78 221

 Philetaerus
 fr 10 (Kassel-Austin) 263

 Philostr.
 VS 1.16 259

 Photius
 2006 224

 Pind.
Isthm. 1.58–9 210
 2.6 137
Nem. 4 96
 7.92 132
 11.33 224
Ol. 3.26 153
 3.30 29
 7 252
 9.34 132
Pai. VIII (*P.Oxy.* 841 Fr107) 243
Pyth. 3 189
 4.148–50 261
 4.188 165
 4.191 189
 4.246 235
 4.252 8
 9.15–6 189
 10 36, 194, 222, 253
 10. 2–3 140
 10.55–9 252
Hypoth. Pind. *Pyth.* b,c, and d 244
 Σ Pind.
Ol. 7.152 93

Pyth. 4.133 238
 4.246a 235
 4.246b 121, 235

 Pl.
Cri. 44b 266
 53d-3 259, 266
Grg. 513a 287
Leg. 625 260
Meno 70a 262
 70a-b 262, 263
Resp. 1.338c 187

 Σ Pl.
Leg. 12. 944d 189

 Plin.
HN 8.70.182 249
 10.137 291
 30.2 287, 290
 31.17 186
 34.68 43, 193

 Plut.
Cam. 19 232
Cim. 10.5 262
Mor. 15d 262
 141b 288
 170b 156
 193e 259
 244 232
 293c 246
 293f 189
 297b 189
 393c 244
 416–7 288
 432b 241
 472b 137
 492a-b 55, 84, 241
 647a 291
 730d 42, 91
 859d 163, 236
 866f 232
Pel. 28ff 82, 168, 281
 29 167
 31 167
 33 57, 281, 285
Per. 14.2 29
Pyrrh. 26 227

 Polyaenus
Strat. 1.12.1 154
 2.34 101, 231
 4.2.19 178
 6.1.2–5 80
 6.1.3 173
 6.1.4–5 56, 85
 6.1.6 90, 253

- Polyaenus (*cont.*)
 6.13 244, 262
 8.43 154, 253, 287
 8.44 83, 180, 222
- Polyb.
 5.26.5 218
- Porph.
Abst. 2.15 36, 172
 3.4 291
- Rhianos
FGrH 265 F 30 223
- Simonides
PMG 23/528 (Page) 280
 24/529 (Page) 280
 37/542 (Page) 281
- Simonides of Keios
FGrH 8 F 1 229, 233
- Soph.
Ant. 1199 147
Elec. 96 114
 703–4 260
OC. 715 132
 fr 380 (Radt) 189
 fr 34 (Radt) 287
 fr 535 (Radt) 147, 287
- Sosiphanes
TGF 92 F 1 (Snell) 287
- Souidas
FGrH 602 F 10 189
 F 11 187
- Steph. Byz.
 s.v. ἄργουρα 188, 195
 ἄργος 194
 ἄρνη 221, 224
 γυρτών 189
 δειπνιάς 191, 244
 δώριον 184, 222
 ἴτων 230
 ἴχνη 182
 λάρисσαι πόλεις 194
 τρίοδος 155
 ὁμόλη 41, 94
- Stob.
Flor. 44.22 137
- Strabo
 5.2.4 194–5
 7.7.12 187
 8.3.5 96, 185
 8.4.11 93
- 8.6.5 194–5
 8.6.14 139
 8.6.15 144
 9.2.3–5 224
 9.2.4 187
 9.2.29 221, 230
 9.3.4 244
 9.3.10 244
 9.5.1 1
 9.5.5 194–5
 9.5.8 229
 9.5.14 129, 179, 182, 210, 229
 9.5.15 165, 198
 9.5.17 67, 96, 183, 184, 210, 231
 9.5.18 95, 261
 9.5.19 223
 9.5.20 190
 9.5.21 189
 9.5.22 189, 198
 9.5.23 222, 223
 10.1.3 195
 10.1.10 191
 11.4.8 95
 11.14.12 95
 13.1.3–4 224
 14.1.22 29
- Suda
 α 2371 (Adler) 139
 ε 2559 (Adler) 287
 ε 3154 (Adler) 224
 ι 564 (Adler) 281
 μ 1391 (Adler) 156
 φ 694 (Adler) 67
- Theoc.
Id. 16.36 261, 262
 Σ Theoc.
Id. 2.11 156
 2.36 155, 171
 7.103 41, 94
- Theophr.
Hist. Pl. 4.14.13 117
 9.15.4 261
- Theopompos
FGrH 115 F 49 175, 262
 F 53 165
 F 80 243, 246
 F 81 120, 265
 F 122a 119
 F 162 263, 266
 F 352 116, 167, 168, 281
- Theopompus
 fr 78 (Kassel-Austin) 266

[Thessalos]
Presb. (27) 17 244

Thuc.
 1.2 262
 1.12.3 221
 1.107 216, 236, 282
 1.111 164, 236, 265
 2.101 223
 3.2 224
 3.102.5 224
 3.104 234
 4.78 70, 216, 223
 7.57 224
 8.3.1 223
 8.100 224

Xen.
An. 2.6.21–9 139, 264
 3.1.2 9
 6.1.7 119
Hell. 2.3.36 117, 265
 6.1.2 36–7, 69, 104, 108, 111, 135, 217,
 292, 297
 6.1.3 262
 6.1.8 178, 217
 6.1.11 261
 6.1.19 223
 6.4.28 217
 6.4.29 36, 172, 245

Zen.
 3.95 287
 4.44 131

Inscriptions

AD 10 (1926) *Chron.*
 49 no. 1 107
 52 no.4 148, 150
AD 16 (1960) *Chron.*
 163 46
 175 nos. 1–4 190
 182 186
 185 115, 192
AD 18 (1963) *Chron.*
 137–8 226, 227, 340
AD 19 (1964) *Chron.*
 248 226, 227, 252, 340
AD 20 (1965) *Chron.*
 317 106, 280
 322 210
AD 23 (1968) *Chron.*
 269 no. 5 143
AD 27 (1972) *Chron.*
 419 114
AD 28 (1973) *Chron.*

333–4 148
AD 29 (1974) *Chron.*
 571 42, 138
 583 211
AD 30 (1975) *Chron.*
 199 129
AD 31 (1976) *Chron.*
 176–8 226, 340
 184 212
AD 32 (1977) *Chron.*
 128 17, 88, 150
AD 34 (1979) *Chron.*
 226 no. 20 124, 347
AD 36 (1981) *Chron.*
 254 67, 209
AD 40 (1985) *Chron.*
 195 94
 206 no.22 212
 207 no.32 91
AD 42 (1987) *Chron.*
 259–60 89
 270–1 91
 285 no.6 65
AD 43 (1988) *Chron.*
 260 212
 280 186
 280–1 142
 282 61, 352
 283 17.44, 88
AD 44 (1989) *Chron.*
 238 no.11 43, 46
 239 no. 19 212
 239 no.20 211
AD 45 (1990) *Chron.*
 219 no. 12 91
 220 no. 22 117
 220 no. 25 113
AD 46 (1991) *Chron.*
 224 65, 204
AD 48 (1993) *Chron.*
 254 no. 10 205, 280
 255 no. 27 19
 258 no. 62 143, 144
 258 no. 64 281
AD 49 (1994) *Chron.*
 340 no.21 243
AD 51 (1996) *Chron.*
 369 89
 382 no.1 91, 150, 192
AD 52 (1997) *Chron.*
 523 no. 19 191
 524 no. 54 211
AD 54 (1999) *Chron.*
 410 181
AE (1910)
 348 no. 3 82

- 378 no.25 211
 378 no. 26 211, 284
 397 274
AE (1913)
 218 no. 2 142
 219 no.4 113
AE (1915)
 74–5 no.1 131
AE (1916)
 18 no.272 143
 21 no.274 131
AE (1917)
 1 no. 301 143
 304 143
AE (1924)
 166 no. 404 143
AE (1927–8)
 119–127 226, 227
AE (1929)
 141no. 6 210
AE (1931)
 177 no. 13 47
 177 no. 14 211
 178 no. 18 212
AE (1932)
 17 no.1 63
 19 no.2 91
Suppl. 19 no. 5 106
AE (1934–5)
 140 104, 217
AE (1950–1)
 80–105 276

 Allamani-Souri (1993) 205

 Arvanitopoulos (1909)
 155 no. 20 208
 248 no. 52 207
 249 207

 Arvanitopoulos (1911)
 123 no. 26 114, 120
 132–9 no. 36 60, 117
 300 no. 49 129

 Arvanitopoulos (1929a)
 28 no. 419 110, 207
 32 no. 420 121, 200

 Arvanitopoulos (1929b)
 207 no. 425 201
 216–220 45, 70

 Arvanitopoulos (1929c)
 249–51 204, 212

 Arvanitopoulos (1929d)
 119 no. 422 143
 126–8 no. 423 165, 198

 Axenidis (1950) 55

 Batziou-Eftathiou
 and Pikoulas (2006) 83

 Béquignon (1935) 55 135
 71 no. 4 105, 186
 74–7 201

 Béquignon (1937)
 87 no. 52 113
 91 no.65 113
 92 no. 66 113
 94 no. 71 113

 Béquignon (1964)
 400–12 73, 78, 148, 337

 Bosnakis and Hallof (2003)
 229 no. 14 143, 218, 251

 Bosnakis and Hallof (2010)
 330 no. 37 218

 Breslin (1977) 10 276

 Cabanes and Andreou (1985) 135, 252

CEG
 123 278
 640 82
 645 275
 720 290

 Chrysostomou (1998)
 25 no. 1 149
 28 no. 2 35, 63, 150, 157
 47 151
 57 no.5 157
 64 no. 3 150
 105 156
 190–1 147, 151
 191–2 147, 150
 210–220 276

 Chrysostomou (2001) 151

 Chrysostomou (2008)
 247 no. 2 148, 150
 248 no.3 150
 251 no.8 150

 Crowther (1997)
 355 105, 251

 Darmezín and Tziafalias (2005)
 67 no.2 88

 Daux (1958) 282

 Decourt (1995)
 no. 1 181

- no. 15 125
 27 183
 30 182
 50 76, 177
 53 61, 71, 117
 56 176
 58 248
 62 90
 63 114
 64 246
 67 174
 68 134
 69 177, 278
 70 142
 71 142
 72 177
 73 142, 145, 146, 176, 177
 74 133
 75 133
 90 81, 82, 281
 115 276
 121 278
 134 44, 88
- Franke (1956)
 183 19, 106, 146, 190
- Franke (1958)
 337 no. 2 19, 106, 146, 190
 338 no. 3 106, 154
- Gallis (1972)
 277 251
- Gallis (1974)
 273–281 129
- Gallis (1977) 60, 135
- Gallis (1982)
 54 279
- Garcia Ramon, Helly and Tziafalias (2007)
 no.2 73
 no. 4 60–1, 73, 74, 75, 76, 292
 no. 5 60–1, 73, 75
 no. 6 60–1, 73, 74, 75, 76, 292
 no. 7 60–1, 73, 74, 75
 no. 8 60–1, 73, 74
 no. 12 143
 no. 13 143
 no. 15 154
- Garnsey, Gallant and Rathbone (1984) 259
- Habicht (1970) 60, 67–8, 71, 73, 74, 349, 350
- Habicht (1976a) 55, 60
- Habicht (1976b) 227, 252, 341
- Habicht (1976c) 211
- Habicht (1981) 105, 218
- Habicht (1987b)
 309–14 227, 341
 314 no. 5 151
 315 no. 6 143
- Helly (1970a) 64–9
- Helly (1970b) 44, 48, 50, 91, 92, 111, 120, 128,
 136, 141–2, 150, 186, 194
- Helly (1971b)
 544 110, 231
 555 198
- Helly (1973b)
 no. 30 73
 no. 31 73
 no. 40 143
 no. 41 75
 no. 43 143
 no. 69 110, 130, 143, 187
 no.70 72
 no. 81 131
 no. 85 131
 no. 93 218
 no. 111 251
 no. 147 106
 no. 148 106
 no. 149 106
 no. 150 106, 107
 no. 151 108
 no. 156 106
 no. 167 152
 nos. 197–200 143
 no. 201 150
 no. 205 211
- Helly (1978) 253
- Helly (1979a) 19, 246
- Helly (1979b)
 246–8 60, 104
- Helly (1983a)
 157–161 60, 73, 190
 162 110
 164 94
 165 129
- Helly (1991b) 73, 210
- Helly (1993) 68, 126, 134, 148, 150, 209, 227
- Helly (2006a) 75, 210, 251
- Helly, Riele and van Rossum (1993) 211

Herzog and Klaffenbach (1952)	458 60, 61, 81, 210
13–15 no. 5 251	459 60, 107
<i>Ierythrai</i>	460 105
no. 431 253	461 75, 105, 186
	465 211
<i>IG II²</i>	489 61, 110
116 58, 136	490 72
175 58, 136	491 190
1091 251	506 259
	512 135
<i>IG IV I²</i>	513 60, 73
128 146	517 60, 74, 75, 76, 104, 110, 127, 135
273 147	521 116, 135, 283
274 147	524 57
500 147	528 249
	534 249
<i>IG V 2</i>	570 142
367 110, 202	573 114, 120
	575 150, 151, 157, 192
<i>IG VII</i>	576 150, 157
48 94	577 150, 151, 157
4130 251	578 46, 112, 150, 151
4131 135	580 124
<i>IG IX 2</i>	589 211
62 61, 210	590 211
134 210	591 211
141 151	592 150
142 151	593 246
145 113	637 135
146 42	640 275
234 75	641 276
236 174	777 281
240 142	1020 91
242 134	1027 191, 243
245 142	1057 106, 107
246 176	1058 106, 154
257 78, 124, 217, 265	1059 106
258 110, 125	1060 106, 154
264 211, 284	1061 106, 154
265 42	1063 106, 154
270 279	1064 106, 146, 190
271 181	1099b 201
287b 115	1101 207
303 46, 212	1105 110, 202
305 121	1106 110, 202
313 276	1107 207
333 48	1109 146, 198
348 143, 144	1111 110, 198, 201
358 91, 150	1112 198, 201
397 144	1122 85, 203
416 142	1123 203
417 151	1124 143
418 120	1125 204
422 211	1126 143
429 275	1202 261
452 113	1226 78

- 1227 85
 1228 75, 143
 1229 143, 283
 1230 110
 1231 110, 143
 1233 107
 1234 135, 244
 1235 204
 1236 130, 150
 1286 91
 1322 106
 add. 205 535

IG XII 3
 nos. 512–15 171
 519 171
 869 171

IG XII 4.1
 133 218

IG XII 8
 178 106

IG XII 9
 262 118
 268 94
 1193 150, 154

IG XIV
 268 273

Ilasos i.
 no. 54 198

IMagnesia
 26 l. 19 131, 251

 Jeffery (1990)
 149 no.7 147

 Kakavogiannis (1978)
 nos. 1–2 123–4

 Kontogiannis (1992)
 nos. 1–5 49
 no. 3 63

 Kontogiannis (2000) 138, 211

 Labarre (1996)
 273 no. 14 254

 Lucas (1992a)
 267 no. 9 184
 269 no. 10 143
 444 no. 29 124
 446 no. 30 124
 450 no.33 91
 457 no. 36 91

 Lucas (1997)
 84 no. 37 284

 Malay and Ricl (2009) 82, 218, 248–52

 Masson (1969)
 694 no. 4 207

 Mastrokostas (1964)
 310–11 no.1 81, 106, 279
 312 72, 107
 316 no. 1 106
 318 no.2 106, 115, 190

 McDevitt (1970)
 no. 326 104

 Meyer (1936) 201–2

 Miller (1974) 48–9, 134, 174

 Missailidou-Despotidou (1980)
 233 210

 Missailidou-Despotidou (1993) 97, 116, 117,
 125, 135, 141, 188

 Moretti (1976)
 no.100 106, 280

 Oikonomis-Koumanoudis (1956–7)
 17–22 no.1 114, 120

PAE (1908)
 173 106
 175 211
 (1910)
 192 130
 (1915)
 171 23
 192 120
 (1920)
 22 147, 150

 Papadopoulou and Matthaiou (1992–8)
 73, 117

 Parke (1967)
 no. 4 130, 187

 Parker and Stamatopoulou (2007) 276, 277

 Peek (1934) 57

 Peek (1955)
 no. 943 168, 28

 Peek (1960)
 no. 53 278
 no. 81 81, 279
 no. 122 275
 no. 142 275

- Peek (1960) (*cont.*)
 no. 190 275
 no. 208 275
 no. 210 275
 no. 307 275
 no. 389 275
- Peek (1974a)
 no. 25 276
- Peek (1974b) 43, 46, 146
- Pounder and Dimitrova (2003) 284
- Rougemont (1977)
 no. 9 65, 67, 261
- Salviat and Vatin (1974) 55–6
- SEG 23 (1968)
 no. 418 162
- Segre (1934) 218, 252
- Tsantsanoglou and Parassoglou (1987) 276
- Tziafalias (1984a)
 no. 1 63
 no. 47 280
 no. 51 280
 no. 53 190, 275, 280
 no. 59 65, 204
 no. 68 91
 no. 69 124
 no. 70 92, 113
 no. 76 177, 275
- Tziafalias (1984b)
 no. 25 94
 no. 28 118
 no. 33 211
 no. 37 58
 no. 62 204
 no. 73 143
 no. 74 143
- no. 78 91
 no. 82 211
 no. 83 143
 no. 95 289
 no. 96 94
 no. 97 85
 no. 100 211, 212
 no. 102 211
 no. 114 111
 no. 121 135
- Tziafalias (1985a)
 no. 20 91
 no. 25 91
 no. 27 151
 no. 37 184
 no. 38 154
 no. 39 272
- Tziafalias (1992a)
 116–26 65
- Tziafalias (1992b) 103
- Tziafalias and Helly (2004–5)
 378–9 252
 407 75
- Tziafalias and Helly (2007) 72, 75, 252
- Tziafalias and Lucas (2012) 61, 130
- Vidman (1969)
 43 no. 92 211
 47 no. 104 212
- Voza (1968–9)
 363–4 147
- Woodward (1910)
 154 no. 6 135
 155 no. 7 106, 107
 156 no. 8 143, 190
 159 no. 14 46